

The

MODERN REVIEW

A Monthly Review and Miscellany

CGK-H00825-42-PO19071

Edited By

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

Vol. XLVII Numbers 1 to 6

January to June 1930

The Modern Review Office

120-2 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

Annual Subscription in India Rs. 8-8; Foreign Rs. 10

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A HUNTING SCENE
After an Old Painting



VOL. XLVII
NO. 1

JANUARY, 1930

WHOLE NO.
277

Organizations

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THERE is a radical difference between man's ambition and his aspiration for the complete. Ambition goes on adding to the parts; it is a mathematical process. Aspiration seeks the growth as a whole; it is life's own process. The monarch who rules Western society to-day is ambition, he is furiously indulging in a bacchanalia of numbers and quantity, quantity which can have no end. Yet life has its rhythm, the balance of proportion, the poetry of limits. For the purpose of life, mere quantity of food is unmeaning; it is assimilation which is essential. This assimilation becomes possible, if the quantity of food comes within the full range of its mastery, and the period of mastication and digestion is in consonance with life's rhythm.

The boastful hugeness, which always tries to exceed life's beautiful simplicity of limits, is an exaggeration: that is to say, it is puffed up by the crowding of the non-essential, which, like a noxious weed, grows only to choke the essential into insignificance. Thus overladen Education, bursting with a miscellany of subjects, is fostered at the cost of true culture; a prodigious quantity of printed stuff is continually poured upon the mind of the people, allowing the fertile soil of creation to be buried under its sand.

Commerce, which is abnormally big, is busily engaged in over-production and is trying to dig channels for its torrents of surplus across the unwilling breast of the earth. It diverts an enormous part of time and energy from life's field of creation to the imbecility of an endless repetition of things.

Some time ago there appeared in the papers news of a bird shoot in which a party of merry-makers, belonging to a high position, took part. The number of their innocent victims ran into thousands. The blood flowed abundantly; but I am sure; not the tinge of a blush was evident in the distinguished cheeks of these people, who were proud of their appalling success. It is what they call a breaking of records, the most amazingly superficial of all satisfactions for a rational being; paying homage to unmeaning quantity worthy of a head-hunter. We all know with what an excitement of reverence these number-pickers keep count of some latest addition to their list of records measuring even to a fraction of an inch, of a minute, or of a particle. This shallowness of mind is productive of cruelty and deception. When we artificially develop a longing for number for its own sake, a purely abstract sense of possession, then a standard of wrong valuation is established and the sacred-

ness of human sentiments is minimized. When a newspaper of unnecessary length advertises the great event of the publication of its two further daily editions, then it merely exploits this childish crudity in the modern mind, its fascination for the more and more in numbers. It helps to add another huge organization to a host of others and in order to startle its readers' minds into a spirit of veneration declares how a few more inches have been added to the length of its columns and how a few hundred copies more can be printed in a minute by its own up-to-date press than by any other. Thus it arouses to a pitch of ecstasy the feeling of worship for the record-breaker. Modern civilization is piling up the non-essential to an immense height, and that foolishly staring altitude itself is appearing sublime to the present-day crowd.

When the cannibal eats up his fellow beings, it is some satisfaction to know that it allays his hunger and nourishes him. But, when we realize that not only we, who belong to alien continents, but numberless individuals of the West, are made to offer their very life-blood, not to fulfil human need, but to help in the increase of the record-breaking height of the non-essential, then we cannot help hoping that God's vengeance will strike these idolators to the dust and with them the blood-stained altar of their ugly image, the fetish of organization for production or profit that is superfluous, and the hungry spirit of possession that is unmeaning.

When a people begins to seek its safety principally in the augmentation of its armour and the increase of its material wealth, then it is a race of death for that people. For these things have no end in themselves; they are dead, and therefore their weight kills. They have their perpetual suggestion to us that our safety is in mutual suspicion and a destructive spirit of combat. We forget that the constant effort of maintaining this ugly attitude of pugnacious rapacity strikes us at the root of our life. There was a time when the profession of fighting and the business of profit-gathering were restricted to especially trained groups of men; while the rest of the people had full freedom to cultivate their human personality. But because the scientific facility of communication to-day has spread its conquest in every realm of the elements, the field for fighting and profit-making has also become boundless in dimension. And therefore the organization

of offensive and defensive measures is taxing a large part of the resources of the whole population of the country. It means that what is merely technical is crowding out to a narrow corner what is purely human. From the outside it offers an imposing spectacle. For organizations can be made symmetrical and perfect in their accuracy. You can make them enormously big, if only you have enough materials; they are voracious in their hunger for materials. To satisfy the growing claims of your military machine of a monstrous proportion you need an amount of money which is almost farcical in its absurdity. And for that you need to multiply your money-making machines, which again in their turn, in order to keep pace, need a parallel organization of whips and shouts in the donkey race of military expansion.

I ask our people, who suffer from an infatuation with the complexity and immoderate bulk of organization in the West, to take notice how it produces the ludicrous and yet tragic mentality that has its worshipful tenderness for the automaton. The money that is recklessly lavished in order to manufacture and maintain the unproductive military doll is forcibly snatched away from the hungry, from the sick, from the tillers of the soil, who must sell their plough-bullocks to make their contribution.

I have had my experience of what water-scarcity means for people who live under the tropical sun, when drinking water has to be extorted from the grip of the miserly mud, when a chance spark burns down a whole village to ashes with not a drop of water in the neighbourhood but tear-drops for quenching the fire. The daily suffering, during the sultry months of summer, of numberless men and women is intense and widespread. But care is taken that this suffering must not, in the least, touch the imperfectly human, who dwell in the doll-house barracks and the offices of the organization agency. I blush to mention the paltry sum that is allotted in my country by the high priests of Organization to provide the thirsting millions with a mockery of water-supply.

What stupendous cruelty is implied in all this is never realized by the devotees of the Machine who cannot even imagine where lies the inequity of turning human blood into oil for the smoother working of their engine. Those whose function it is to carry on the unbroken stream of life from age to age are

made to sacrifice their very life-stuff in order to maintain an ample supply of saw-dust for the gigantic Doll. This equipment, a great part of which is meaningless, serves merely to fill up time and space for the purpose of giving the idol an imposing appearance of amplitude. Life is being constantly bled white merely for swelling the girth of that which is not life and which is even against life. We have grown used to the fact, and accept it as inevitable, that countless men and women in ever-growing numbers are being deprived of the fulness of their life. This is not done for the sake of life's own cause, as with the neuter bees who accept martyrdom in the service of their hives, but to produce profits that like lava streams lick out the living skin of the earth.

It is known that a four hundred per cent profit was made in Bengal during war time in some jute factories for the sake of which innumerable individuals were made to live an unnatural life in surroundings which are ugly both in their physical and moral aspects. It is an insult to humanity when the defenders of faith in behalf of the Organization-idol compare the amount of the wages which the mill-hands now earn with their income in former days. It is a part of their impious creed to believe that money can compensate for curtailment of personality. This is what I may call the desert mentality, which congratulates itself on the glitter of its interminable sand, not knowing that an acre of green grassy land is more precious than its blazing effrontery of sterility.

And we know what an amount of cunning is exercised by the money-mongers to cheat the starving peasants of their legitimate dues. As they are kept ignorant of the market value, it is easy to play a waiting game against them. This was specially so during the war when exportation was stopped, and these cultivators were compelled to sell their crops below cost price. And yet when individuals who are fully human and produce food are driven to famine, the organization which sucks blood and grinds bones is fraternally helped by another organization named administration. They publish forecasts of the jute crop in order to enable their kindred to realize the wisdom of the proverb, that knowledge is power, that to be forewarned is to be forearmed. Such a pious frame of mind is luxuriously cultivated in the present civilization which, holding

humanity cheap, offers its best devotion to the Machine.

Let me give here an illustration whose significance is generally overlooked. The Western governments have their own highly paid legal advisers and advocates whose help is necessary for carrying on the administration of law, the language of which is full of obsolete archaisms and most clumsily technical. In a dispensation, wherein machines are important and numerous, legal codes have to be highly complicated. It is useless for us to grumble against this; but what strikes me as a sign of the most fanatical loyalty to the Lifeless is the fact, that the service of this learned advocate is secured for the organization called Government and we pay for his salary, while living individuals who are sensitive to pains and losses are left to their own poor devices to come out whole from the meshes of law or safely to accomplish their journey through the heart-breaking maze of legal pathways. They say that they have their system of law before which everybody is equal. Such praise can only be reserved for God's sunlight, not merely because it is universal, but because it is simple; because it does not require the help of a professional interpreter to explain it, the next moment to be contradicted by his professional opponent, leading another professional man to a conclusion which may be very learnedly inconclusive. In fact, the uncertainty of justice which is the inevitable consequence of the most difficult and complex technicalities of law, has made our Law Court an unlicensed gambling hall in which the chances of success most often lean towards the rich.

The complex system of law, the progeny of an inordinate bigness belonging to the non-living, which is unable to carry its burden by its own inner power of adjustment, has a most disintegrating effect upon a society which once was simple because it had the unity of life. The conflicting forces in a living society maintain their equilibrium by the help of the unwritten convention which becomes organic in the memory of the race. The immensity and the technical character of this written legal code only prove, that the creative principle in the society to which they belong is inadequate; that dead additions are being continually made to the social limbs till their proportion has far exceeded that of the life system; that an elaborate and painful arrangement of

chains and screws requiring expert help is necessary to keep the whole lumbering thing together. Things that are of vital importance to our society should never become too difficult of comprehension for the average intelligence of the people. For that creates a profound chasm between life's need and the means of its satisfaction, and in that gaping hole, all kinds of mischief find their lodging, because it is beyond the reach of the entire mind of the people.

In India, where the help of some spiritual philosophy has always been claimed for the guidance of life, our society did evolve a spontaneous irrigation system of culture which made this philosophy accessible to every individual, learned or unlettered, by means of literature that was not only brought to their door but to their power of comprehension. It is not only the springs of thought and life that must have their natural communication; the stream that supplies all the necessities of life,—justice included—must have an easy flow towards the heart of the people. I know it is not possible in a society if it grows too

voluminous, and the lungs given to it are too feeble to support its over-growth; I know that in this condition it must make provision for expert help to manipulate the complicated apparatus for artificial breathing; but these dead allies of life push their encroachment further and further every day till one day death reigns supreme.

Those who cannot imagine that civilization can ever become simple in its material aspect are sure to question me as to what should be done. This question expects from its answer the means as to how a path can be made, though the wilderness should remain untouched. Of course, I do not know. If a society chooses to grow non-human in most of its aspects then it chooses to court sudden death in a final break-down. The age has come, which through its moral earthquakes, has given warning to the pilers of dead things, that the day of their prosperity has come to its close, that the obstruction has to be removed, the way has to be kept open for the chariot of new life to pass through its triumphal gate.

Art, A Forbidden Fruit in The Indian Universities

By O. C. GANGOLY

THE current apathy of our educational authorities to any scheme for Art education in our schools and colleges can be easily construed as an unholy conspiracy to keep Art out of all educational curriculum. The usual apology for shutting out Art from our 'Arts courses' is furnished by the so-called excuse of financial stringency. But the hollowness of this excuse becomes patent when at the time of the foundation of a new university, no funds are allocated for a Department of Fine Art, and the new University assiduously apes and imitates the curriculum of existing universities, with its so-called culture course—*cum* Fine Arts. It is conveniently forgotten that in a course of liberal education, Art has an important place and deserves adequate provisions. The old stereotyped formulæ of the courses of studies are bounded by the inevitable

walls of Literature, Science, History, Political Economy and the Languages, which form the impenetrable barriers of our castles of learning into which graphic or the visual Arts cannot penetrate. The obvious truth in the matter is that those who take upon themselves the duty of devising courses of studies in the schools or colleges do not regard Art as anything more than an expensive luxury, to be thought of only if a special endowment is forthcoming from an educational benefactor. Enormous amount of money is expended in the schools and colleges to pay for the staff to teach Literature, not only in the form of Linguistic courses, but as a valuable cultural expression of the human mind at different periods of its history. It is entirely ignored or forgotten that as a spiritual expression and as a unique repository of human culture,

the graphic Arts are superior to Literature and are indispensable in any course of culture studies.

A second fallacy, fondly nestled by our educational gods, is that Art belongs to the Department of Industry to be pigeon-holed with coal, jute, and pig-iron. A third fallacy regards it as an affair of technical education, a province of the schools of Arts to be kept away from the ordinary literary curriculum of our schools and colleges which cannot undertake to train up the creative or the practical artists where students may be spoiled by "looking at pictures." Yet a fourth fallacy is to consider the teaching of Art as a subordinate part of antiquarian studies, a Department of Ancient Culture, a form in which it is tolerated in a starved and famishing department of the Calcutta University.

If the aim of education is to encourage and assist the natural and harmonious growth of man's inborn powers the study of the Fine Arts, especially the visual and the graphic Arts and the cultivation of the sense of Beauty should form an important feature in all educational schemes in primary schools, high schools and colleges. Indeed, the visual Arts in ancient India formed the most important *Vahana* or medium of education and for disseminating knowledge and culture. Education through the eyes was practised to perfection in India in the heyday of its glory, and very skilfully accomplished, in a decade, what was impossible to achieve, through the medium of the spoken and written languages. The monumental illustrations of edifying legends at Sanchi accomplished in a few years what the linguistic edicts of Asoka had failed to achieve in three centuries. In the colonies the messages of Buddhism, and earlier still, those of Brahminical culture, were more effectually preached in the form of sculpture and architecture long before the creeds and doctrines of religion could be translated into the native languages of the Malayo-Polynesian races in Java, Cambodia, and Champa. A little gilt-bronze image of the Buddha could convert in a day a whole continent of primitive people in Indonesia who took centuries to translate the Indian sagas in their vernacular dialects. And it is through the tiny instrumentality of a miniature gold image that the Wei Tartars, a horde of savages in Northern China, were converted into the Buddhistic faith

centuries before the *Buddha charita* or the *Divyavadana* was translated into Chinese. It is difficult to prove that in any given period in India universal literacy was ever an accomplished fact through the network of any widespread system of primary education. The place of a universal primary education was certainly taken by the different forms of the visual or the graphic Arts. In this sense the Fine Arts provided the cheapest and easily accessible medium of education and culture, the *lingua franca par excellence* of ancient India. A *pradakshina* round the sculptured galleries of the cave temples at Elura could give one, in an hour's time, an education in *pairanic* lore which the literary scholar would take years to gather from his eighteen *Puranas*; the sculptured galleries of Borobudur and the painted cloisters of Ajanta easily conveyed to multitudes of illiterate pilgrims who were absolutely inaccessible through the written books of the learned monks. Indeed, the superiority of a graphic interpretation to a merely literary one as a medium of education has been curiously demonstrated by the employment of a series of lantern lectures for propaganda by our extremist politicians, in order to educate the illiterate masses in politics and to a sense of awareness of their economic condition. Mr. Neogi could accomplish in an hour what miles of leading articles failed to convey in years. I should like to leave to our scholars of old Vaishnava literature to find out if Radha's love for Krishna was awakened *first* through the eyes, by the sight of the portrait which *Visakha* presented to her, or 'through the ears' by the music of the magic flute of Krishna. It is a well recognized fact in anthropology, that the gesture languages, the graphic or the visual form, long preceded the linguistic. The pictorial decorations of the caves of Altamira antedate by milleniums the earliest linguistic records of man.

That the form of visual education is a very potent and effective medium of culture is sometimes recognized in such educationally backward country as India. The Department of Public Instruction in Bombay has actually a section of visual instruction, a section very much starved for want of funds, the lion's shares of available public funds being devoted, as usual, to the departments of literary education.

In the present state of financial stringency and widespread economic distress it

is impossible to expect that, in India, before at least half a century, adequate funds would be available to pay for a universal primary education. In the meantime, the graphic Arts may be utilized as an effective medium for both primary and higher education. By an intelligent adjustment of the current scheme of studies and of the available funds, it is possible to substitute for book lessons visual instruction. And even for subjects like History, Geography, and the Elementary Science courses for the schools very effective and enjoyable circulating lantern lectures could be substituted under the guidance of expert professors in a suitably designed scheme organized by the university staff, which may do away altogether with a large number of uneducated and ill-trained teachers, who, at present, are entrusted to thrust down the throats of our young boys and girls in a very dry, uncongenial and mechanical manner the rudimentary facts of History, Geography and the Sciences. In an hour's illustrated lecture with the help of a few pictures, accompanied by a little reading matter to be provided by an expert, through a central organization, the rudimentary matters of History and the Sciences could be graphically, agreeably and impressively conveyed to a group of classes which usually take months of painful memorizing to master. Education through the eyes is education without tears, and is undoubtedly the quickest, the pleasantest and the cheapest mode of instruction and edification. This form of education will afford a healthy and easy training of the visual faculty and a valuable initiation into the art and the science of seeing. This 'learning to see' will open out new windows to the human mind and make accessible to us the great heritages of human culture recorded in the aesthetic scripts of the plastic arts, ancient and modern, apart from the joy which will come to us through the *seeing eyes*, that is the eyes trained to take in *what eye can see*. For a lack of this development of the seeing faculty, the faculty of our god-gifted aesthetic vision, most of our post-graduate researches in history and antiquities are barren of the joys of aesthetic pleasures divorced from the thrilling contact with spirituality which is conveyed through the knowledge of Beauty.

Art, and the language of art, call to the spirit to soar into "pure realms" where self is forgotten; where through the contemplation of Beauty, the spirit may, for an

instant, lose itself in the Infinite. In all contemplation of works of art, the beholder is from himself set free (*moksha*), and in the temporary negation of his finite existence is made to feel the pleasures of the Infinite—the flavour of the Divinity (*Raso vai sah*).

A work of Art has to be judged not as material for history, belonging to this epoch or that, or as specimen of antiquarian data, it must be judged as a work of art, in its inherent aesthetic qualities, its peculiar plastic forms, its significant emotive values, as an impassioned plastic utterance of man in moments of supreme spiritual exaltation. The key to this appreciation is furnished by a familiarity with the language of line and forms, the laws of rhythm and spacing, the general principles of graphic composition and designs, in a word, the complicated language and the grammar of linear and plastic form, a language which has a vocabulary of its own, with its own system of syntax and prosody, as rich and variegated as any of the language of our spoken words. In this sense there is no universal language for the graphic Arts. And we have to learn laboriously the peculiar language, vocabulary, the peculiar structure and intonation of each school of painting or sculpture, just as we have to learn, by painstaking efforts, the different families of the spoken and written languages. Our experience and knowledge of Renaissance painting cannot help us to understand the meaning and significance of the Chinese schools of painting, just as our knowledge of Greek and Greco-Roman sculpture cannot help us to unlock the mystery of the French Gothic school. Our knowledge of the manners and mannerisms of the Dutch schools of painting with their photographic verisimilitude, is a misleading guide to an understanding of the vigorous splendours of the primitive *Ragini* pictures, or the intriguing beauty of the illustrated Jaina manuscripts. The language of each particular school of art and its branches is the product of its peculiar culture, racial environment, and tradition, the alphabet and the vocabulary of which have to be carefully learnt and assimilated. The various forms of the language of Indian Art with their dialects and sub-dialects require careful study and analysis on the basis of their linear and plastic qualities, and unless the importance of this study is recognized in the universities the rich treasures of Indian Art are likely to remain, as they still remain

to a majority of Indians, a sealed book, which they are unable to read and interpret. A general unfamiliarity with their form, and an unwillingness to understand the language of Indian Art have helped to banish one of the richest cultural heritages of India from our modern schools and colleges. And one cannot sufficiently emphasize on the urgent necessity of introducing selected examples of Indian Art as an indispensable factor in the education of our boys and girls in the schools. In many schools of Europe and America, classical antiquities, that is to say, Greek and Greco-Roman Art are placed before the elementary students of Greek and Roman history in order to bring home to the student the artistic environment of old Greece and Rome and the graphic incarnation of their cultural life, and in America school-children are frequently taken to the museums where qualified teachers and docents lecture to them in the presence of the actual masterpieces of sculpture and other works of Art supplemented by photographs, and other aids in order to assist the students to a graphic realization of the actual environment of the

cultural life of the Greeks, Romans and Egyptians. They are not merely supplementary studies of history but a carefully-planned programme of a gradual initiation into the beauties of Art and the way to approach and apprehend them. By frequent opportunity to come in contact with the greatest masterpieces of art from the very early days of their school career, not only by visits to the museums, but by frequent lectures, and by means of daily contact with carefully-selected wall-pictures of works of Art, students are able to develop their faculty of enjoying beautiful forms and to lay the foundation for a critical understanding of pictures which come to fruitful maturity in later years. Recently a scheme is under consideration for introducing the teaching of Indian music in the schools of Calcutta, but Indian Art is unfortunately still regarded as a forbidden fruit in our schools and colleges. In this case, the fruit of the forbidden tree is a veritable fruit of spiritual knowledge and a Paradise Lost will certainly be a Paradise Regained.

Base Metal

By SITA DEVI

THE long rainy season was over and the blue sky smiled down upon Rangoon, the capital of Burma. A few stray bits of cloud, fleecy white, floated about aimlessly, cheering the eyes of the beholder.

Such a day is never meant for staying indoors. A terrible thing is this rainy season of Burma and only people living there can know, how cheering its termination can be. So nobody in Rangoon wanted to stay at home on this day.

Two young men sat in the front room of a small flat. The building stood on one of the main thoroughfares of the city. They were talking. One appeared to be about twenty-four years of age, the other, a bit older.

"How long are we going to wait for that blessed tea of yours?" asked the younger one, who was named Jotin. "I want to get out this very minute."

"Wait, wait," said his friend. "You have still to learn that patience is a great virtue, and that virtue brings its own reward."

"I don't want any reward," said Jotin. "I want my tea and that at once. You are a terrible cheat, Kartik. You wrote to me that October was the most perfect time of the year for outings and now that I am here, you don't want to budge an inch out of your room. I was a fool to believe you."

"I am neither God nor the head of the Meteorological Department. It is usual for the rains to close in October," said Kartik in defence. "If they failed to do so this year, I don't see why I should be held responsible. But it is still October, isn't it? You have been here barely a week."

The long-awaited tea arrived at this juncture and put a stop to their quarrel.

Jotin was the adopted son of a rich man of Calcutta. His own father was dead and

so was Jogin Mazumdar, who had adopted him. The mother who had borne him in pain and sorrow, was still alive, but Jotin did not call her mother. The wife of Jogin Mazumdar was legally entitled to that name.

They finished their tea in a hurry and after changing into cleaner clothes, went out.

"Where to?" asked Kartik as they came out into the street.

"Oh, I don't know," said Jotin. "Let us walk on. I want to see the town."

"When your father came here years ago," said Kartik, "he made many friends. Some of them may still be alive and living here. If you would like to meet them, I can take you along and introduce you to them."

"Don't be silly," said Jotin. "I don't want to sit in small dark rooms, talking to old fogies this evening. Time enough for those social duties. I am going to roam about now till sheer hunger forces me to return."

"Well then, you need not return before midnight," said Kartik, "because much better food is available in the streets here than at home. You have already tasted the splendid cooking of my servant. Hunger is the only sauce that can make it palatable. You can have any kind of food, Chinese, Burmese, Japanese, Indian or European in these roadside eating houses. Splendid cooking in some of them, and they are not very expensive either."

"No, old chap," said Jotin. "I promised the old lady, that I won't touch forbidden food. Even in the steamer I did not take anything but some awful stuff, cooked by the Hindu *bhandari*."

The old lady, referred to, was Jotin's adoptive mother. She was extremely conservative and orthodox. Even when her husband was alive, she used to drive everybody crazy with her strictness. Now that she had become a widow, she had become a terror to her relatives and subordinates.

"Oh, go away," said Kartik. "How is she going to find out? Do you think she has engaged a detective to dog your steps? You have come to enjoy yourself, and are you going to do so by behaving like a Brahmin widow? Much fun you will get out of it."

"You never know," said Jotin. "I would not trust those half-lunatics too far. If she had been really my mother, I would not have cared a hang. Even had she caught me doing wrong, she would have only abused me for a few days. But these people! A woman who buys a son for herself, can also kick him out. The law allows it. I

have disowned my parentage and my name for money, and I am not going to lose that money through any carelessness."

"If you are so nervous about it," said Kartik, "I won't press you. But you are perfectly safe here, you know. She would never have known anything about it. Does she suspect you much?"

"Well, yes," said Jotin, hesitating a little. "To a certain extent she does. In Calcutta, I was always followed by her men. I don't know, of course, whether anybody has come thus far."

"But this is insufferable!" said Kartik. "I would have run away after a week. This is selling your birthright for a mess of pottage."

"You are right," said Jotin. "But my dear chap, the lure of gold is terrible. And once you become accustomed to wealth, you can never do without it. You have to sell your soul for it, if you can't get it any other way."

They went on and on, talking all the while. Many of the houses and shops were gaily decorated and illuminated. Crowds of children, the Burmans in bright saiken garments, the Indians in their everyday soiled and drab garments, congregated in the footpaths. They played and shouted and let off crackers and fireworks. Signs of merry-making appeared everywhere.

"What's on?" asked Jotin. "This is the Burmese festival of lamps," said Kartik. "For a few days, they will make merry, illuminate their houses, have dancing and music and spend a fortune in fireworks. This is one of their greatest festivals. If you want to see Burmese dancing, I can take you to the Shwedagon Pagoda."

"But what an idea, my dear boy," said Jotin. "What's the use of illumination on a full moon night? It is like entering into a competition with the creator. The proper time for illumination is a very dark night, the darkest possible. We Hindus are a clever people."

"They did not bother about proper time much," said Kartik. "The end of the rainy season has got to be celebrated, you know. It is a perfect hell, I tell you. It goes on raining for full seven months. So the first sight of a clear sky sends these chaps crazy with delight."

"I say," said Jotin, "the sight of all these lamps and fireworks has made me awfully

thirsty. I ought to have drunk two cups of tea instead of one."

"Your thirst could easily be quenched, if you only please. You see the restaurant before you? It's a good one and much patronized by us Indians. It is not too fashionable, yet neat and clean. If you cannot wield knife and fork properly, nobody minds. But they are careful about health and hygiene. So if you want any drink, we can go in here."

Jotin looked in. The place looked attractive enough. There were people inside, but not exactly a crowd.

"All right", he said, "let's go in and have something cold. I don't suppose the old lady would object to this. In Calcutta too, I had tea or cold drinks outside now and then. She kept her mouth shut about these. But one day I was caught partaking of some roast mutton. She nearly went for me with a cane."

The two friends entered and sat down at a table, by the door. A waiter took their orders, and soon two glasses of iced lemonades stood in front of them.

Jotin began to sip the drink leisurely, casting inquisitive eyes all around. At a table, a little in front of them, sat a Burman and two ladies of the same nationality. The young ladies were gaily dressed—their dresses, their jewels, even their tiny embroidered slippers, glittered and sparkled. One wore a *loongyi* of orange-coloured satin, another of gold tissue. Their blouses however were white. Scarves of fine French chiffon were flung round their shoulders. Diamond rings shone on their fingers, chains of gold adorned the round white throats and rubies glittered in their ears. One was very fair, the other had an olive complexion. Both the girls were exquisitely pretty.

"What are you staring at?" asked Kartik. "Do you want a row here?"

"I say," said Jotin, "these people must be immensely rich."

"Well, you cannot say," said Kartik. "You can never judge a Burman's position from the dress of his womenfolk. A millionaire's wife and a clerk's wife will come out dressed exactly alike. They believe in fine dresses, even if they have to starve to indulge in it. Beside them, we look a nation of paupers."

"The girl on the left is very beautiful," said Jotin. "She does not look like a

Mongolian at all. See, what a fine nose she has got."

"She is an Indo-Burman. Don't you see, she wears her hair in a bun behind her head? She is probably a Zerbadi."

"What on earth is that?" asked his friend.

"A person of mixed parentage with half Mahomedan blood and half Burmese."

One cannot go on drinking a glass of lemonade for ever. But Jotin felt extremely unwilling to go away so soon. "Shall we have another glass apiece?" he asked Kartik.

Kartik laughed. "You need not," he said. "Look, they are about to go away."

The Burmese gentleman and one of the ladies paid their bills and left. But the other girl, of whom they had been talking, ordered another cup of tea and sat waiting for it.

"Wait a bit," said Kartik. "I must go out for a minute. See that you don't lose your heart here. Remember the old lady at home and you will be all right. The mother who objects to her son eating at hotels, must object to his making love to foreign girls."

Jotin looked a bit awkward and Kartik walked out laughing.

The girl finished her second cup of tea, too soon. The waiter presented the bill and the girl took out a rupee from her beaded handbag and paid. Then she stood up and gathered together her belongings, a fan, a magazine and a small parcel prior to departure.

Just then the waiter returned and said something to her in an undertone. He carried the rupee in his hand. The girl looked at him with extreme displeasure and began to fumble in her handbag. Then she began to say something to the man. She looked a little upset. The man shook his head and went off to return with the manager. Youth is the time for romance. Every young man or woman possesses a desire to indulge in it, sometimes unconsciously even. Jotin came of a very orthodox and conservative family and was ruled by his mother with a rod of iron. He had never talked to any unrelated woman in his life and suppressed every desire of this kind heroically. But suddenly he forgot himself completely. He could only feel that he was a man, and a beautiful girl stood near him in evident need of his assistance.

He approached the girl quickly and asked in English, "Pardon me, can I help you in any way?"

The girl looked up at his face. Then she

said a bit hesitatingly, "If you could lend me a rupee, I should be very thankful. I had only this rupee with me; unfortunately it is not good." Her manner of speaking was quite free and dignified.

Only one rupee! Jotin felt a bit cast down. If he could have done something tremendous for her, he would have been satisfied. Still he was fortunate in having this, small opportunity. So he took out a rupee, and handed it to the girl.

The girl paid the waiter, and seemed to breathe with relief. She turned to Jotin and said, "You have saved me much trouble. Thank you very much. If you come here to-morrow at this time, I shall return the money. If it does not suit you, please give me your address, I shall send it to you."

Jotin jumped at the offer. "Certainly I shall come," he said. "I shall be here punctually at six."

"Are you a Bengali?" asked the girl.

"Yes," said Jotin, "I come from Calcutta."

The girl took leave of him with a smile and went out. Jotin returned to his seat to find Kartik already back there. He was grinning from ear to ear.

"Good boy," he said, as Jotin sat down. "Never miss an opportunity. So you have already made another appointment? I envy you, my dear chap. I have been here years and years, but no one even looked at me. But the first day you come out, you meet with romance—"

"Yes, I am lucky," said Jotin, interrupting him. "Let's be off now."

"Very well," said Kartik, getting up. "But don't try to go too far, it may land you into trouble. You don't know these people."

"You too belong to the old lady's clan, it seems," said Jotin. "Just because I talked to a girl, you presuppose a huge romance or tragedy."

"Great things have small beginnings," said Kartik. "I warn you, it is my duty. It is up to you to accept my advice or not."

Jotin's heart was singing a tune which prevented him from listening to the voice of cold prudence. "I don't want to return just now," he said changing the topic; "let's walk on and look at the illumination for a bit."

Next morning Jotin woke up much before his time. He was feeling restless and impatient. He wanted the day to pass off quickly and the longed-for evening to come. He could not say anything to Kartik, for fear he would sneer. He got more

and more impatient as the day advanced. He consulted his watch every five minutes, and could hardly sit still for two minutes anywhere. The time seemed to hang heavily in his hand.

The afternoon passed off somehow. Then another anxiety took possession of Jotin's mind. What if Kartik should want to accompany him? True, his appointment was not exactly a love tryst, still he felt extremely unwilling to have Kartik with him, to sit staring at them, while he talked to the girl. But how could he say that to Kartik without offending him?

Fortunately, Kartik saved him the trouble. When it was about four o'clock, he called Jotin and said, "Look here, old chap, I thought of accompanying you, though you certainly would not have liked it. Still, as you are my guest here, I am responsible for your safety. But my old manager has suddenly sent for me, I don't know why. So it's 'Line clear' for you. But be extremely cautious. Talk to her there, as long as you like, but don't accompany her anywhere else."

Jotin felt so much relieved at Kartik's words, that he promised anything and everything. As soon as his host had departed, he began his toilet. The girl would not arrive at the restaurant before six, but Jotin could hardly wait that long. He opened his trunk and took out his finest dress. He put on a diamond ring too. He felt ashamed of his shoes. They certainly looked shabby. He had left two pairs of brand new Nagra slippers, gold embroidered too, in Calcutta. The old lady was good to him in her own way. She never grudged him money for personal expenses. If he wanted ten diamond rings for ten fingers, he was welcome to them. She never enquired about the amount he spent. The old cashier had order to supply any of his just demands.

He finished dressing, called a carriage and went out. Where to spend the intervening one hour? He toured about the town, visited the shops and the wharves, and finally arrived before the restaurant, when it was still a quarter to six.

He peeped inside and saw that the girl had not yet arrived. He paid off the carriage and began to saunter along the footpath, keeping a sharp look-out around. He felt very sore with the girl. Could not she have come a few moments earlier?

A carriage drove up and stopped just in

front of him. A Bengali girl got down. It is unusual to meet Bengali women in public places. So Jotin stared at her rather curiously. But his curiosity turned to surprise, as he recognised her. For she was none other than his fair acquaintance of yesterday. But instead of her Burmese dress, she was wearing a gold embroidered red Dacca sari and a blouse of the same stuff. Her head was uncovered, her hair being dressed in the modern Bengali way.

The girl paid off the driver, then approached Jotin with quick steps, "Have you been waiting long?"

"Not very long", said Jotin. "But why are you dressed like this? I did not know you at first."

The girl was merely a chance acquaintance and he should not have presumed to ask her such questions. But Jotin was unaccustomed to the society of ladies and his surprise had made him forget his manners. Not that he knew that he was saying anything unusual.

But the girl did not seem to mind. "Let's go in," she said with a smile. "I shall answer your question there."

They went in and sat down. Jotin ordered tea, though he was not feeling thirsty at all. "Do you live very far off?" he asked.

"No," said the girl. "But I could not get here sooner. I work in a shop and cannot go anywhere until it closes. I went home, then came on here."

But Jotin was eager to know the reason of her change of dress. So he asked again, "You did not tell me, why you have dressed up like this."

"Because this happens to be my own dress," said the girl. "I too am a Bengali. But I put on Burmese dress usually. To-day, as I was coming to meet one of my own people, I dressed up as a Bengali. May I ask your name?"

Jotin told her his name. "But why then do you talk in English?" he asked. "Don't you know Bengali?"

"No," said the girl. "I have never seen Bengal, neither do I know any Bengalis. My father came here from Bengal, and married my mother here. When I was but a baby, he went back to India and died there."

"But did not his relatives enquire about you or send for you?" asked Jotin.

"No", said the girl. "It was natural for them to ignore us. Bengalis are very

orthodox, they do not like their young men to marry foreigners."

"May I know, what your name is?" asked Jotin.

The girl smiled. "My father named me Maya. But nobody uses that name now. I am known as Ma Sakina."

"Where do you work?" asked Jotin.

"In a Japanese shop, near by," the girl replied.

Jotin went on talking and talking. He was afraid to stop, lest the girl should go away. So he asked again, "Do you like working in a shop?"

"I don't like it much," said Ma Sakina, "but where could I get a better job? My education is not much to boast of."

"But you speak English perfectly," said Jotin. "I am a graduate of the Calcutta University. You speak it better than myself."

Ma Sakina laughed outright. "My teachers were English," she said. "So I can speak well. I intended to go to England to be trained as a teacher. But my mother was finding it very hard to bring up the children unaided. So I gave up studying and took up a job."

Jotin was a bit surprised, "Have you got more brothers and sisters?" he asked.

The girl appeared a bit embarrassed. Then she said, "They are not exactly my own brothers and sisters. In your country it is not customary for widows to remarry. Here it is usual. My mother married a second time. The gentleman was a Mahomedan. He took good care of us and was paying for my education too. But he died about five years ago."

"There are many Bengalis in Rangoon," said Jotin, "have not you got any friends amongst them?"

"No," said Ma Sakina. "My mother does not like the Bengalis. My father had not treated her well. He left her completely helpless. So she had always warned me against the Indians. But I do so want to meet them and to learn Bengali. But I never got an opportunity. How could I know a good man from a bad man?"

Jotin could not resist the temptation of asking, "Then how was it that you ventured to make my acquaintance?"

The girl laughed again. "I think God meant us to meet. I know you are a good man."

Jotin's heart sang with joy. Was the

girl right? Had God indeed brought about their meeting? Why had He?

Suddenly, a clock on the wall struck eight. The girl started and cried, "Oh, I am awfully late. I must be off now." She took out a rupee from her handbag, saying, "I almost forgot the real object of my coming."

Jotin felt extremely unwilling to take the money from her, but he did not know how to refuse. He was furious with the clock for striking so loudly.

As the girl was about to get up, Jotin asked, "Won't I see you again?"

"It is difficult," said Ma Sakina.

"But did not you say that God had brought about our meeting?" asked Jotin eagerly. "Why should it all end like this? Could I not see you at your house?"

The girl hesitated. "Perhaps, mother would not like it," she said. "How long will you stay in Rangoon?"

"It is not settled," said Jotin. "I came here for a week or two, but I can stay on for months. There's nobody to say no."

Ma Sakina took out a pencil and a piece of paper from her handbag and wrote down something. "Here's the address of the shop, where I work," she said handing him the paper. "I get half an hour off, for lunch, at one o'clock. If you call for me, we can go out and have it together."

Jotin was ready to dance with joy. "I shall be sure to come," he said. "But mind, don't you forget and go out without me."

"No, no," said the girl. "I am not so forgetful. But still, leave me your address. If for some reason or other we have to postpone our appointment, I shall write to you."

Jotin wrote down his address. They left their tea untouched, paid their bills and left the restaurant.

The girl called a carriage and got in. "I usually take rickshaws," she said. "But I feel ashamed to be seen in this dress in an open rickshaw."

As the carriage drove off, the street seemed to become dark to Jotin. Even his heart seemed to feel empty. What had happened to him? Was this love at first sight? The girl was surely beautiful enough to inspire it. In that Bengali dress, she looked as fair as the very Queen of Heaven! And how sweetly she spoke! Yet she did not appear a bit forward or coquettish.

But the streets of Rangoon are not exact-

ly suited for romantic day-dreamings. Three or four rickshawmen came and stood in a row before Jotin, in the hope of getting a fare. Then a carriage joined them and hailed him loudly. Jotin came to himself with a start and bolted into the first rickshaw he saw and drove away home.

Kartik was not yet back. Jotin took off his outdoor garments, and stretched himself in an easy chair. He let his imagination full play. Even his cigarette was forgotten and it dropped from his mouth unheeded after a few moments.

Was he going to see her again? What would she say? Was Ma Sakina, too, attracted a little towards him? But this foreign name did not suit her at all. Jotin would call her Maya. Would the girl think him too presumptuous if he were to take her a small present to-morrow?

Kartik entered with a cough and broke through the chain of his thoughts. He put his walking stick in a corner, and began to unbutton his shirt. "How long have you been back?" he asked.

"Oh, long ago," said Jotin, lighting a cigarette.

"How did you enjoy yourselves? What did you talk about?"

Jotin had decided not to take Kartik in his confidence. "Nothing much," he replied in a non-committal way. "She returned the money, then went away."

Kartik looked at him with unbelief written large on his face. "Only that?" he asked. "She did not even leave her address?"

Jotin sat up. He blew rings of smoke in the air, then asked, "What are you driving at, may I know?"

Kartik was taken aback a bit at the evident displeasure of his friend. "Don't be angry," he said. "May not a friend feel a little interest in your romance?"

Jotin remained silent. Kartik began to talk on other subjects.

Next day Kartik did not give him any trouble at all. His vacation was over. He went off to his office, punctually at ten.

Jotin too finished his lunch soon and prepared to go out. He took some money with him, as he wanted to buy a present for Maya. She had been unkind enough to return him his rupee, so he was going to take his revenge by spending ten times as much on her.

He could not decide what to buy. He was totally inexperienced in this line. He

could not ask Kartik; not that Kartik would have been of much help, even if he had. At last, in desperation, he entered a large shop, before which he had been standing so long. He could get here anything he wanted.

A shop girl came forward and asked, "What can I give you?"

Suddenly, a brilliant idea flashed across Jotin's brain. Why not consult this girl? She must know. He hoped the girl would not mind.

He hesitated a little, then said, "I want to buy a present for one of my lady friends. Can you suggest something?"

The girl smiled. "If she is young," she said, "you can give her a nice box of chocolates."

Jotin saw no objection to that. He took the most expensive box he could find, and, after thanking the girl went out.

He easily found the shop where Maya worked. It was a big shop on one of the larger thoroughfares. As he got down from his carriage, he looked at his watch. It was still five minutes to one. He decided to enter and buy something. It would serve the double purpose of whiling away the time, as well as announcing himself.

He saw Maya, as soon as he entered. She was busy, serving a very stout lady. Another girl approached him. Jotin asked to be shown some white silk.

The girl brought forward three or four kinds of stuff. Jotin chose one and bought some three yards of it. As he was going out, he glanced at Maya. She had finished her work, and was ready to go out.

"I have kept my carriage waiting," said Jotin; "where do you want to go?"

"If I get into the carriage with you," said Maya, rather shyly, "everyone here will notice it, and joke about it."

"What's to be done, then?" asked Jotin, "shall I dismiss the carriage?"

"No, no," said Maya; "let's go, this once. There is a Chinese tea shop, near by. We shall go there."

They got into the carriage and Maya told the coachman where to drive. As it started Jotin said, "I have brought you a small present."

"What's it?" asked Maya. "Let me see." Jotin took out the box. "What a beauty," said Maya. "But why waste money like this?"

Jotin could have said much in answer, but he restrained himself.

They sat in the tea shop talking. Maya

was much interested in Bengal and the Bengalis. She wanted to know everything about them. "If you stayed here for some time," she said, "I would have learned Bengali from you."

"Well, I am in no hurry to depart," said Jotin.

The half an hour passed all too quickly. Maya got up, saying, "I must go now."

"Shall I call for you again, to-morrow?" asked Jotin.

"No please," said Maya rather embarrassed. "If you come everyday, it will give rise to much talk. I shall write to you and let you know, where we can meet."

Jotin felt keenly disappointed. Maya looked at his face and said, "You are still here for sometime, are not you? We shall meet frequently."

Jotin returned straight home as soon as Maya left. He felt amazed at himself. He had never expected to become infatuated in this way. How was all this going to end? He could not live here for ever. If Maya agreed to marry him, he could take her to Calcutta, but as long as his mother was living, this was out of the question. He could get engaged and wait till the old lady's death. But would Maya agree to wait on indefinitely? They did not trust Bengalis overmuch, and it was more than likely that Maya would refuse. And even if they married, according to what form should they marry? Nowadays, there was much talk of *shuddhi*, or purification. If he could know, who Maya's father was, then he could bribe the Brahmins and priests into accepting her within the folds of Hinduism.

But such things could never be arranged in secret. If the old lady came to know anything about these, it would mean utter ruin for him.

When Kartik returned from office the two friends had their evening tea and went out to see the Shwedagon Pagoda. Jotin remained pre-occupied all the time. He began to feel angry with Maya's mother. Why did she harbour such hatred against the Bengalis? Otherwise, he could easily have called upon them. These old ladies were at the root of every mischief in creation.

Next day he waited impatiently for Maya's letter. He did not know whether it would come by hand or by post. If Kartik saw it, he would draw his own conclusion. He kept ready some plausible excuses.

It came by post after all. Fortunately, it

was a mail day. Kartik too got some letters and had no curiosity to pry into Jotin's affairs. "Is that from Calcutta?" he only asked.

"Yes," replied Jotin shortly. Kartik became immersed in his own correspondence.

Maya's letter contained good news. If Jotin called for her at the shop, after five, she would take him home with her. She had brought her mother round somehow.

If Jotin had been alone, he would have certainly danced with joy. But as Kartik sat there and would surely ask inconvenient questions, he went out on the verandah, and stared down at the street below. Towards the small hours of the morning, he had dreamed that he was going on a voyage with Maya.

Suddenly, a deep voice boomed into his ears, "Telegram, Sir!"

Kartik and Jotin both reached the door at the same time. Kartik took the yellow envelope in his hand and looked at the address. "It's for you", he said.

A premonition of something calamitous passed through Jotin's mind. He opened the envelope and took out the message. His mother was seriously ill and his immediate return was necessary. The paper dropped from his nerveless hand.

Kartik picked it up and read it. Then he looked at Jotin and said, "Old people fall ill frequently. There is no need to be so much upset over it."

Seeing that Jotin still remained in a dazed silence, he spoke again, "My dear chap, even one's own parents die when their call comes. She is your mother only by courtesy. You did not seem to be overfond of her before. But this news seems to have petrified you."

"You don't know in what a fix I am," said Jotin at last.

"What fix?" asked Kartik in surprise. "You can't go by to-day's steamer unless you go as a deck passenger. But you can easily catch the next steamer. If you want, I can go and enquire at the booking office. A berth may still be available. Or you can travel first class."

"You seem terribly anxious to get rid of me," said Jotin. "I would give half my fortune to be able to stay on for another week."

After this, his secret had to come out. Bit by bit, Kartik got the whole story out of him.

"Well," he said, "you have got yourself into a pretty scrape. Very fine chap you are! Now what are you going to do about it? Have you given her your word?"

"Not in so many words," said Jotin, "but she knows my heart and I think I know hers. Now please advise me. What shall I do?"

"I don't know," said Kartik. "I never indulged in romance in my life. But it would be wisest to get away. I too shall change my lodgings. These people stick at nothing you know. Stabbing is child's play to them. I don't want any of that here."

Jotin's face became red. "You take me for such a cad?" he asked angrily. "This would be vilest treachery."

"Then do what you please," said Kartik. "I warned you to steer clear of them, but you could not resist the temptation."

"Well, it's no use abusing me now," said Jotin. "What's done is done. I shall go and tell her everything frankly. I am not free now to marry her. But if she would wait for me, I shall come back and marry her when the old lady dies. I cannot go by to-day's steamer anyway."

"Much you know women!" said Kartik. "You expect her to wait that long for you?"

"I can't help it if she does not. But I won't deceive her for anything."

"All right", said Kartik. "But I wash my hands of your affairs."

The day seemed like a nightmare to Jotin. He thought and thought. What was he going to tell the girl? Would she consent to wait or would she not? As soon as it was evening he went out. It was still more than an hour to five, but he could not stay indoors any longer.

As soon as Maya saw him, she came out and said, "I have got permission to go out, half an hour before closing time. Why, you have kept the carriage waiting again! You are very extravagant."

"I wish I could really be extravagant for you," said Jotin.

Maya lived close to the place. They occupied a small flat on the second floor of a huge building.

As they climbed up, two or three children ran out and stared rather curiously at Jotin. "These are my brothers and sister", said Maya. "The elder one goes to school, the other two stay at home and indulge in mischief to their heart's content."

The room in front was the largest. Then

came a smaller room, and the kitchen, last of all. The first room was well-furnished, neat and clean. Jotin thought it bore traces of past wealth.

"Please take your seat," said Maya. "I shall go and call mother."

But the children had forestalled her. An elderly lady presently entered with them. She must have been beautiful once, but now had become too stout.

"This is my mother," said Maya. "She cannot speak English, but she knows Hindi."

But the lady did not seem anxious to speak to Jotin. After an exchange of civilities, she went in again. Maya and Jotin sat talking, while the children played about in the room.

After a while, the elder of the children brought in tea and cakes. "You are not less extravagant than myself," said Jotin with a laugh.

"This is not extravagance," said Maya. "Common courtesy demands it. I would have done it for the merest stranger."

Jotin leaned a little forward and asked, "Then I am something more than a mere stranger?"

Maya blushed. "You know that very well," she said.

The children had gone out for the moment. Jotin took Maya's small soft hand in his own and pressed it. She did not resist, but after a while, she withdrew it silently.

Jotin looked at her, with his heart in his eyes. His voice was becoming thick with emotion. "Maya," he said, "cannot you be mine?"

Maya remained silent, with head bent down. "You must consider everything," she said. "Would your people like it?"

"If you like it, that's more than enough," said Jotin.

"I am ready," said Maya. "But I have one condition. I don't think, my mother would consent. So if you marry me, you must be prepared to take me along with you. You cannot leave me behind."

"Do you think it possible for me to leave you behind?" asked Jotin. "If I could, I would take you away this moment."

Maya's expression became a bit anxious. "Will there be much delay?" she asked.

"I shall tell you everything frankly," said Jotin. "As your mother would disapprove so would mine. She is very ill now and has sent for me. I must go away by the next steamer. But I promise you, I will

return and marry you, as soon as I am able. I shall take you to Calcutta, and marry you according to orthodox Hindu rites. The men here are given too much freedom by the law. Though I don't think I can ever be untrue to you or unkind, yet I won't leave any chance of my being so."

"But is it possible?" asked Maya. "I am only half Bengali, by parentage."

"Why not?" asked Jotin. "Nowadays everything is possible. Even Englishwomen have been converted into Hinduism."

At this juncture, Maya's mother looked in once. Jotin understood the hint. His presence was no longer welcome. So he must finish and depart.

"Do you know your father's name and family?" he asked Maya.

"I don't know much. I can ask mother, but any mention of his name upsets her very much. Do you want them now?"

"Yes," said Jotin. "In a Hindu marriage, these things are essential."

Maya took out her keys and opened a drawer in a writing bureau. "I have got this photograph only," she said. "Mother has got some letters, I shall try to secure them afterwards."

Jotin came forward to take the photograph, but as soon as he had looked at it, he collapsed in the nearest chair.

Maya ran to him in alarm. "What's the matter?" she asked. "Are you feeling unwell?"

Jotin could only shake his head. "Tell me what's wrong," insisted the girl.

"This photograph is my father's," said Jotin at last in a husky voice. "I am his son, according to the law, and you are my sister. I can never marry you."

Maya's face became pale as death. She caught hold of a chair and steadied herself. Then suddenly she rushed away from the room.

Jotin staggered away and down the stairs somehow and reached his home.

Next morning a young man, pale and haggard of appearance, was seen waiting outside the silk shop where Maya worked. The girl had not yet arrived. A servant who was cleaning the windows, came out and asked Jotin whether he wanted anything. Jotin shook his head.

Maya arrived within a few minutes. Her face was pale too, and her eyes glittered unnaturally. "What more do you want?" she asked sharply walking up to him. "Cannot you let me alone now?"

"Why are you angry with me, Maya?" asked Jotin in a broken voice. "I am equally unfortunate with you, I am suffering far more. Fate is adverse, what can a mere mortal do? I have not come here to harass you in any way. I want to ask you a question. The wealth I am enjoying now, belongs rightfully to you. May I make you an allowance every month? You won't have to work then."

"I don't want it," said the girl, firmly. "The wealth of your house is a curse to mine. We won't touch it. You have sold yourself for it. God created no obstacle between us. You are not really my brother. This money, your greed for it, is the real obstacle. Go away, don't try to see me again."

"It shall be as you wish", said Jotin. "I am going away to-morrow. I won't see you again."

It was Saturday. The steamer for Calcutta was leaving the wharf. The passengers stood on the deck waving farewell to friends and relatives, who crowded the jetty.

Jotin stood on the deck staring down at the crowd. His heart felt dry and bare like a desert. A storm seemed to have passed over his life.

Suddenly he seemed to see Maya, standing in the midst of the crowd. He bent forward eagerly, but could not see her any more.

The steamer gathered speed slowly. The shores of Burma gradually vanished from sight.

Music In Bengal

By DINENDRANATH TAGORE

FIFTY years ago, in Bengal, parents of music-loving boys and girls tried to throttle their desire for learning music and made it very clear to them that such a piece of insolence would not be tolerated in decent homes. Music and cigarettes were in the same category of offensive things. The victims of the former were gagged into silence and of the latter left traces of indulgence in their vice in private nooks and corners.

Previous to this, *Jatra* performances were the favourite pastime of young and old. Songs were composed and made to fit in with the drama which accepted for its theme mythological stories. The audience consisting of emotional and religiously-minded men, and women went in raptures over these songs. *Kirtan* held its sway in the home of the Vaishnavas, and the temples dedicated to the goddess Kali were resonant with songs composed by *Tantric* saints.

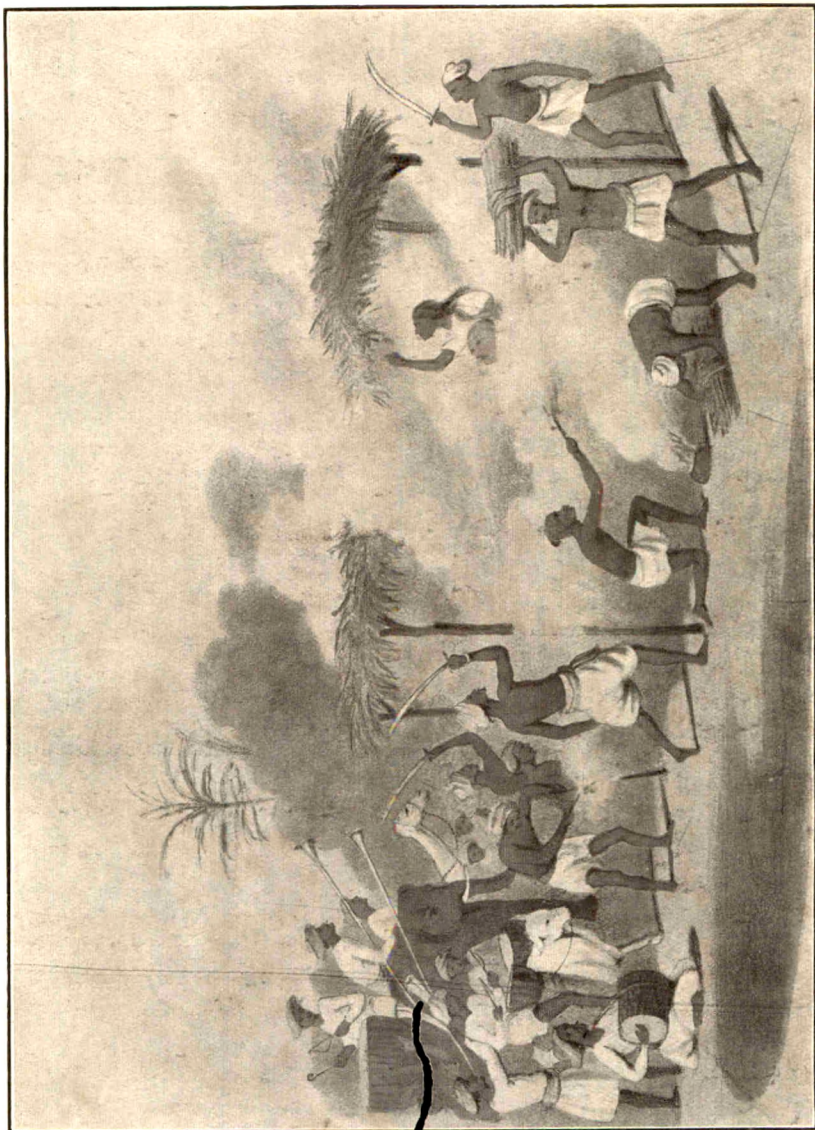
A passing mendicant singing *Baul* (folk) songs would attract eager faces to the iron-barred windows of houses overlooking the streets and his bowl would groan under the weight of copper coins. He would be

allowed to continue his interrupted morning round after having promised to repeat his visit the next day.

Then came the era of public theatres. The dazzling lights, jingling anklets and the rococo tunes wedded to words seething with vulgar suggestions captured the imagination of the public mind craving for something new and romantic. *Kirtan* and *Baul* songs were tabooed. Amateur theatrical parties cropped up in every lane bringing in its wake the attendant corrupting influence. Gradually this influence spread its tentacles and penetrated into the heart of remote villages where they played havoc in the lives of contented villagers.

No wonder the parents took up arms against this unwelcome trespasser.

Classical music had its devotees but did not go beyond a few professionals. Some of these musicians performed musical acrobatics and tried to drown the eloquent appeal of a real artist by the deafening roar of their thundering voice. The audience kept themselves at a safe distance for, the instrument of accompaniment (*Tampoorā*) was not infrequently hurled against a rival. These



SUTTEE IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY
From An Old Print

musical performances were held for the delectation of the chosen few and the public had no access to them.

At this critical moment, when our music was threatened with total extinction, creative artists belonging to the new religious movement in Bengal came to rescue her from the throes of neo-classicism and depraved romanticism. It was a musical renaissance. Poets animated by religious zeal and fervour started composing songs. These compositions, rich in thought and pure in diction, were wedded to equally pure and rich classical tunes. These songs revolutionized the thought movement and aesthetic sense of the rising generation in Bengal. It was a precursor to the present-day upheaval when shackles of convention forged on the anvil of bigotry and ignorance have been rent asunder and creative energy has made itself felt in all our activities.

In ancient times art was segregated within the boundaries of a narrow limited area. Only the privileged few regarded works of art as their personal property, scrupulously excluding the starving multitude clamouring for participation in the enjoyment of life. The mediaeval saints saved the situation. Songs poured forth in torrents, and thirsting souls, irrespective of caste or creed, race or nationality, flocked to their modest habitations to quench their age-long thirst with the nectar of inimitable songs.

The musical legacy bequeathed to us is rich and sublime. The epic grandeur of the classical style and form, the variegated colouring and intellectual and emotional appeal are facts known to all lovers of music. Its pristine purity has been preserved by its zealous adherents through centuries. The new musical movement in Bengal has assimilated the classical style, but the mode of expression is different. The influence of *baul* (folk) tunes on the present-day music of Bengal is very marked. It has given rise to a new mode of expression which may be safely called *baulized* classical expression. The ring of homely appeal in this music is quite in keeping with its surroundings.

Classical music has sent its representative from the throne of Delhi. He has cast off his gorgeous attire and is now wandering in the green meadows in ochre-coloured vesture playing on the bamboo flute.

His heart was yearning to be united to one who would share his joys and sorrows. He has not sought in vain. Sublime poetry has become his partner in life, they have been inseparably united.

Music has become a living thing with us now. Bengal has contributed her note to the world-symphony of self-expression in music. The value of music as a synthetical force has been appreciated, and its universal appeal has made itself felt all over the world.

Excavations at Besnagar

By PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M. A.

BESNAGAR is two miles north-west of Bhilsa, the headquarters of the district of the same name, in Gwalior State, and an important station on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. The old town is situated in the fork between the converging rivers, Betwa and Bes. Its ruins, however, are not confined to these boundaries, but have spread at least two-thirds of a mile north of the river Bes. The Bes no doubt corresponds to the ancient name Vidisa, immortalized by Kalidasa in his *Meghaduta*. It is also referred to under the name Vedisa or Vedisaka in the inscriptions connected with the Bharaut and Sanchi Stupas, most of which

belong to the Sunga period (B. C. 150-50). Sir Alexander Cunningham first visited the place in 1875, but made a complete survey of the ruined city two years after. He also found that most of the ruins belonged to the Sunga period, though some were of the time of the Guptas. But the most curious and novel discovery he ever made was that of a standing pillar called Kham Baba, half a mile to the north of the *ghat* where the high road crosses the Bes river. The pillar is looked upon as a divinity, and people come here to make vows, particularly for obtaining a son. The *pujari* of this place is a Gosain of the Saiva sect,

popularly known as Babajee, who derives a fairly large income from the offerings made by the pilgrims there. The divinity is said to be inordinately fond of two offerings, namely, liquor and vermilion paint. And we are told that a worshipper who can afford it must offer liquor, which, if it happens to be of the European variety, will propitiate the divinity quicker. But every worshipper, no matter if he has no money to make other presents, must make the other offering and bedaub the pillar with red lead. Kham Baba is thus covered with coat after coat of this vermilion paint. When Cunningham inspected the column, he surmised that an inscription might very likely have been concealed under the thick crust of red lead. He, however,

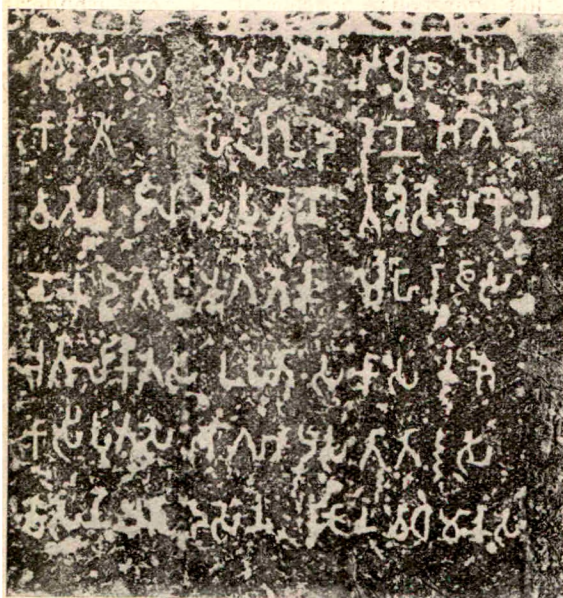


Fig. 1. Inscription on Kham Baba

experienced much difficulty when he wanted to find the stone under the crust. But being assured by the people that it was not inscribed, he was very unwillingly obliged to be content with an examination of the red surface. This happened in February 1877, but things were different in January 1909 when Sir John Marshall visited the place, and Mr. Lake, the State Engineer, Gwalior, who had accompanied him, discerned what he believed to be lettering on the lower part of the column; and the removal of a little paint quickly proved him to be right. This

was indeed a surprise, because a glance at the letters showed that the column was many centuries earlier than the Gupta period to which Cunningham had wrongly assigned it. But the surprise was immensely greater when the inscription came to be read, and its contents known.

The inscription (Fig. 1) records the erection of a *Garuda-dhvaja*, that is, a column surmounted by Garuda, in honour of Vasudeva, god of gods, by Heliadora (Heliodoros), son of Diya (Dion). He is therein spoken of as a resident of Takshasila (Taxila) and as an envoy come from the Indo-Bactrian king Amtalikita (Antialkidas) to the court of the local prince Bhagabhadra. Heliodoros and Dion are Greek names. Besides, the former has actually been called in the inscription *Yona-duta* or a Greek ambassador. There can therefore be no doubt as to his being a Greek in nationality. And when he is represented as having erected a Garuda column in honour of Vasudeva, the conclusion is irresistible that though he was a Greek, he became a Hindu and a Vaishnava. If any doubt remains on this point, it is set at rest by the fact that Heliodoros is called a Bhagavata in the inscription. It is scarcely possible to over-rate the importance of this inscription. Because, in the first place, it clearly shows that a Greek could embrace the Hindu faith and become a Hindu. Many European scholars were of opinion that in ancient times there was nothing comparable to Hellenism in point of culture and civilization and that a Greek, who always thought of non-Greeks as 'barbarians', would be the last person to embrace any other faith or worship the gods of any other people. The European belief was that an Indo-Scythian could become a Hindu, but not a Greek, who was of a superior cast of mind. But this inscription clearly proved that such was the might and charm of Hindu religion and civilization that even a Greek of education and position, such as Heliodoros being an ambassador doubtless was, could become a convert to an Indian faith and evince his ardent zeal by actually raising a religious monument at no small expense and of no small artistic merit. The discovery of the inscription was important in another way also. But this importance, though great, was of a local character. The epigraph was an unmistakable indication that here was a site of a definite date, and with a definite history

behind it. As the pillar was a Garuda column, the temple of Vasudeva must have been in the close vicinity, and the form of the letters and the mention of Antialkidas in the inscription showed that the structure was of about 140 B. C. An indication of such a definite nature was unfortunately lacking elsewhere among the ruins of Besnagar. A lot of excavation had been done by Mr. Lake here, but promiscuously because without any indication of this kind; and the result was that most of the mounds dug into by him proved barren. Such was not the case with the site on which Heliodoros' column stood. There was every likelihood of our finding here the remains of what might prove to be the earliest structure of Vasudeva cult, and also some materials of the Sunga age, about which our knowledge was then so scanty.

The pillar, as it stands, rises from a platform 3' 2" high (Fig. 2). It tapers towards the top, and consists of two parts, namely, the shaft and the capital, each of which is a monolith. The shaft is octagonal at the base, sixteen-sided in the middle, and thirty-two-sided at the top, with an ornamental garland dividing the upper and middle portions. The capital consists of a bell-shaped structure surmounted by an abacus. The latter ends in a projecting tenon tapering at the top, on which was no doubt originally fixed a Garuda figure, which has now disappeared.

Thanks to Sir John Marshall who was able not only to prevail upon the late Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior to allow the Archaeological Department to excavate the place but also to liberally finance the operations, I was placed in charge of this work which kept me occupied for two consecutive cold seasons of 1913-14 and 1914-15. The site round about the Kham Baba covered an area of three acres

approximately. Trenches were sunk here and there and everywhere, and it was not till the first season was nearly over and some important structural remains were exhumed that the excavation could yield some intelligible story of the past here. In the close proximity of the pillar is the house of the modern *pujari* called Babajee, perched on a high mound. In fact, it was the only mound

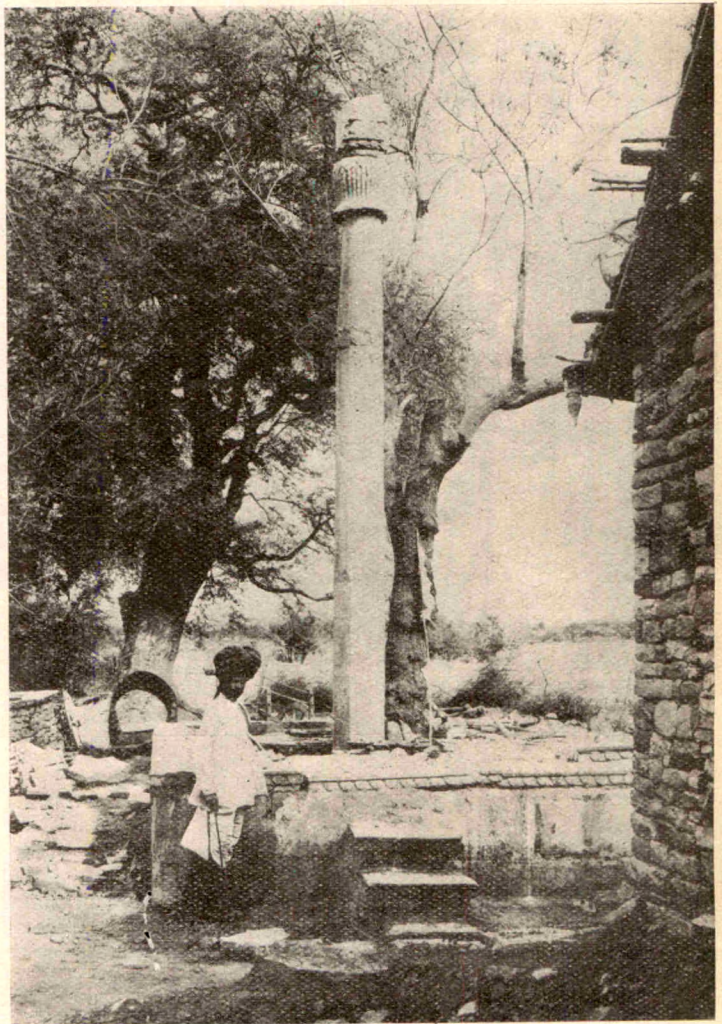


Fig. 2.—Kham Baba Pillar

on this site. There was hardly any doubt as to its being the original site of the shrine of Vasudeva referred to in the inscription. But just because Babajee's house was standing on it, we could not excavate it quite to our satisfaction. We sunk trenches, however,

round about it which exposed three remaining walls of an old platform on which the shrine must have been erected, facing the column and the east. Perhaps the complete demolition of Babajee's dwellings might have brought to light some vestiges of the old structure, but it is more probable that the original structure, as appears to be the case with many old sites in Besnagar, was almost wholly pilfered and removed to build the town of Bhilsa which came into existence about the eighth century A. D. Immediately on the south of this mound, had been exhumed by Mr. Lake the upper half of an image,

during his expedition of conquest, most probably by the same sculptor who was responsible for the image in the cave excavated in his time. And what can be more natural than that this Gupta king, who was a staunch devotee of Vishnu and came to Vidisa, should have installed an image of this god in a shrine renowned from the time of Heliodoros?

Not far from the shrine platform and towards the south were exhumed the remains of an old dwelling. It faced the north, and was approached by a flight of steps leading to an antechamber floored with concrete. There can be little doubt that this was a dwelling of some importance, probably of the *Pujari* of Vasudeva's temple, as bricks, tiles, pottery and nails were found here, in abundance along with a tank, domestic mortar and pieces of burnt clay conical pinnacles which must have been the pinnacles of the roofs.

During the excavations traces of two different kinds of railing were found. They may be designated : (1) open railing and (2) solid railing. The first is the well-known type, the most notable specimen of which was furnished by that of Sanchi. It consisted of uprights or pillars, each provided with three socket holes to receive the cross bars, and held in position by the coping stone which

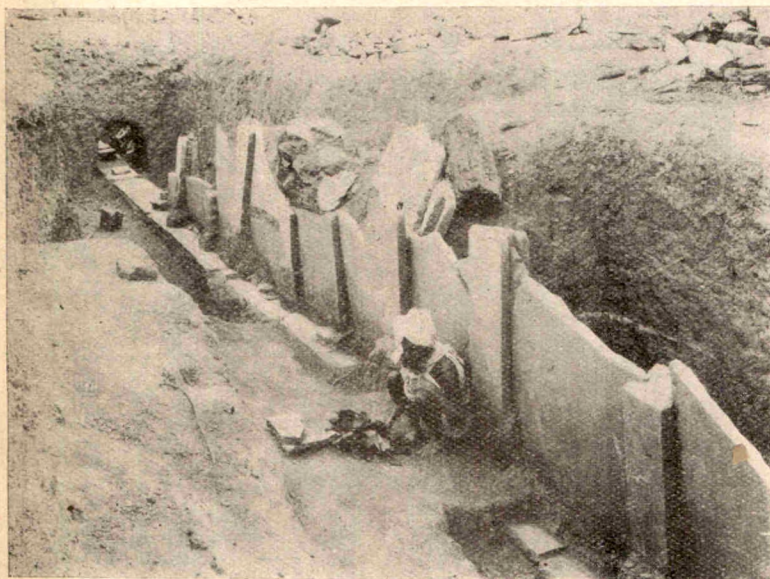


Fig. 3.—Solid Railing on the North of Vasudeva Shrine

originally with four hands. About 80 feet from it I was able to discover the lower portion of this image but without its feet. The features, the crown and head-dress behind it, the peculiar earrings, the necklace, the breast ornament, and the lower dress were so exactly alike to those of the figure of Vishnu carved in the verandah of the Udayagiri cave, two miles from the site, and containing the inscription of the Gupta sovereign Chandragupta II., dated G. E. 82 = A. D. 401, as to leave little doubt that both the images were not only of the same age but also chiselled by the same sculptor. It seems that this image also, picked up in two fragments, must have been of Vishnu, sculptured in the time of Chandragupta II., when he came to Malwa

surmounted it. The one unearthed on this site is, however, of the plainest description, neither the pillars being bevelled nor the cross-bars decorated with medallions as at Sanchi. The second type of railing is quite unique in design. In contradistinction to the open railing, it may be called the solid railing (Fig. 3). The pillar of the latter is of comparatively small section. Its sides have no socket holes to receive cross-bars as in the case of the open railing, but are each cut with chases for the whole length exposed above ground. Into the chases of these pillars were fitted screens or panels of stone. The foundation slabs of the solid railing were thus in one continuous line, in contrast to those of the open railing, which are found only

below its pillars. The soffit of the coping stone also was cut into a groove in which the top of the panel was fixed. The construction of this type of railing will be clear from the restoration. (Fig. 4).

The Vasudeva shrine and the Pujari's dwelling were originally surrounded by a solid railing on the north, west and south. Of these the north and south sides were each at its eastern end met by another railing, which was of the ordinary open type. Of these, again, the north side was just 28 feet distant from Kham Baba and passed 50 feet from there eastward before it was joined by the other railing. From these junctions branched off two subsidiary railings, which so met each other as to form two entrances, one in front of the shrine and the other in front of the Pujari's dwelling, which, though they were together surrounded by the solid railing on the three sides, were separated one from the other by an open railing.

Our attention was now directed to the Kham Baba itself. Was it *in situ*? If it was, what was its original ground level? Every thing depended upon the reply to this question. For we were eager to know whether the original ground level of the solid and open railings and as well as of the retaining walls of the shrine very nearly coincided with that of the column. If it did, then alone could we say that all these structural remains exhumed by us belonged to the temple of Vasudeva in front of which the Greek ambassador erected a Garuda pillar. The question was answered by sinking a trench in front of the Kham Baba (Fig. 5) and our joy knew no bounds when we found that the column was *in situ* and was practically on the same level as the structural remains just referred to. The trench revealed that the pillar continued to be an octagon right down to its lower end, that is, 8' 1" from the top of the platform, the first six feet of which being underground were found to be very finely dressed though not to such a degree as to vie with the Asokan columns. The dividing line between the rough and

fine dressed surface must have coincided with the original ground level. The pillar rested on a stone block and was kept in the perpendicular by two pieces of iron and two stone chips being driven in between them.

This, in brief, is an account of the excavations conducted on the Kham Baba site hallowed by the memory of that Greek ambassador Heliodoros, who had become a Hindu and erected a *Garudadhvaja* in honour of Vasudeva. One important feature of these excavations is the discovery of the

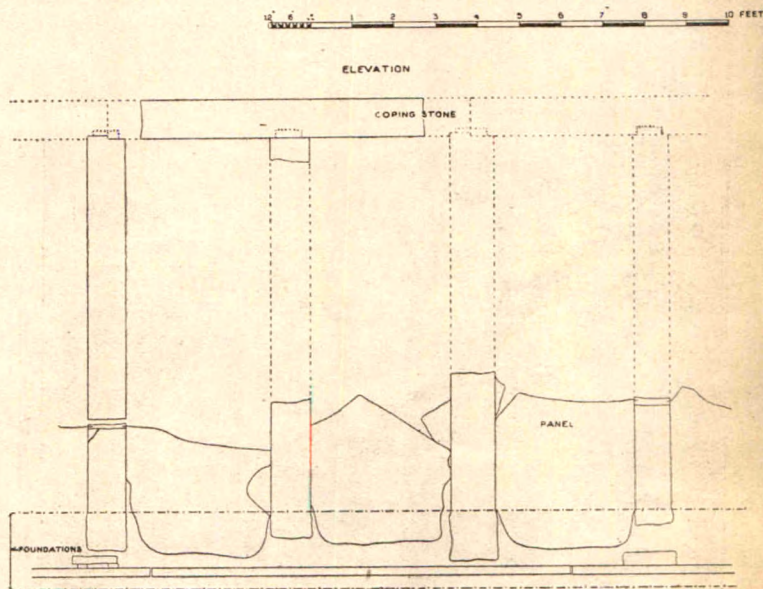


Fig. 4.—Plan showing Pilasters and Panels
The dotted lines indicate the restored portions

solid railing which is of a unique design, not known to have been found anywhere in India when it was first exposed. Traces of this kind of railing were no doubt afterwards unearthed by Sir John Marshall in his excavations at Sanchi, but they were so few and far between that they could not have helped any archaeologist to piece them together and restore the original. Minor antiquities, such as fragments of pottery, metallic objects, coins and so forth were also picked up in abundance. But nothing can equal in importance the two iron pieces found below the Kham Baba which were doubtless wedges inserted to steady the column. At the suggestion of Sir John Marshall I sent one of them to Sir Robert Hadfield who had more than once obliged the Archaeological Department by making analyses of iron implements

picked up in excavations. In reply I received two communications from him, in the second of which he definitely informed me that the material was genuine steel and that the specimen consequently was of unusual interest as it was of such an early age. This was indeed a most astounding discovery. So long the use of steel in India before the Muhammadan

of metals. The meeting was opened by the Chairman, Sir Robert Hadfield, with an address which was reported in *The Engineer* dated Nov. 27, 1914. And he wound up his address with a prominent mention of this piece of steel, describing how it was found and what the result of his chemical analysis was.

The following quotation from the above number of *The Engineer* will be read with extreme interest by scientists as well as laymen, by the archaeologist as well as the general reader. "Before concluding", said Sir Robert, "I should like to show a specimen of steel of unusual value and interest, bearing as it does upon the title of our subject, 'The Hardening of Metals.'" This specimen is probably the first to be exhibited in modern times of an ancient piece of high carbon steel which has been hardened by quenching. The following is the analysis of its composition :

Carbon.	Si.	S.	P.	Mn.	Cr.	Ni	Fe
.70	.04	.008	.020	.02	Stress	Stress	99.5

"It was possible to obtain a fracture of the specimen, which weighed about 8 oz., was 3in. in length, 2 1/2in. in breadth, 1/2in. in thickness. This showed fine crystalline but rather brittle structure. After removing the scale the Brinell ball hardness number was found to be 146. On cutting the specimen through with a saw there was found to be a quite fair proportion of the original metal still unoxidised. I received this specimen a few months ago from the Superintendent of Archaeology in Western India, Mr. Bhandarkar. One of the special points is that, notwithstanding the large number of specimens of ancient iron and supposed steel I have examined during the last few years, none of them have contained sufficient carbon to be termed steel in our modern time meaning. This specimen, as will be seen from the above analysis, con-



Fig. 5

View of Kham Baba showing the Portion Concealed Underground

period had not even been dreamt of. But this piece found at Besnagar was not only real steel, but a specimen of the second century B. C. It was therefore no wonder if this piece of steel struck Sir Robert as of paramount importance. On Monday the 23rd November 1914 a discussion took place at the Faraday Society upon the hardening

Western India, Mr. Bhandarkar. One of the special points is that, notwithstanding the large number of specimens of ancient iron and supposed steel I have examined during the last few years, none of them have contained sufficient carbon to be termed steel in our modern time meaning. This specimen, as will be seen from the above analysis, con-

tains as much as 0.70 per cent. carbon, which indicates that it can be readily hardened by heating and quenching in water. In other words, this material has been in its present condition for probably more than two thousand years and now, after being heated and quenched, hardens exactly as if it had been made only yesterday, thus showing that in this long interval and beyond surface oxidation, this specimen has undergone no

the pillar, dating back to about B. C. 125. Mr. Marshall, the Director-General of Archaeology in India, was present when the base of the column was excavated, and affirms that from all he saw the column could not have been shifted at a later date, or that the bars found could have been subsequently inserted."

When the original ground level of the Kham Baba was determined and was found to be practically the same as that of the

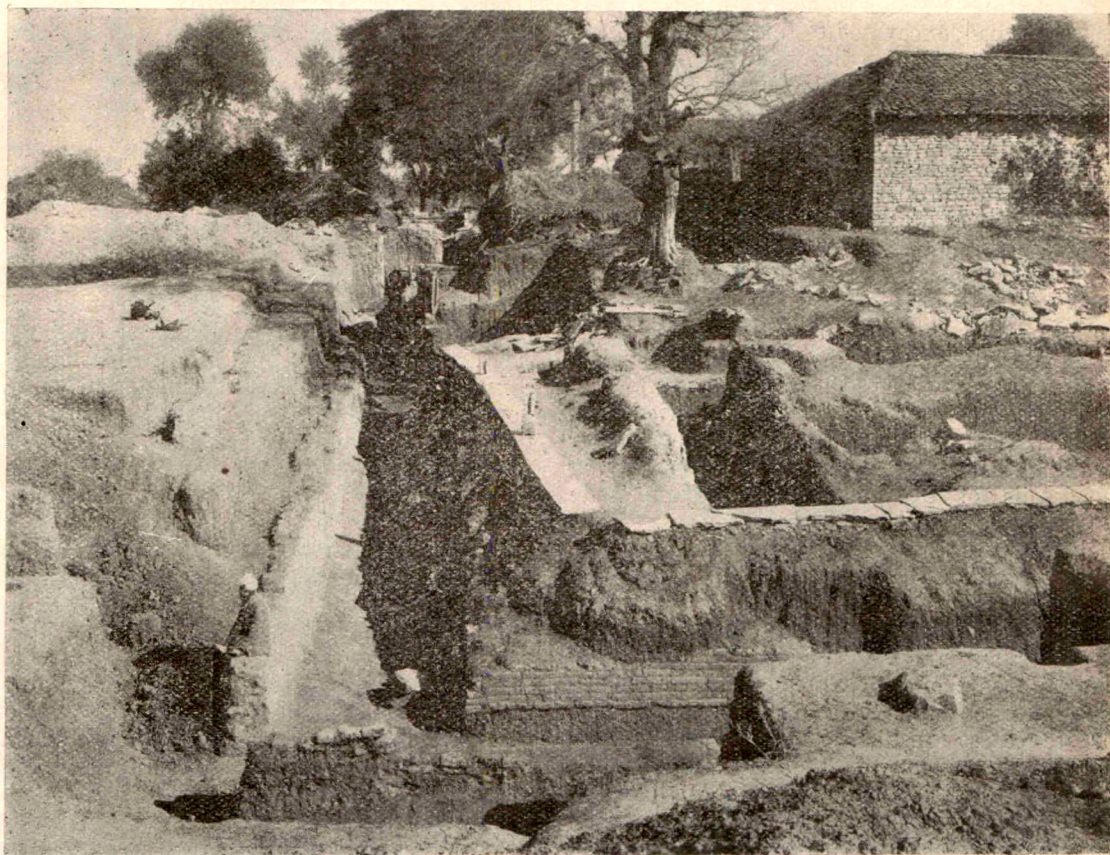


Fig. 6—Brick walls of Irrigation Canal of the Mauryan Period Found below the Solid Railing

secular change of structure, or alteration in the well-known capacity of an alloy of iron with carbon to become suddenly possessed of glass-scratching hardness after being heated and quenched in water or other cooling medium". "Mr. Bhandarkar assures me", adds Sir Robert, "there is not the slightest doubt about the antiquity of this specimen from the bars found beneath the stone pillar of Heliodoros at Besnagar, India. The specimen in question was found at the bottom of

solid and open railings, when, in other words, it was conclusively proved that they were all of the same age and represented the remains of the temple of Vasudeva where Heliodoros had come for worship, an idea occurred to me that we should not rest satisfied with what was achieved but that we should excavate still deeper till the original soil was reached. Accordingly I selected a place near the south-west corner of the solid railing. We had hardly dug three feet below its

foundations and broadened our trench when we lighted upon two brick walls running parallel to each other from west to east (Fig. 6). After tracing them over 180 feet, they were found joined at the east end by a cross wall. At the west end both the walls turned southward and also in a parallel direction, but could not be traced much beyond 20 feet. This pointed to the inference that we had here the remnants of an ancient irrigation canal. No vestiges of human habitation were found at this level in many other places where we had excavated to this depth. Again, there were traces of a flight of steps connected with one of these walls. Besides, they had a slight outward slope, which is intelligible in the case of a canal, where a batter is needed to counteract the pressure of water. Thirdly, there was an infilling of these walls with pure alluvial earth, which could only have been brought there by the floods of the river Bes which flows not far from this site. Fourthly, to place this matter beyond all doubt, I scraped out a quantity of the cementing material used in these walls. I sent it for analysis to Dr. H. H. Mann, who was then Principal of the Poona Agricultural College. This was found to be lime mortar rivalling that of the Romans. After giving the details of the analysis, Dr. Mann made the following remarks in his report: "This analysis gives the idea of a well-made mortar, prepared with a full recognition of the purpose served by sand and clayey matter in making the material, as well as the lime. In this respect it appears to be far in advance of many Phoenician and Greek mortars, which contain far too much lime and far too little sand for the best results. It approaches much more in type many of the Roman mortars, but the reduction in the amount of lime has been caused further than in these mortars with the probable result of the weakening of the cement."

It is true that as far as sculptures and inscriptions are concerned, the excavation of the site was not very fruitful, but it cannot be denied that on no single site such sensational discoveries were made as here, such as the unearthing of a unique type of railing, the find of a genuine piece of steel so ancient as 144 B. C., and above all, the discovery of lime mortar rivalling that of the Romans and belonging to the Maurya period. If we take these facts into consideration, the excavation of the Kham Baba site has surpassed in point of interest and importance any

other excavation in India except that at Mohen-jo-daro. But this was not all. The story of the sensational discoveries does not end here. For we had some digging work done in the heart of the Besnagar ruins, at a small mound not far from the pathway leading from Kham Baba to the Udayagiri caves. Here was exposed a brick pavement studded with two brick structures laid into the ground, one square and one oblong. The cementing material here used was pure mud. This waived the possibility of these structures being cisterns. Because it is very doubtful whether a cistern could be effective for its purpose, if built of brick in mud. Besides, they sloped inwards in the ground and were formed by offsets. They thus bore an exact resemblance to *yajna-kundas*. The resemblance is observable not only in respect of the sloping sides, but also in respect of the offsets which are a peculiar feature of *kundas* and technically called *mekhala*. Again, of these brick structures the top sides were originally four times as long as the bottom sides, as laid down for the construction of a *kunda*. But to place this matter beyond all doubt I got hold of one or two bricks from the *kundas* and sent them to Dr. Mann for analysis. It is no use troubling the reader of this paper with the results of this analysis. Suffice it to say, that he remarks that "the brick nearly approaches fire-clay in composition" and that "the brick does not fuse at all easily on heating strongly in a gas blowpipe." It is not for a moment to be supposed that the fire-clay used for these bricks can be as perfect and effective for its purpose as any known to modern science. This much is, however, clear that the brick examined by Dr. Mann was intended to be fire-brick. This itself was another sensational discovery, because it conclusively proved that ancient India knew what fire-brick meant and what type of clay was suited for this purpose. It was also a convincing piece of evidence in favour of the inference that the brick structures were some ancient sacrificial pits, where fire-bricks were not only desirable but necessary.

Besides the two pits, referred to above, a third was laid bare on almost the same level which was in the shape of a *yoni*. It was doubtless a *Yoni-kunda* which is one of the well recognised types of *kundas*. The ground surrounding these structures was no doubt covered with a brick pavement, as stated above. Not far from them were dis-

covered some *nalis* or drains which were doubtless connected with the sacrificial pits. The important part water plays in the ceremonial and other washings of a sacrifice is too well known to require any mention here.

On the level of the *kundas* and the brick pavement were discovered walls of two halls, which also seem to be connected with them. Of these one was on the south, and the other on the east, of the pits. It is a well-known fact that the sacrifices instituted by Hindu kings or wealthy *Yajamanas* of ancient times lasted for onths, and some for years, and that for its adequate performance halls of a durable character were as much a necessity as the permanent *kundas* themselves. A sacrificial site was always a meeting place of Rishis, Yajnikas and distinguished guests of the sacrificer. These required to be feasted, and a dining hall spacious enough to accommodate them was one of the indispensable adjuncts of a sacrifice. The hall excavated on the south of the *kundas* probably served this purpose, first, because it is provided with a drain, which is a necessity in a dining but not in an assembly hall, and secondly, because at its north-east corner eating and drinking clay pots of great diversity were found, and in great quantities. There can therefore be no reasonable doubt as to this hall being intended for the purposes of banquet. Then again, side by side with sacrificial activity, we know that those of the Brahmanas and Kshatriyas who were erudite and mentally restless were fond of holding discussions on philosophical subjects or of hearing recitations of Puranas by the Suttas. The Brahmanas, Upanishads and Puranas bristle with references to them. The other hall, namely, that on the east of the *kundas*, probably fulfilled this object and served as an assembly hall where not only philosophical debates were carried on and recitations heard but where also the innumerable and illustrious guests of the sacrificer were received according to their dignity and rank.

Another interesting find made during the excavations on this site consisted of twenty-six pieces of clay, bearing impressions of seals. They were all found in or near these hall. All of them except one have marks of strings or of wooden tablets, or both on their backs, showing that they were affixed to documents which came from outside to the *yajnasala* or sacrificial halls. The exception is a sealing which bears no such mark at all on the reverse and is rounded at the bottom, and which must consequently

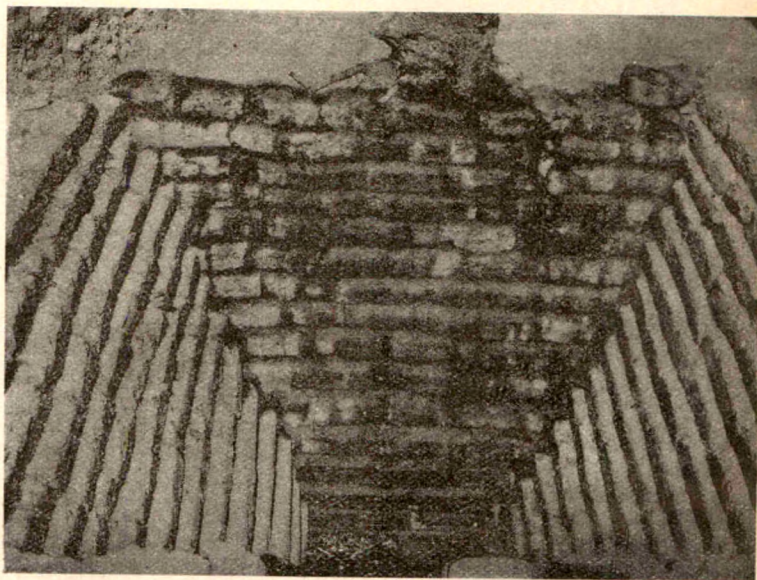


Fig. 7
Interior of Square Kunda, showing sloping sides with Offsets

be looked upon as a token or passport admitting persons to the sacrificial ground. The legend on it runs as follows in character of the earlier part of the fourth century A. D.

- L. 1. *Timitra-datrisya [sa]-hota[-]*
L. 2 *p[o]ta-mamtra-sajana[? i]*

The meaning of this legend is not quite clear, but the words *hota*, *pota* and *mamtra*, which are technical to sacrificial literature, indicate that the sealing is really connected with the *yajnasala*. And the import of the legend appears to be: "Of the donor Timitra accompanied by the Hota, Pota, hymn-kinsmen and..." Timitra doubtless is the name of an individual, and seems to be the Sanskritized form of the Greek Demetrius. And it appears that this Greek personage

called Demetrius was the *data* or *yajamana* who instituted the sacrifice. The performance of a Brahmanic sacrifice by a Greek is not a thing that need surprise us, because we know that many Greeks like other foreign people, such as Sakas and Palhavas, became Buddhists and Hindus. Nay, at Vidisa it-

self, as we have seen from an inscription incised on the Kham Baba pillar, we have an instance of a Greek ambassador named Heliadora (Heliodoros) calling himself a *Bhagavata* or devotee of Vasudeva. Other indications of Greek influence on this site were also not wanting.

A Sandstone Head of the Gupta Period

By K. P. JAYASWAL

IN the Indian Museum, Calcutta, there is a head in Mirzapur sandstone. Even the whole head is not come down to us. Only the face portion remains, like a

mask, cut off from the neck below the chin; the left portion of the head is gone. On the right side the details of the *ushnisa* (head-gear) is preserved. There is a slight damage to the nose. The length from the *ushnisa* to the chin is fourteen and a half inches and the breadth from ear to ear is ten inches in the straight line and seventeen inches round the forehead.

In the Indian Museum, in its eastern inner gallery; the sculpture was mounted on the wall when I saw it last. It is possible that its location is now changed. The label marked its find-spot as Magadha. The modeller of the Patna Museum was directed by me to obtain a cast of the piece for the Patna Museum. The photographs published along with this note are the photographs of the Patna Museum cast.

The forehead in the middle bears a *tilaka* mark. It is a secular face. The expression is pleasant, *priyadarsana*, which is enjoined for the Hindu kings, in the books. It is masculine and royal in dignity. In execution, it is masterly. The material, the massiveness, the manliness and the finish clearly mark it out to be a Gupta piece.

As I have not yet seen it noticed in any book of art, I take the opportunity offered by the special issue of the *Modern Review* to



•The Sandstone Head—Right Side



The Sandstone Head—Left Side

bring the sculpture to the notice of his descendants. The feature is also remarkable in this face.

The prominent nose of Samudragupta is the outstanding feature in his coin portrait. The feature descends into the pictures of

Without much details, which are never resorted to by Gupta sculptors, the individual effect is marvellous. Art critics would probably agree that it does not deserve oblivion.

The Man Behind the Machine, Rest and Efficiency

By D. M. SEN, PH. D.

THE question of fatigue brings with it naturally the problem of rest. Work and rest must be balanced in a way so as to enable the worker to attain his maximum output with the least possible

exertion. A certain degree of fatigue is the natural consequence of all kinds of activity. Within a reasonable limit it is healthy and it is within everybody's experience that "that tired feeling" is anything but unpleasant. The

organism when physiologically sound is not adversely affected by hard exercise unless it be excessively heavy in nature and too long-drawn. If one is allowed to draw deductions from muscular tissue over which we have no conscious control, and take the heart as an instance of a perfect working system, it will be found that the heart is actively contracting for approximately nine hours out of the twenty-four and at rest for the remaining period. If efficiency be the aim of industry, then the nature of the work set should be such that the efficiency of the worker himself is unimpaired. Excessive fatigue is to be avoided at any cost. We are thus confronted with the question, what is the optimum duration of work in an industrial organization? The length of the working day and the length of the working week may be considered together.

The problem of the 'working hours' has occupied the attention of the industrial world from the beginning of the last century. That "shrewd, gullible, high-minded, wrong-headed, illustrious and preposterous father of Socialism and Co-operation" ran his cotton-mills at New Lanark for the twelve years from 1816 to 1828 on a 10½ hours' day as against the 15 and 16 hours' day worked elsewhere, and previously in his own, and found that the output of his mill did not fall materially below its previous level. Before the final reduction they were lowered first to 12½ and then to 11½ hours, and this second reduction resulted in a very marked improvement in the cheerfulness and alertness of the operatives.* Since then in England a general outcry has been towards the reduction of the length of the working day, which has resulted in a series of 'factory legislation' dating back from 1802. The motive behind the movement was humanitarianism rather than the spirit of scientific investigation. Hence to-day we are left without any data which might have been gathered from a careful comparison of the various stages through which the official working-day has had to pass. The first record in the comparison of longer and shorter working periods, which is of scientific value, is supplied by Mather and Platt's Ironworks, Salford, Manchester in 1891-3, when they reduced their working week from 53 to 48 hours. Official records during the year before and after the change showed that the output had been slightly higher. The authorities of

the firm were fully convinced "that as regards the comparison between eight and nine hours per day, the balance of advantage is in favour of the shorter period." Sir William Mather brought the results of this experiment to the notice of various Government Departments, and in consequence, the hours of labour of 43,000 workers in Government factories and workshops were, in 1894, reduced to 48 hours a week. The 18,600 workers in the Ordnance Stores, Army Clothing, Inspection, and Small Arms Inspection, had their working week shortened by 5¾ hours and the subsequent record of output showed no decrease.*

Another duration-contrasting study was that of Ernst Abbe's who after becoming the manager of the Karl Zeiss Optical Works in Jena, reduced in 1900, the working day from nine to eight hours. The hourly output of all the operatives rose considerably as a result and their percentage is shown in the following table.

OUTPUT OF OPTICAL INSTRUMENT WORKERS

Occupation	No. of Persons	Per Cent. increase in hourly output during 8-hour day
Hand Work	Lens-Setter.	21 16.6
	Microscope Grinders	20 9.4
	Grinders and Centerers	59 16.7
	Workers in Adjusting room	22 17.1
	-Polishers and Lacquerers	17 17.7
	Engravers	5 19.3
Part Hand & Machine Work	Moulderers	6 14.9
	Case Makers	6 12.7
	Workers in Mounting Room	20 17.9
Machine Work	Carpenters	15 20.3
	Machine Grinders	19 18.8
	Men Turning and Milling	23 18.1

The hourly earnings of all the men, taken as a group were 16.2 higher and their total earnings, after allowance for the shorter hours worked, showed an increase of 3.3 per cent. †

A similar result was obtained at the Engis Chemical Works near Liège. The Company had a sick benefit fund which was constantly being depleted. The manager seeking a remedy for this unprofitable situation tried the effect of introducing three shifts of

* British Board of Trade Labour Gazette, July 1905.

† Vernon : *Industrial Fatigue and Efficiency* : London, 1921.

* J. Rae *Eight Hours for Work* : London, 1894.

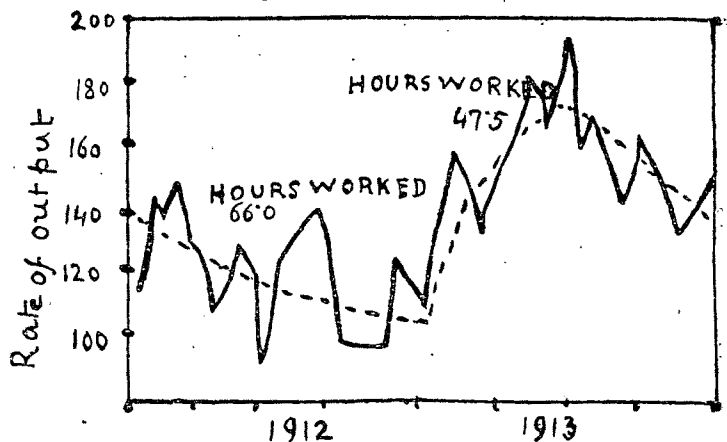
eight hours. The output equalled the previous output of ten hours' work, and the earnings, all piecework, equalled the previous earnings. The increase of output and wages per hour was about 33 per cent. Under the new system the sick benefit receipts tended to exceed expenditure progressively.

In recent years, scientific investigations entirely devoted to contrasting the effects of changing total durations of activity have been carried out by the British Health of Munition Workers Committee, the Industrial Fatigue Research Board, and the National Institute of Industrial Psychology of Great Britain. A considerable amount of valuable information has been compiled by the research workers employed by the above institutions. Below is given in full one of the tables prepared by Dr. Vernon, who is responsible for many such investigations.*

Studies of this type point to the fact that within limits, the shorter the duration of activity the more profitable it is for the industry. The reduction of working hours from 12 to 10 results in an increase in hourly and daily output, except in operations the speed of which depends mainly on the speed of the machines. This generalization is, however, susceptible to modification according to the specific relation between the operatives and industry; i. e., in so far as the industries are dependent chiefly on (a) human labour; or (b) more or less equally on human labour and machinery; or (c) on machinery. In determining the most suitable length of the

working day the human and the economic factors have to be reconciled. Vernon recommends the seven-hours-day for the coal miner, whose work is chiefly manual, eight hours per day for the engineering trade where the operation depends on machinery as well as his manual skill, whilst the operative who is chiefly dependent upon machinery, such as the textile worker, might be fixed at 9 or 10 per day. †

Though the shortening of the working day almost invariably results in the increase or improvement in the rate of output, it does not, as a rule, follow immediately; or at all events, it does not attain its maximal effect immediately. When the length of work is reduced, the rate of output may not show any change for the first week or two. Then it begins to rise gradually for a period, varying apparently with the kind of work involved and it may be weeks or even several months before it attains a steady level, in equilibrium with the reduced working period.



* TWENTY-SEVEN MEN SETTING FUSE BODIES.

Statistical Period.	Average hours of actual work	Average (relative) hourly output.	Hours X output
6 weeks preceding Christmas (Nov. 8—Dec. 19.)	61.5	100	6,150
2 weeks at Christmas (Dec. 20—Jan. 2.)	38.3	89	
6 Weeks after Christmas (Jan. 3 to Feb. 13.)	51.1	109	5,570
8 Weeks later (Feb. 21—April 16)	55.4	122	6,759
2 Weeks at Easter, (April 17-30)	41.0	112.	
3 Weeks later, (May 1-21)	56.2	124	6,969

A striking illustration of this slow response is given in the figure above which represents the curve of output of steel melters engaged in 40 ton open hearth steel furnaces. The ordinary line represents the work curve whereas the dotted line shows

† These figures are not to be confused with the purely economic optimum, which can be obtained only by running the mechanical plant continuously. The cost of the plant and the overhead charges in general, vary in different industries. It is particularly high in textile industries and especially in spinning. Hence it is incumbent on the industries depending on costly plants that they should keep them running as many hours as possible. A short working day with multiple shifts seems to be the most feasible solution, in these circumstances.

the roughly calculated average. It is interesting to note that due to some unascertained factor the production during the two years of 12-hours-day was falling gradually.

When the shift was shortened there was no definite improvement for a couple of months; then the output rose steadily, reaching its maximum some thirteen months after the change. This was followed by another fall, which Vernon is inclined to attribute to the deterioration of plant. However, if the output be averaged, "it was an increase of 14 per cent on the 1912 average. Similar phenomena were observed in the Salford Iron Works, which has already been mentioned.

This peculiar nature of response to the change of work-duration is attributed by Myers and Vernon to the process of conscious or unconscious adaptation of the worker to his day's work. They maintain when the hours of shift are suddenly reduced, the worker requires a considerable amount of time in so changing his rate of production as to balance his working capacity with the right poise to the new condition of work. No doubt a number of other factors intervene. The tradition of the workshop and the rate of work of the other operatives influence every individual considerably. The conclusion, however, is drawn that the industrial worker guards himself more or less unconsciously against fatigue by regulating his rate of output in proportion to the length of the day he has to work.

On the other hand if operatives are aware that an increased output is expected of them with the reduction of hours, they may respond to the call consciously without delay by making deliberate effort to improve their rate of production, but even then, it takes them some time to adapt themselves to the new cycle of work. When the 9-hours-day at the Zeiss Optical Works at Jena was changed to eight hours, the workers were informed of the employer's desire for an improved rate of work and they were observed to make a vigorous rally to increase their output. In the first week after the change the manager recorded an improvement of 19 per cent. on the previous average, but found also the workers had overshot the mark. The following week brought down the excess to 5.5 per cent. Their enthusiasm had carried them beyond the limit of normal fatigue. During the next two weeks, however, it amounted to 10.2 per cent. and 12.9 per cent.

respectively and settled down to a fairly steady level.

Curiously enough, whereas it is a slow process to get into equilibrium with the reduced hours, adaptation to lengthened spells may be quick. For example, in the case of millmen engaged in tin-plate industry, while it took eight to ten weeks to reach the equilibrium at the higher rate of output after the reduction of an eight-hour to a six-hour shift, on going back to the eight-hour shift the output fell at once approximately to its previous level without any appreciable period of adaptation.* Reference is not here made to the deliberate slowing down of the rate of work, which occurs in the *ca' canny* policy, where for various reasons there follows a voluntary restriction on output, but to an entirely involuntary, possibly to an altogether unconscious psychological process.

Various other factors of appreciable economic importance, reveal themselves in the comparison of longer and shorter working spells. Here it is only possible to mention them briefly. Not only the quantity but the quality of production improves. The amount of spoilt work varies in direct proportion to the length of the shift. Spoilt work is less when the hours are shorter.

Errors increase rapidly as the day advances. Pieraccini's report on the output of four type-setters shows errors multiply inasmuch as five-fold during the last hour of the working day.† The Industrial Fatigue Board report that a firm trying to run its mills for fifteen hours a day discovered that in four months spoiled work had doubled while the output had diminished by 10 per cent.

So, too, the number of accidents varies with the length of the day. "I found," writes Vernon, "that when the women at a fuse factory were on a twelve-hour day and a seventy-five hour-week, their accident rate was three times greater than when they subsequently went on to a ten-hour day."§ It is perhaps obvious that the total number of accidents must of necessity be less in a shorter working shift. Investigations, however, point further that with shorter days accident rate per hour shows a decline.

Again the hours of work affect the 'lost

* J. F. R. B. No. I. The Influence of Hours of Work and of Ventilation on Output in Tin-plate Manufacture.

† Pieraccini: Proceedings of the First International Congress of Industrial Diseases 1906: Milan.

§ Memo. 21. H. M. W. C. 1918

time' to a very great extent. The question of time lost through 'industrial sickness,' lateness, accidents, etc., has given rise to the distinction between *nominal* hours and *actual* hours. Nominal hours are the hours scheduled whereas actual hours represent the period equal to those hours minus the time lost through slackness, sickness, etc. It has been observed that these two periods vary in inverse ratio. As the *nominal* hours rise the *actual* hours fall and that if the

nominal hour rises about a certain limit, even the *number* of actual hours may fall abruptly. In a workshop when *nominal* hours were decreased from 62.8 to 56.5, *actual* hours rose from 50.5 to 51.2. Similarly elsewhere though *nominal* hours were changed from 63½ to 54, *actual* hours decreased only from 56 to 51. The following figures, compiled after the reports of the Industrial Fatigue Research Board illustrate the point.

Work	No. of weeks.	Average hours worked Nominal.	Actual.	Average hourly output.	Total output X output per hour.
<i>Boys</i> boring top caps	11	76.6	70.6	105	7,413-(100)
<i>Light</i>	46	60.1	54.5	127	6,922-(93)
<i>Women</i> turning	10	74.5	66.0	108	7,128-(100)
fuse bodies	16	63.5	54.4	131	7,126-(100)
<i>Moderate</i>	24	55.3	47.5	169	8,028-(113)
<i>Men</i> sizing	6	66.7	58.2	100	5,820-(100)
fuse bodies	10	60.2	51.0	120	6,120-(103)
<i>Heavy</i>	11	55.5	50.4	137	6,905-(119)

The most striking evidence of time lost through sickness alone, was obtained by Vernon in one of the shell factories, where for the first nine months men worked 63½ and women 44½ on average per week, which was followed by a period of seven months when both men and women averaged 54 hours a week. During the first period men lost no less than 7 per cent of this time through sickness whereas the women lost only 2.8 per cent. But with the change the 6 men's 'lost time' fell to 4 per cent whereas the women who worked 9¾ hours more than before rose to 4.3 per cent.

Our enquiry so far has been confined to the total duration of workspell. There still remains the important question of distribution of these hours throughout the week and within the working day. It is essential that the interval between one working day and the next should be sufficient to ward off fatigue altogether; and at the end of the week it is equally necessary that the worker should have a couple of days' rest. As regards the other holidays at definite intervals of the year, it will be universally agreed, that of all the workers the need of the industrial workers is the greatest. To a superficial observer, these periods may be nothing but 'lost time,' yet the effects on the whole are paying to the industry. Leaving this general question for the moment, let us

inquire how are operatives to engage themselves throughout the working day that the output is maximum with least possible exertion? Are they to be left alone to look after themselves as best as they can except for the officially regulated meal times? Recent industrial investigations claim that by re-adjusting alternating periods of work and rest the efficiency of the individual can be definitely increased.

On a close study, an ordinary work curve of a labourer, taking the output as the measure of his capacity, is seen to fluctuate. It starts at a fairly low level, then rises as the agent 'warms up' to his work, and shows a gradual decline as midday meal time approaches. A similar curve is often found during the afternoon, although the final drop is more pronounced. The steadiness of the curve is liable to decrease as the day advances. The fluctuations are at times quite violent towards the end of the day. Sometimes the awareness of his diminishing efficiency and perhaps the lesser exertion from the slower rate of work will lead to a temporary improvement in the curve. In monotonous work, it is assumed, the curve falls as boredom sets in and then a spurt from the consciousness that the dragging day is nearing its end makes it rise steadily.

Roughly, though the above holds good of:

all work curves, there are specific variations. The curve for heavy manual work differs from the curve of light manual labour; the curve of chiefly mental work is different from that of simple repetitive work. There may be distinct specific variations owing to the peculiar nature of the work or to the environmental factor in which it is being done.

It is obvious, however, that within the working spell there are optimum durations when the productive capacity of the labourer remains at a reasonably high level. Efficiency demands that the curve should remain as such. The problem is to fight the falls in the work curve. When such falls are fairly regular it cannot be attributed to any other factor but the onset of fatigue. The only way to alleviate such temporary fatigue is to introduce rest pauses at the requisite intervals.

In recent years numerous experiments to investigate the effects of introduction of rest pauses have been carried out in various industrial countries. It is now generally admitted that when a long continuous shift of work is interspersed with rest pauses at suitable intervals the output increases and, if the testimony of the workers can be accepted, fatigue is removed. The beneficial effects of such rest intervals, for the industry as well as for the workers, have been fully demonstrated by the Industrial Fatigue Research Board and the National Institute of Industrial Psychology in Great Britain.

There are two main schemes of distribution of the working hours adopted in Great Britain, the so-called "one-break" system and the "two-break" system. On the former scheme the workers begin at 7.7-30 or 8 a. m. with

a single break in the course of the day, an hour for lunch. Thus they are on two equal spells of work the length of each varying 5 hours, $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours, or 4 hours as the case may be. On the other hand, in a two-break system work is resumed at 6 A.M. or in some cases at 6-30 or 7 A.M. for a spell of two hours at the end of which there is a break for half an hour for breakfast. The lunch interval comes between 12-30 to 1-30 thus dividing the day into work spells of 2, 4 and 4 hours, or at times of $2\frac{1}{2}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$, and 4 hours.

The chief defect of a one-break system when working hours range from 9 to 10, is the length of the two spells. Convincing proof of the evil effects of such lengthy spells is to be found in the Final Report of Health of Munition Workers Committee, 1918. The evidence is that of no less authority than Vernon. "As the result of conversations with workers, and of my own limited experience of five-hours spells in munition work, I am convinced," he adds, "that five hours of continuous work are too much for a man, and considerably too much for a woman. Even $4\frac{1}{2}$ are too much, and all work spells ought, if possible, to be reduced to four hours or less." To avoid the lengthy spells, the nine to ten-hour-day may be profitably divided into 4 hours, $2\frac{3}{4}$ and $2\frac{1}{4}$ hours with a lunch-interval and a tea-interval of one hour and a quarter of an hour respectively. The whole shift will thus occupy from 8 A.M. to 6-15 P.M. and the workers start after finishing breakfast. The advantage of this method lies in the fact that workers have the longest spell when they are fresh and vigorous and their shortest spell when they are most fatigued.



"A SCENE FROM *GITAGOVINDA*"

By Manak

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

The Rajputs in the Mughal Empire

BY SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, C. I. E.

I

A thoughtful survey of Indian history brings home to the mind one fundamental difference between the Hindu and the Muslim monarchies of the land, as a general rule. No doubt, Hindus too have had empires in the past; no doubt, Muslim monarchies also did, in the last stage of their decline, split up into independent principalities. But, on the whole, a deep and extensive study of the history of the two creeds convinces one that the Hindu in general cannot be happy unless he isolates himself in a small local State or special community of his own sub-section of a caste or clan,—within whose narrow parochial limits he can range at will and indulge to the full in the specialities of his own particular caste-group or sect. The Muslim, on the other hand, generally speaking, has flourished as part of a much wider political or social organization and can easily make himself a full member of a vaster homogeneous body. In short, the Hindu loves to live within his shell and contract his *secular* activities within its narrow circle, jealously exclusive of all others outside it,—though his *spiritual* liberality embraces the whole mankind in a vague Platonic way. The Muslim naturally prefers a wider field and feels fully at home in the universal communal life of the brotherhood of Islam (subject to the difference between Shias and Sunnis when external dangers are absent.)

Therefore, the mentality of the Muslim is more favourable to the winning of wide-spread empires, while the Hindu's psychology favours the formation of small States (*khanda-rajya*). This view is not really at conflict with the historical fact of every Hindu Rajah's "earth-hunger," and his recognition of "extension of realm" (*rajya-vistar*) as a duty. That was, however, the aim and work of the individual Hindu king, while the building of the Muslim empires was a work to which the Muslim community as a whole—soldiers and statesmen, no less than the king,—contributed. In fact, the

typical Muslim sovereign was in reality the Commander of the Faithful, not the paymaster of a mercenary army nor the chieftain of a clan related by the blood-tie only and therefore incapable of assimilating new recruits from outside the strictly limited brotherhood of common ancestry.

II

In political matters, therefore, the Hindu has thought parochially, the Muslim imperially; and the political organizations of the two have been contradistinguished by this polar difference in their outlook, and also by the fact that the Muslim monarchy was essentially a military State in which every Faithful is theoretically a soldier, a voting citizen, and a member of the congregation (*janud* and *jamait*) and the sovereign is necessarily a dictator whose autocracy is limited only by the Sacred Law (*Shara*).

The different departments of the State and branches or divisions of the national army, in a Muslim empire, have therefore been more closely co-ordinated and have co-operated more effectively and regularly than in Hindu empires. This explains the success of the Muslims, not only in Northern India in the 13th century, but also in the Deccan in the 17th, in crushing out the Hindu empires and principalities,—though in the Deccan the Musalmans were a mere handful in comparison with the Hindus who fell before them, as I have shown in my paper on "The Ruin of the Hindus in the Madras Karnatak" in the August 1929 number of this Review.

The Muslim States being generally larger political units than the average Hindu States, could usually give peace and security to their subjects over wider areas and for longer periods than the latter could. Moreover, they could afford to create larger and more advanced centres of culture and development of the fine arts,—though the culture was necessarily Islamic or a mixed product of Islamic and pre-existing Hindu types, and the arts contributed only to the enjoyment of the Court and the nobility. Their superior

resources also enabled them to undertake "public works" of greater magnitude and utility than what the small States attempted.

III

To the Hindu vassals who lost their local independence by accepting the hegemony of Delhi, the Mughal empire opened opportunities of public service and personal advancement unknown in the old days of "petty States." In those days the hand of each Rajput chieftain had been against his neighbours and he could never be secure from the fear of his neighbours' hands being raised against him. Living each within his narrow circle, the range of their enterprise and ambition had been limited to raids and counter-raids, their courts could hardly ever think of any permanent national issue or look beyond their immediate bounded horizon.

The accession of a typical Rajput king must be solemnized by a *tika daur* or raid into the States beyond his own border. Even in the seventeenth century the heroic Raj Singh of Udaipur followed this rule by plundering Malpura and other places after his coronation, devastating whole districts, ruining inoffensive peasants and traders, and "filling every house [of his followers] with captured women and gold," as his Court-poet boasts :

घर घर कामिनी कांचन किय (Raja-vilasa).

This policy was sure to set up a chronic antagonism between even the best of the Rajputs and their neighbours and could not lead to the formation of a national State embracing many provinces and races.

The Mughal empire threw open to the Rajput's martial spirit and enterprise a wide field of activity extending over the whole of India and even beyond her borders. Kachwas and Rathors, Hadas and Bundelas who accepted its suzerainty could take part in repelling foreign invaders of India in Qandahar and Balkh, keep peace in the Khyber Pass, suppress banditti in the Mahaban jungles, administer distant provinces like Bengal and Kabul, hold charge of forts like Jamrud, make the Padishah's writ run in the far off Deccan and thus have a hand in uniting all India under one sceptre. Rajputs who might have

Perished in some domestic feud

Or in wider sphere wild rapine's

path pursued

could now raise themselves to positions of extreme importance in the empire. Jaswant Singh narrowly missed being the arbiter for the throne of Delhi in the succession war of 1658. Bishun Singh (late 17th century), held the fort of Jamrud, the key to Mughal India. Sawai Jai Singh was the pivot on which North India's fate turned during the eventful years 1720 to 1740.

IV

The material gains to some of these chiefs in the shape of a grateful master's reward for loyal services have been immense and have gone to form the foundations of many a State in North India. The rise of the house of Jaipur to first-rate importance in Rajputana illustrates this phase of Indian history.

No Scottish laird devoted himself with his retainers to the extension of his family estates by lifelong service abroad in the cause of the British empire, with more absorbing zeal and singleness of purpose than did these Kachwas.

In the long roll of great men of action and enterprise which this family has produced three names stand pre-eminent: Man Singh (died in 1613), Mirza Rajah Jai Singh (died in 1667), and Sawai Jai Singh (died in 1743). The deeds of Man Singh fill the latter years of Akbar's reign and the first eight years of his successor's, and range from Kabul to Orissa, and the Panjab to the Deccan. Col. Tod has very briefly passed over them, merely remarking, 'An account of the life of Rajah Man would fill a volume; there are ample materials at Jaipur.' This last I regret to notice is not the case at present, but Man Singh's biography can be easily compiled from the *Akbarnamah* and the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*.

Mirza Rajah Jai Singh occupied the *gadi* of Amber for fifty eventful years (1617-1667) and fought under the Mughal banners from Balkh in Central Asia to Bijapur in the Deccan, from Qandahar on the Persian frontier to Mungir in East Bihar. His life was one of extraordinarily strenuous and varied activity. From the age of twelve he was continuously engaged in fighting battles or administering provinces for the Emperor, with furlough home only once in four or five years. [*Masir-ul-umara*, iii. Indeed, "hardly a year passed in the long reign of Shah Jahan and the first decade of his son's regime when this Rajput chieftain did not see active

service somewhere and receive some promotion for conspicuous merit. In diplomacy he attained a success surpassing even his victories in the field. A man of infinite tact and patience, an adept in the ceremonious courtesy of the Muslims, a master of the Turki and Persian languages besides Urdu and the Rajput dialect, Jai Singh was an ideal leader of the composite army of Afghans and Turks, Rajputs and Hindustanis, that followed the crescent banner of the sovereign of Delhi."

V

And yet he has not found a historian, though his biography would be a most valuable contribution to 17th century Indian history. But, happily, rich materials for such a biography exist, though mostly outside the Jaipur archives. The most important of these is the letter-book of his secretary Udairaj, entitled *Haft Anjuman*, of which a fragment is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris and a complete copy has been secured by me in India. The letters which Jai Singh sent out are to be found in the above collection and in a few other Persian MSS. A few exist in the Jaipur Darbar records.

As for the letters written to Jai Singh by the Mughal Emperor and princes, many of them are preserved in the original at Jaipur. They, however, mostly deal with his earlier career and the campaign against Shuja. Several others of great importance (such as those concerning the pursuit of Dara and the campaign against Shivaji) which are wanting there have been preserved at Paris. The standard Persian histories of the Mughal Emperors supply the missing links and enable us to complete the record of the Rajah's services. A complete set of the letters to and from Jai Singh has been collected by me from various places. It contains valuable historical records of this period and ought to be printed.

Among these records the *Haft Anjuman* is the most valuable as it contains Jai Singh's despatches to Aurangzib and official letters to Court nobles, to his subordinates and to the Deccani nobles whom he wanted to win over. It contains besides some letters of surpassing human interest, the private letters of Jai Singh to his son Ram Singh and his agent at the imperial Court Giridhari Lal, in his last days when, with his grand success against Shivaji undone by Aurangzib's impolitic and unsuccessful attempt to hold the Maratha

king as a prisoner when on a visit to the Emperor at Agra, and with his brilliant career ended in disgrace and material loss by his failure to take Bijapur, Jai Singh was hastening to his grave. These private letters unfold to us the aged Rajah's lifelong ambition to elevate his family, his mortification at his son Ram Singh's indifference, and the Emperor's ingratitude,—as the following two will illustrate.

VI

Jai Singh to Kumar Ram Singh at Delhi (1666)—

[After urging him to see the Emperor and induce him not to remove Jai Singh from the Deccan command as he had done the difficult preliminary work and borne all the cost of it, while the noble who would replace him would cheaply take all the credit of success without having to exert himself for it, and Jai Singh would be unjustly branded before the public as a failure, after his lifelong distinguished service.]

"The greater part of my life is over, and little remains, and that little has now almost reached its terminus. I seek refuge with my *pir* and *murshid* (i. e., the Emperor) to escape from shame in my old age. At the end of my days I am suffering disgrace." [Folio 195].

Jai Singh to Kumar Ram Singh (a letter in cypher)—

"In whatever action, great or small, I do, I, keeping your interests in view, bring you in [as my intermediary at the imperial Court]. And yet, your attitude is such that at the time when my urgent requests in connection with the Emperor's work are written to you, you go out to hunt and do not send any reply; and when your reply comes, which is very late, you do not touch all the points of my letter. If you are forgetful of my relationship as your father, at least the duty of acting as my Court agent is incumbent on you. If our master asks, 'When did this letter from Jai Singh arrive? and on what date have you placed it before me?'—you will have to answer. If you do not care for either of these two things, do as you please; Shri Ramji is over my head *Bar sar-i-ma ham sri Ramji-st.*" [F. 196].

Jai Singh to Giridhar Lal, his wakil—
"Strange times have become my lot. Every man labours so much only for his sons, and yet he (i. e., Kumar Ram Singh) does not

write anything to me, and the only thing that he writes is, 'I have got no information on this point.' In four ways losses have fallen upon me—First, my *mujra* is gone; secondly, the parganas of my home (*watan*) are gone; thirdly, what I have spent [out of my own pocket] in the Deccan wars is gone; and fourthly,—what is worst of all—my son's affairs have been ruined. Although these considerations do not reach his mind from my writing, yet I cannot help apprehending these misfortunes.

He (*i.e.*, Ram Singh) does not give me news of the happenings and sayings at the Emperor's Court [concerning us]. Send me news—what is anywhere said about me? Have my exertions in controlling the affairs of these subahs in such times been reported to the Emperor or not? What has His Majesty remarked about me? Write all in detail." [Folio 199.]*

VII

As for Sawai Jai Singh, who occupied the *gadi* of Jaipur from 1699 to 1743, his influence on history was even greater than that of the Mirza Rajah (his great-grandfather), as he occupied a pivotal position during the 20 years (1720-1740) when the Marathas sapped the foundations of the Mughal empire and his action decided the result. Of him Tod writes—

"As a statesman, legislator, and man of science, the character of Sawai Jai Singh is worthy of an ample delineation, which would correct our [too low] opinion of the genius and capacity of the princes of Rajputana.... For such a sketch, the materials of the Amber Court are abundant..., *e.g.*, the *Kalpa-druma* or miscellaneous diary, and the *109 gunas Jai Singh Ka*."

But Court biographies and bardic eulogies

are not records. The "scientific historian requires State-papers and contemporary official letters and diaries. Of such documents relating to Sawai Jai Singh's times the Jaipur archives have as yet yielded a poor harvest. A thorough search should be made among the papers belonging to the private families in the kingdom, particularly the descendants of his officers, for records relating to him. Then only can a worthy biography of this great Rajah be written.

In the mediaeval condition of society, State-archives often did not exist, and even where they have survived, they are usually surpassed in the extent and importance of their contents by private family records, as Von Ranke pointed out long ago.

He wrote in the preface to his monumental *History of the Popes*:

"The freedom of access [to the treasures contained in the Vatican] which I could have wished was by no means accorded to me...

In the flourishing times of aristocracy, more particularly in the seventeenth century, it was customary throughout Europe for the great families, who had administered the affairs of State, to retain possession of some of the public documents... A large part of the State-papers, accumulated during their administration, ... constituted a part of the family endowments. Thus, to a certain extent the private collections of Rome may be regarded as the public ones."

The truth of these remarks has been confirmed by the wonderful success of a later worker in exactly the same field, Fr. von Pastor, by tapping all the family archives in Rome, as well as the Vatican records, to which Ranke had no access. Even a transcendent historical genius like Ranke failed to give fulness and finality to his *History of the Popes*, because he could not open these closed treasuries of information to which his happier successor, Pastor, was given access half a century later.

* The complete series of letters to and from Jai Singh in Persian, which I possess, ought to be printed as a valuable original source of Indian history.

Dominion Status For India

By ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

LONDON, and the rest of the world taking any interest at all in India, have passed through somewhat exciting days during the last few weeks. Now that the whole thing is over, one wonders why there was so much excitement over that slight matter of a Viceregal declaration in India. The sum and substance of his declaration was that Britain still had its faith unshaken in any empty promises that it had made in the past to the Indian people. Empty promises because, as everybody with any knowledge of law knows well enough, a promise which will be fulfilled at or within no definite time is *no promise* at all. Britain's promise to give India Dominion or any other status is no more hopeful than the words of the polite highwayman who said, while helping himself to his victim's purse, "Allow me, Sir, to borrow from your goodself a few paltry sovereigns." Sitting rather far away from India, I wondered why serious and experienced politicians were worrying themselves so much over that expression of Lord Irwin. What new inspiration did they find in the Viceroy's words to instil life into India's faith in Britain which, to be paradoxical, had been dead since before its birth?

Over here in England, it all appeared like a mock rehearsal of some fight that *might* be fought hereafter between the parties over the Simon report. It gave a chance to the Liberals and the Conservatives to show their fangs to any among the Labour Party who thought India should be given Dominion status. They snarled and spat so well however, that the Labour officials lost no time in giving a thoroughly conservative interpretation to the words of a Conservative Viceroy of India. Some thought Labour tested the strength of the opposition by means of this false "alarm". Others, however, saw in it a concerted attempt by all British politicians, Labour, Conservative or Liberal, to create a smoke screen to obstruct the clear vision of the 1929 Congress. The Indian leaders might get muddled and hesitate to take any decisive step, if they were not sure that Britain was not after all giving India Dominion status.

However, now that everybody concerned has disavowed all intentions of taking any such "premature" or unwise step the Indian leaders at least will have no doubt regarding the issues confronting them.

Personally speaking, I see very little hope of India's getting Dominion status, as a gift from Britain within a short time. The attitude of the "die-hards" as well as of the "liberals" is quite definite; and nothing short of a real crisis will induce them to change their mind. What sort of a crisis will bring about this change of mind is a difficult question to answer. Frankly, I do not think any large scale disturbance, even though fully civil and non-violent in its nature, will help matters much. For, Britain might find in such disturbance an opportunity for finding more employment for the idle Britishers as soldiers, police or officials in India. Ever since the dawn of history, statesmen have found a cure for troubles at home in foreign wars. The political waters of Britain are extremely troubled at the present moment and a large scale disturbance in India of any kind will be politically as useful as a foreign war to British statesmen. Therefore, even if we assumed that mass civil disobedience were practical and possible, such a development might not be wholly unwelcome to British statesmen. With the coming of the latest modifications of the National Unemployment Insurance, unemployment has become the most acute problem in Britain; both financially and politically. Indian statesmen should keep this fact in mind while discussing the future nationalist policy in India. If the Indian nationalists could make the British feel that the number of their unemployed bore a direct relation to India's feelings of friendliness or otherwise towards Great Britain; then, no doubt the British people will see the moral necessity of restoring to our great country its freedom. The only kind of pressure which will press convincingly on the British imperialist Parliament is the pressure of necessity, and Indian statesmen must demonstrate to that body their ability to increase or diminish the

number of British unemployed at their will.

First of all a study should be made of the economics of British employment and its relations to the Indian market. That is to say, we must understand clearly how many British workers depend for their living upon the Indian market. Item by item. So many in the cotton industry, so many in silk, so many in dyes, motor cars, bicycles, locomotives, electrical goods, paper, machinery of particular kinds, etc. etc. Each item in the list of India's imports from Britain must be carefully analysed and reduced to the number of men whose labours it represents. Once we know this thoroughly, we shall be able to use the instrument of boycott effectively. We can always choose those items of British-made imports for strict boycott, which give employment to a large number of workers in Britain. For this purpose, the Congress should approach the main importers and distributors of these goods in India and request them to get their supplies of similar goods from America, Germany or some other industrial country in preference to Britain. Congress can even organize credit for firms who thus help the national boycott movement by importing goods from countries other than Great Britain.

Boycott carried out in this systematic manner will be a far more effective weapon than civil disobedience; for, it will give Britain no chance to send more troops, police or blackleg labour to India. This boycott will be kept up during the period that Great Britain will not grant self-government to India. As we have no spirit of cheap revenge against Great Britain, nor any extraordinary love or preference for any other country and as we must for many years to come, buy certain kinds of foreign goods, we can always keep the vision of unrestricted buying from

British producers by India hanging before the British Parliament. This may stimulate them to recognize the path of virtue as the easiest to traverse.

It might be said that as most of the large importing houses in India are British, this method of boycott will be hardly fruitful. But I do not think so; for many large importing houses are Indian and almost all large distributors are Indian. If there is any credit difficulty to be surmounted in bringing round the distributors to observe boycott, it is something which all Indian banks and loan offices may attempt to get over with the help of the Congress. Self-government will surely mean a new era of prosperity for all Indian enterprise large or small, individual or joint; and therefore, Congress will not find it difficult to mobilize the sympathy of both labour and capital for carrying out boycott.

There is only one difficulty. It lies within the Congress. If the Congress is at all to lead the country to Swaraj it must cease to be a clique, however large, and become really and entirely a national instrument. It must have no *Gurus* nor ready-made heroes; but ability and achievement should alone decide its leadership. The mentality which says, "If India cannot be free through *my* agency, then let India not be free at all," has been the greatest bane of Indian nationalism since its birth. Let us now have done with this "saviour" complex once for all. Congress belongs to the nation and is for the nation's greatness. Whoever by word or deed seeks to aggrandize himself above everything else, should be checked at once. The electors can easily detect this mentality, and in their wisdom lies the hope of national freedom.

London:

November 21, 1929.

Some New Pictures

By N. C. MEHTA

THE picture facing page 36 of this issue is said to have been a page from the horoscope of Naunihal Singh—"the handsome, reckless, vicious" grandson of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1837 A.D.). It was probably painted about the year 1830 and shows the Lion of the Punjab seated under a golden

canopy in an open balcony of the palace. A high-mettled animal fully saddled, in charge of an attendant, is shown outside the palace walls, for Ranjit Singh was a great lover of horses, and the episode of his winning the mare Laili, which is said to have cost sixty lakhs of rupees and the lives of 12,000

men, is unique even among the romantic annals of the East. The portraiture and the setting are formal and testify more to the superlative craftsmanship of the artist than to his psychological insight. I shall not quote the contemporary and unflattering description given of the great Maharaja by Baron Hügel, for the portrait as painted here, has nothing in common with that description. It is the prototype of the bazaar versions and the ivory paintings of Delhi and Amritsar, which came in vogue during the later years of the 19th century. Baron Hügel, after describing the "Lion" as "short and mean looking", "most ugly and unprepossessing man" in the Punjab, goes on to remark that "as soon as he mounts his horse and with his black shield at his back puts him on his mettle, his whole form seems animated by the spirit within, and assumes a certain grace of which nobody could believe it susceptible."*

The rise of the Khalsa was the result of military organization, and organized valour and during the brief and dazzling period of its glory the Sikh court never seems to have attracted the versatile artists, who were then busy all over the Punjab, working at the courts of smaller principalities, the greatest and the most famous being of course the court of Raja Sansar Chand Katoch of Kangra. Kangra itself was incorporated in the Khalsa State in 1828—a logical result of a momentary weakness on the part of the amiable Raja Sansar Chand, who solicited the help of Ranjit Singh against the persistent assaults of the Gurkha army. Ranjit Singh was above all a great military leader, who did not have sufficient time to cultivate the finer graces of life. Art and literature therefore did not flourish or reach the same degree of development as amidst the peaceful and more congenial atmosphere of smaller and more secluded States. It was the period when the great Hindi poets of the 17th and the 18th centuries were being largely read and illustrated all over Northern India. The court art of the Sikhs seems to have been more or less left unaffected by this phase of the general movement. The court art of Ranjit Singh never rose above a certain level of technical skill and formal accomplishment. The freedom, the feeling, the pervasive sense of poetry—characteristic of Pahari paintings are

totally absent. The page from the horoscope of the unfortunate grandson of Ranjit Singh illustrated here is about as good an example of the achievement of the painters at the Khalsa court as found anywhere else.

The picture has none of the subtlety of a good Moghul portrait, such as the one by Chitraman (illustrated on page 44) a celebrated master of the court of Shah Jahan. While the Sikh portrait gives no clue whatever as to the remarkable personality of Ranjit Singh, the picture by Rai Chitraman, as the artist is described in the inscription, is an extraordinarily beautiful and vivid portrait of Shahzada Muhammad Shah. There is, of course, no comparison between the two pictures. I have mentioned them together merely to show the contrast between a masterpiece of portraiture, achieved by the use of a few deft strokes of the line and the work characterized by the most careful and meticulous attention to detail and decoration. Chitraman is primarily interested in the character of his subject and achieves his object by means of the most economical and restrained use of his wonderful draughtsmanship. The whole temper and outlook of the two pictures are completely different. While the portrait by Chitraman is characteristic of a period when Moghul art had reached its zenith, the picture of the Khalsa court marks the stage when Indian painting had completed the cycle of evolution and was about to disappear completely as serious art altogether.

It is remarkable that the last creative period of Hindu painting should have reached its highest achievements towards the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century when the country was passing through an unprecedented period of strife, intrigue and political humiliation. The great masterpieces—the *Govardhan-dharan* and the *Rasamandal*, of the Jaipur *Pothikhana* were painted by Sahib Ram at the court of the weak and supine Maharaja Pratap Singh. It seems also that the Jaipur school exercised a remarkable influence over the courts of the small principalities of Kathiawar, the productions of which have not yet been studied.

Painting in India appears to have been universally cultivated at royal courts at least since the days of the Moghuls up to about the middle of the 19th century. The court of Poona, when the dominion of the Peshwas had been fully established, produced some remarkable pictures which have not yet received the

* *Ranjit Singh* by Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., page 89.

attention due to them. Minor but interesting offshoots of Hindu painting which flourished towards the end of the 18th century at the courts of Datia and Orchha have been described by me elsewhere. I reproduce (on page 52) for purposes of comparison two pictures of a genuine folk-art from a Gujarati manuscript which was completed in Samvat 1894 = (1837 A.D.) The pictures illustrate the state of painting in Gujarat at the beginning of the 19th century and are taken from a Jain romance called *Sripala-Ras* copied by Bhagyavijaya, the disciple of Gulabvijaya Gani—the pupil of Padmavijaya Gani, the celebrated scholar, as described in the colophon of the MS. This art of manuscript illustration is totally different from the court art that was cultivated in the States of Rajputana and the Punjab. It is simpler, more naive, in a word *bourgeois* art as contrasted with the more formal and accomplished products of the

various schools of court painters. One of the pictures illustrates one of the many weddings in which Sripal, the hero of the romance, indulged. It conveys a vivid idea of the manners in vogue in Gujarat in the beginning of the last century. The other picture depicts a storm. The conception of a double-storied boat armed with heavy guns provided with what appears to be a cabin is distinctly interesting; as is also the conventional method of depicting the surging waves of the sea in the right-hand corner of the picture by arcs of a circle as compared with the use of gentle curves to depict the placid waters in the left hand corner.*

* I am indebted to Lala Sita Ram of Benares for the permission to reproduce the picture of Ranjit Singh; to my friend Rai Krishna Das for the beautiful picture by Chitraman; to Muni Maharaj Hamsvijaya Ji of Patan for the loan of the manuscript *Sripala-Ras*.

Aryans in Eastern India in the Rigvedic Age

BY PROF. HARAN CHANDRA CHAKLADAR, M.A.

THERE appears to be an impression that at the time that the hymns of the Rigveda were composed, Eastern India was unknown to the Vedic Aryans, who are believed to have confined their activities to Western India alone; but the hymns themselves provide ample evidence to show that the Rigvedic Aryans had spread during the epoch throughout the whole of Northern India from the Bay of Bengal to the North-western Frontier and beyond, and that Eastern India or the *Prachi Dik*, as it is called in the Vedic language, extending up to the Eastern Sea, was familiar to the seers of the hymns. In the first place, it must be borne in mind that the Rigveda offers no evidence to show that the Aryans entered India through the North-western passes, nor was the centre of Rigvedic culture in the extreme west of India—not in the country watered by the Indus and its tributaries—but farther east, in the Madhyadesa, or the region about the Sarasvati. As the *Vedic Index* (I, 468) remarks, "The importance of the Punjab as the home of the

Rigveda has been greatly diminished by recent research Hopkins, Pischel and Geldner having on different grounds shown reason for believing that the Rigveda, at least in great part, was composed farther east, in the Madhyadesa, which admittedly was the home of the later Vedic culture." The Rigveda is very poor in geographical data, as may naturally be expected in a book of hymns to the gods. Of the mountains, only one finds direct mention the Himavant, or the 'abode of snow,' and the peak Mujavant is referred to indirectly, *Soma* being spoken of as *Maujāvata* or 'growing on the Mujavant.' It is only the rivers that find mention in any number, as they were esteemed as deities, owing probably to the immense benefits conferred by them on the Vedic Aryans.

Judging from the streams named in the Rigveda, we observe that while the rivers of the Indus system like the *Vitasta* or the *Vipas* occur but rarely in the Rigveda, the *Sarasvati* occurs frequently and is the river *par excellence* (*Naditama* R. V. II. 41,6).

"Alone among the rivers," says a verse of the Rigveda (VII. 95,2), "the Sarasvati, the pure (stream), flowing from the mountains to the ocean, could realize the prayer of Nahusa, and distributing riches among the many existing beings, milked for him butter and water." Saunaka, in his *Bṛihad-devata* (VI. 20-24), in explaining this passage, speaks of this marvellous power and superiority of the Sarasvati, how she alone could provide Nahusa with milk and ghee for a sacrificial session extending over a thousand years, while the other rivers had to send him away.

Proceeding to the east of the Sarasvati, we find the *Yamuna* mentioned several times. (R.V. v. 52; VII. 18; X. 75) and the *Paravatās*, an Aryan people who lived on its banks are very well known (R.V. v. 52; VI. 61; VIII. 34 & 100 etc.). Beyond Allahabad, the Rigveda (V. 61; VIII. 24) knows the *Gomati* which meets the Ganges to the east of Benares and the *Sarayu* (IV. 30; V. 93; X. 64), off from the eastern bank of which were defeated the Aryan kings, Chitraratha and Arna by an Aryan tribe, the *Turvasa-Yadus*, so that the Kosala country was doubtless occupied by Vedic Aryans in the Rigvedic period. Beyond Kosala, the Rigveda (III. 53, 14) knows the country of *Kikata* which Indian tradition identifies with Magadha. The full force of this Rigvedic mention of the eastern country of *Kikata* will be appreciated by us when we bear in mind that clear and direct mention of the name of a country is very rare in the Rigveda. The only other notable name is that of *Gandhara* where the hairy ewe of the people of *Gandhara* is referred to (R. V. I. 126); generally, it is the names of tribes and not of countries that we meet with in the Rigveda.

It is further remarkable that a verse of the Rigveda (V. 83; 8) speaks of the rivers carrying down to the east the flood of waters poured down by the rain-god, Parjanya, who is thus addressed: "Raise on high the mighty sheath of rain, pour down (its contents); let the rivers flow unimpeded to the east." There can be no doubt that the Risi Bhauma Atri to whom this verse is attributed, was the resident of a country where the rivers flowed, not towards the south, as they do in the Punjab, but to the east, that is, he must have belonged to the country watered by the Ganges and its tributaries. The *Ganga* or the Ganges was a well-

known river in Rigvedic times: a *Gangeya Urukaksa*, a person living on the Ganges, or as Sayana explains, 'the high bank of the Ganges', is mentioned in a verse of the sixth mandala of the Rigveda (VI. 45,31), so that, the banks of the Ganges must have been well known to the Bharadvajas who contributed the hymns of this section. The river itself finds a prominent mention in a list of seven rivers (*Sapta sindhavah*) addressed in a verse of the *Nadistuti* or hymn in praise of the rivers (R. V. x. 75). The enumeration commences with the *Ganga* and goes on towards the west taking up the principal rivers according to the natural position of their courses and ends with the *Indus*, the most westerly stream. Thus it prays: "Accept this my praise, Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati, Sutudri, Parusni, Marudvridha with the Asikni and the Vitasta, listen Arjikiya with the Susoma." First of all come in order from the east the three rivers outside the Indus system, viz., the *Ganga*, the *Yamuna* and the *Sarasvati*; next comes in order the *Sutudri* or the *Sutlej* and then the *Parusni* which, Yaska tells us (IX. 26), is identical with the *Iravati*, the modern *Ravi*. Next towards the west runs the *Marudvridha* with its two feeders, the *Asikni* and the *Vitasta*, that is, the modern *Chenab* and the *Jhelum*. Next comes the *Arjikiya* with its feeder, the *Susoma*. Following the natural order in which the rivers are mentioned from the east to the west, the *Arjikiya* with the *Susoma* cannot represent any other river than the *Indus*, and in fact, Yaska (IX. 26), who gives us the earliest traditions about these names, identifies the *Susoma* with the *Sindhu*, and he is, no doubt, correct, and as the *Susoma* is given a subsidiary position in comparison with the *Arjikiya*, it is evident, on the analogy of the *Marudvridha* with the two subsidiary streams, that the *Susoma* represents the upper course of the *Indus*, while the lower course after receiving the combined waters of the five streams (the modern *Panjab*) and the *Susoma*, was called the *Arjikiya*, while the general name of the whole course, in common parlance, was *Sindhu*. Hillebrandt thinks the *Arjikiya* may be the upper *Indus*, but the lower course seems more probable. Yaska's identification (Nir. VI. 26) of the *Arjikiya* with the *Vipas* (Beas) seems untenable, as that does not agree with its position as the most westerly of the group of seven rivers enumerated in the verse, as is pointed out by the *Vedic Index* (I. 63; II. 463) with which, however,

we cannot agree when it dismisses as absurd, Yaska's identification of the Susoma with the Indus which, as we have shown above, tallies exactly with the order of enumeration.

This group of seven rivers is many times referred to in the Rigveda. The very first verse of the *Nadistuti* hymn of which the fifth sets forth the above enumeration, says that the *apah* or water-courses are seven in number in each of the three worlds. Thus it says, "Waters: the worshipper addresses to you excellent praise in the dwelling of the institutor of the rite; they flowed by sevens through the three worlds etc." (X. 75, 1). There can, therefore, be no doubt that wherever in the Rigveda the seven rivers are referred to, it is these seven that have been brought together into a group by the Rigveda itself, as Sayana (on R. V. i. 32, 12 etc.) points out whenever he has an occasion to comment upon these expressions, and we have certainly to reject the inclusion, in the group, of the Kubha or the Oxus as has been done by some scholars, and also to condemn the exclusion of the Ganga and the Yamuna from the list as many of the scholars appear inclined to do (*Ved. Ind.* II. 424). This is due to the now no longer tenable idea that the Aryans at the time of the Rigveda were confined to the country about the North-western frontier of India, that is, the Punjab and its neighbourhood. It requires hardly to be pointed out that the word *Sindhu* in the expression *Sapta sindhavah* by which the seven rivers are many times referred to, have nothing to do with the Indus and therefore we need not seek for the seven rivers in the Punjab alone. The Rigveda refers to the seven rivers not by the single expression, *sapta sindhavah* only, but by a large variety of terms all of which bear the very same sense; for example, we have *sapta nadyah*, *sapta apah*, *sapta sravatq*, *sapta pravatah*, *sapta visruhah*, or indirectly, *sapta matarah*, *sapta sasarah*, *sapta yahvih*, etc. all of which equally mean 'the seven rivers,' namely, those grouped together in the Rigveda itself; hence it is evident, that the Ganges, as forming the first and the most important in this group of seven rivers, is referred to in the Rigveda, not only once or twice, but innumerable times; and it is but reasonable to think that the whole of its course was well known to the authors of the Rigvedic hymns.

In one passage in the Rigveda (VIII. 24, 27) the phrase *sapta sindhusu* is used to mean in the country or countries about the

seven rivers' like the phrase '*gangayam ghosah*,' as explained by Sayana. The above hemistich where the phrase occurs, may be translated, "Thou (Indra) that dost rescue (us) from the wickedness of the Riksa (or Raksasa) and of the Arya in the countries about the seven rivers," and it may be observed that even here *sapta sindhavah* is not necessarily a proper name but simply refers to 'the country watered by the seven rivers,' extending from the Ganges to the Indus. Though the expression *sapta sindhavah* occurs only once in the Rigveda in this sense, it might have been more commonly used in ordinary speech, so that by outsiders like the ancient Iranians the name *sapta-sindhu* or its Iranian version, Hapta-Hendu came to be used as a designation for India as known to them, when the Vendidad (I. 19) which shows the earliest use of the name, was written. Leaving aside the fanciful speculations of scholars about the progressive colonization of the sixteen countries named in Vendidad, we can only be sure that at the time this portion of the Avesta was composed, *Hapta-Hendu* was a general Iranian appellation for Aryan India, and from the Brahmanas it appears probable that in India itself there were settlements of Asura worshipping Aryan tribes, who bore close affinity with the ancient Iranians in their language, religion or customs. The *Satapatha Brahmana* (XIII. 8.2.1) tells us that people with Asura-customs did live in the *Prachya* country or Eastern India, so that it is likely that the country of Hapta-Hendu or *Sapta-sindhavah* included eastern India also, especially as the Eastern Ocean into which the Ganga pours its waters, was well known in the Rigvedic age, at least to the wandering ascetics of that period, the *Munis*.

We are told by a hymn in the Rigveda (X. 136) that long-haired, yellow-robed ascetics bearing the designation of *Munis*, traversed the whole width of India from the eastern to the western ocean, from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea. Thus we read in this hymn: "The muni who is (verily) the steed of the wind and is the comrade of Vayu, the Wind-God, being urged on by the gods, travels to both the Oceans, the Eastern as well as the Western."

The next succeeding verse also speaks of the wanderings of the long-haired *Muni* in untrodden paths through forests and wildernesses. "On the tracks of the Apsarasas, of the Gandharvas and of the wild beasts,

travels the long-haired (Muni). Knowing everything that is knowable, he is the sweet and most delightful (of all)."

Other features of his inner character as also his outer appearance, besides his wanderings, are thus delineated in the three verses (X. 136, 2-4) that immediately precede the two quoted above: "The Vatarasana Munis (ascetics who live on the wind) wear yellow unclean garments, they follow the course of the wind and they have verily become gods." "Inspired and exhilarated by our Muni-nature (*maune-yena*), we have mounted upon the winds. Our bodies (only) do you see, oh ye mortals. Through the firmament flies the Muni, seeing all things. The Muni is the beloved friend of the gods, one and all, for devoted service to everyone of them."

The king of the gods, Indra himself, is the comrade of the *Munis* according to another hymn of the Rigveda (VIII. 18, 14) and the *Aitareya Brahmana* (VIII. 15) assures us that Indra is the friend of everyone that wanders. Another Rigvedic hymn (VII. 56, 8) compares the shaking of the trees as the wind blows against them to the agitation of a *Muni*, evidently when the latter is in an ecstatic rapture. Now, bringing together all these characteristics we observe that the *Muni* is the predecessor of the later *Yati* or *Parivrajaka* and like him his business is to wander from place to place, wearing long unkempt hair, robed in yellow or brown vestments, spreading the religion of the Veda—the worship of the gods, of each of whom he has thus become a devoted friend (*sakha hitah*); by his intense love and devout service of the gods he is often thrown into a condition of ecstasy when his body shakes and trembles like a tree with the wind. The *Munis* move with the swiftness of the wind and wander through the wilds and forests following paths trod only by wild beasts. The *Muni* with his constant peregrinations and devout service of the gods is invested with superhuman and mystic powers, so much so that the long-haired *Muni* is believed to be a beloved comrade of the dreadful god Rudra with whom he drinks from the same cup of poison (X. 136, 7). The worship of this much-dreaded god who is not a very prominent figure in the Rigveda, appears to have spread in the later Vedic period far and wide over the whole Aryan region, which evidently included, at the time of the Atharva-veda, the country near the

Eastern Sea where, as we have seen, the *Muni* had gone, and perhaps settled, in the Rigvedic age.

A verse of the Atharva-veda thus addresses this fierce and terrible god who is addressed there as *Bhava*: "There is no distance for thee, nor hindrance for thee, O Bhava; at once thou lookest over the whole earth; from the Eastern, thou smitest in the northern ocean" (A. V. xi. 2, 25). This shows that the worship of Rudra with whom Bhava is identified in the hymn from which we have quoted here, was well-established throughout the Vedic regions from the Northern ocean (the Sea of Aral or the Caspian Sea) up to the Eastern ocean, or the Bay of Bengal. This same Atharva-veda hymn (A. V. 2, 14 and 16) also brings together *Bhava* and *Sarva* which are different local names of the same deity as explained by the *Satapatha Brahmana* (I. 7. 3, 8) which tells us that *Sarva* was a name for Rudra among the Eastern peoples (the *prachyas*), and *Bhava* among the Bahikas in the western Punjab. These two names, however, do not occur in the Rigveda. This no doubt indicates that the worship of this deity had spread and developed among the Aryan people in the north and the east during the period between the Rigveda hymns and the Atharva-veda, carried evidently by his devout worshippers, the *Munis* who had the hardihood to drink with impunity for the same deadly cup as himself.

It is necessary to consider in some detail the character of this Vatarasana Muni, the early pioneer of Aryan colonization. The character with which the Rigveda invests the Muni, is associated with him throughout the Vedic literature, and we find him as one of the earliest preachers of Vedic religion and culture. The Vatarasanas are described in the *Taittiriya Aranyaka* (I. 23, 2) as one of the three kinds of Rishis that formed one of the earliest creations of Prajapati, the creator, and in the next succeeding chapter, the same *Aranyaka* (II. 7, 1) tells us that these Vatarasana Rishis were *Sramanas* or ascetics who lived in chastity abstaining from sexual indulgence (*urdhvamanthinah*); then other Rishis approached for being taught a means wherewith to purify themselves from sin. The Upanisads describe the *Muni* as the person 'who knows the self.' "Knowing the self," says the *Brihadaranyakopanisad* (IV. 4, 22), "they did not wish for offspring. 'What shall we do with offspring,' they said, 'we

who have this self and the world (of Brahma)? And they having risen above the desire for sons, wealth and new worlds wander about as mendicants." The *Dharmasutras* give the title of *Muni* to persons in the fourth stage of life on whom it was incumbent to wander and hold up before the people by their own character and conduct, the highest ideal of Aryan life. Thus Vasistha in his *Dharma-sutra* (Ch. x) quotes several ancient verses one of which declares that "the ascetic (*Muni*) who wanders about at peace with all creatures, forsooth has nothing to fear from any living being." Apastamba (II. 21) also quotes an ancient verse: "He (the *Parivrajaka* or *Muni*) shall live without a fire, without a house, without pleasures, without protection. Remaining silent and uttering speech only on the occasion of daily recitation of the Veda, begging so much food only in the village as will sustain his life, he shall wander about caring neither for this world nor for heaven." The fact that both Vasistha and Apastamba quote from older works with regard to the life of the *Muni*, shows that the traditions about the *Muni* were very ancient and in fact, were those of the Rigveda; and from this *Muni*, in a direct line of descent, were derived the *Munis* and *Yatis* of the Jainas, the *Sramanas* of the Buddhists, and the *Jatilas*, and others of the orthodox Brahmanic Church of whom we read in the Jaina and Buddhist literatures. The high character of the *Muni* as given in the *Bhagavad-gita* (II. 56 etc.) is very well known.

Like the *Muni*, the *Brahmacharin* also wandered about the Aryan domain including the region near the Eastern sea, as the *Atharva-veda* (XI. 5, 6) tells us: "The Vedic student (*Brahmacharin*) goes kindled with fuel (*samidh*), clothing himself with the black antelope skin, consecrated, long-bearded; he goes at once from the Eastern to the Northern ocean, having grasped the worlds, again and again violently shaping (them)." This long-bearded *Brahmacharin* here is not apparently a young student, but one who has devoted himself to Vedic studies without entering the householder's stage of life, and such *Brahmacharins* or *Parivrajaks*, as the *Apastamba Dharma-sutra* (II. 21) calls them, travelled about throughout the Aryan region from the eastern extremity

near the Bay of Bengal up to the Northern sea which is probably to be identified with the Caspian Sea or the Sea of Aral, and this need not appear impossible, seeing that Vahlika or Bactria was well known to the seers of the *Atharva-veda* (V. 22,7) and that, as we have already seen before, the worship of the god Rudra had already spread to the Northern sea. As regards the Eastern ocean, there cannot be any doubt that the *Atharva-veda* (IV. 3,1; V. 22, 14 etc.) which knows *Anga* and *Magadha* and the haunts of the tiger whose habitat is in the swamps about the mouth of the Ganges, was also very well acquainted with the Bay of Bengal.

From what has been said above, it will be evident that the wandering ascetics who were called *Munis* were journeying over the whole of northern India, even in the early Vedic age; the *Vatarasana Munis* who were remarkable for the pure and chaste life they led and the severe austerities they practised, appear to have taken a leading part in these wandering expeditions and to have traversed the whole of the country that Manu in later times calls *Aryavarta*, the extensive region that stretched from the Western to the Eastern ocean. The fact that these two oceans had become known to the seers of the Rigveda demonstrate very clearly that the Vedic Aryans could not have remained shut up in a narrow region in the North-west of India during the centuries that the hymns of the Rigveda were being composed, but that they, at least their pioneers, had already travelled to, and perhaps settled in, the farthest extremity in the East. There can, therefore, be no doubt that the process of Aryan settlement in eastern India up to the Eastern ocean, had been going on for some time when the Rigveda hymn which, according to Katyayana, was contributed by seven *Vatarasana* ascetics, was composed and sung. By the time of the *Atharva-veda* which, as we have seen, shows a more intimate acquaintance with the eastern regions, the occupation of Eastern India must have been completed.*

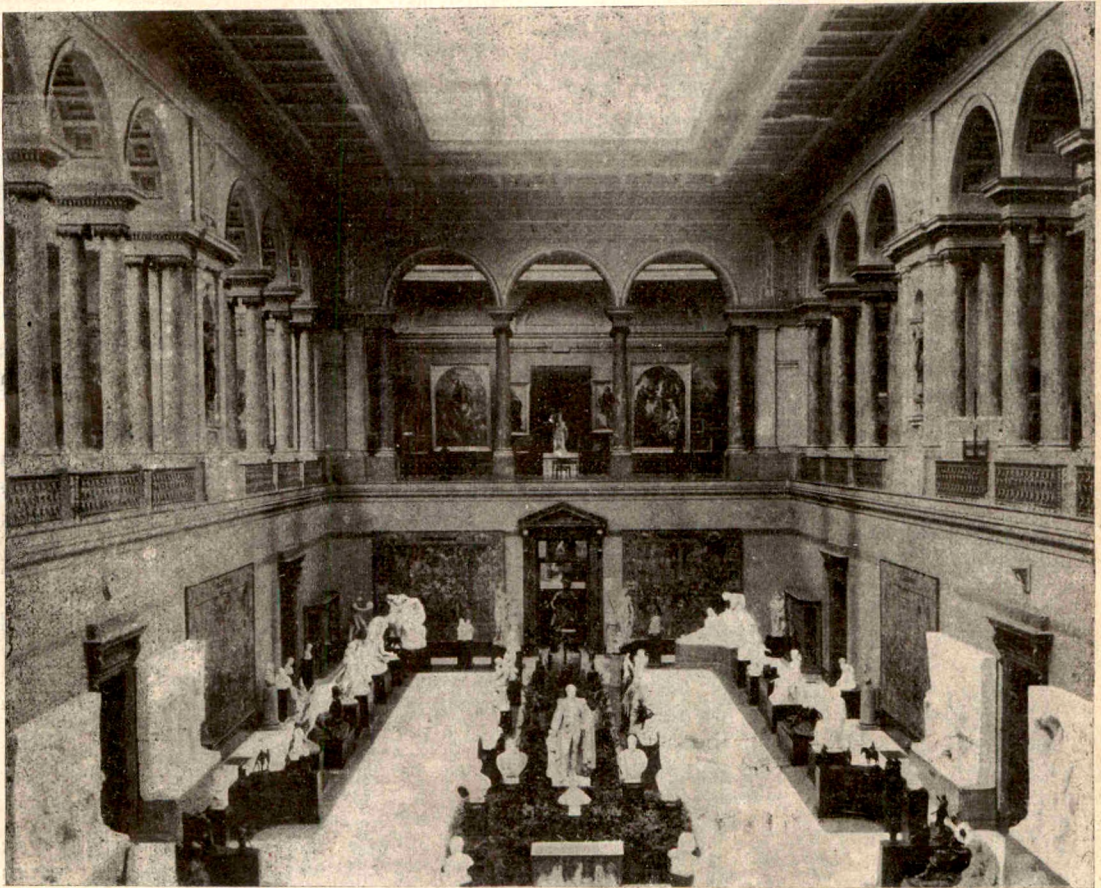
*The matter has been fully discussed in the author's *Aryan Occupation of Eastern India*, shortly to be published by the Greater India Society.

Master-Painters of Flanders *

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

PAINTERS born and nurtured on the Flanders plain have played an important part in the evolution of European art. Canvases left behind by some of the artists who lived and worked in the Middle Ages are to-day looked upon as priceless

away by conquerors and collectors from other countries ; but some remain in the land of their creation. Lovers of art make pilgrimages to them wherever they be—whether in private or public possession. Their colours remain remarkably bright



Interior of the Brussels Museum

heirlooms belonging not to Belgium alone but to all humanity..

Many of these masterpieces hang in galleries in various lands, having been taken

* This article must not be reprinted nor translated without first securing the written consent of the author.

though hundreds of years have elapsed since they were originally executed, and their appeal is irresistible.

For many years I have been attracted by the Flemish school of painting. Residence for a year in Belgium whetted my interest all the more. As I was sojourning in that

country for reasons of health and had been bidden by my physician to shun reading and writing. I, for once in my life, found the leisure to wander from town to town, from one art collection to another and study both the masterpieces and the environment in which those masterpieces were created.

II

Fully to appreciate the glories of Flemish art it is really necessary to have an idea of the land in which their creators lived and worked, and of the stock from which they sprung.

Flanders forms the north-west corner of Belgium. In physical features and racial and linguistic characteristics it is different from the south-eastern portion of the country. The plain that begins within sight of the North Sea is so low that in parts where Nature has not raised a barrier by piling up sand, in dunes or mounds, it is necessary to build dykes to prevent inundation. In this respect Flanders very much resembles Holland.

The soil is sandy and needs to be heavily manured if it is to yield good crops. Lack of natural drainage also complicates the problem of tillage. Any water not actually needed for cultivation must be removed, otherwise the land would become waterlogged.

Incessant warfare with Nature has developed a hardy, somewhat phlegmatic type. The Flemish peasant works from dawn till far beyond nightfall and is persevering. What is more, he is intelligent and resourceful. Had he not been so he never could have survived, in view of the difficulties he has had to face through the centuries.

The language used in Flanders is akin to Dutch. Close association with French-speaking Walloons who live in the south-east corner of Belgium and speak either pure French or a dialect (*patois*) akin to French, has led to the absorption of French words and French culture.

Until comparatively recent times Flanders constituted the cock-pit of Europe. The people of this part the Continent were those of whom Caesar wrote in his *Commentaries*, before the birth of the Christ, that "the bravest of these are the Belgae (Belgians). Later, nations of Gallic or Latin origin inhabiting the countries to the west frequently contested the right to hold it with peoples of Germanic stock to the east. Torn and bleeding, it passed from the hands of one

conqueror to those of another.

During the early Middle Ages, the leaders of contending armies professed the same faith—Roman Catholicism. This circumstance was no doubt responsible for the churches, cathedrals, monasteries, convents and hospitals being spared. Each new conqueror indeed vied with the king or chieftain he had dispossessed, in lavishing gifts upon sacred institutions—upon extending, re-building and beautifying existing edifices and creating new ones, as a legacy by which his name was to be remembered by posterity.

This, then, was the atmosphere in which Flemish art was born. A master, surrounded by his pupils, usually lived and worked at the court of his patron—Duke or Archduke or King, as the case might be. In some instances, the patron was only a merchant prince.

Some artists did their best work while war was raging. A few of them actually participated in the fighting and exchanged the brush for the sword when opportunity offered or necessity compelled them to do so. In one case, as I shall describe later, a painter executed immortal works at the very hospital in which sisters of charity had snatched him from the jaws of death and nursed him back to health and strength after he had been wounded in battle.

Religion sometimes served as an impulse to creative effort, and sometimes only as a *motif* for a background. Wordly considerations crept into the art and even overlaid it; but the religious atmosphere was seldom absent. The desire to please his patron may, for instance, have induced an artist to employ as a model the lady who, at the moment, found favour in the monarch's eyes. In the finished picture, however, the courtesan was transformed into the Madonna.

III

The Flemish school of art really dates from the middle of the fourteenth century. Flanders was at the time under the sway of the Duke of Burgundy. A scion of the French ruling dynasty of the day, he had come into power owing to the failure of male issue in the House of Brabant.

Artists had painted beautiful pictures before then and handed down their technique to posterity through the pupils whom they trained, who in return, taught the cunning of the brush to others. Until the genius of

Hubert and Jan Van Eyck flamed upon the Flamish horizon no one had however, impressed his personality upon his contemporaries to the point of being acclaimed as a master or founding a school that would take the name of the land in which he had been born.

Hubert, the elder Van Eyck, is generally considered to have discovered the use of oil as a medium for mixing colours. Whether or not he actually invented oil painting, he certainly developed it to a high pitch of perfection. Jan (or John), who survived his brother by fourteen years, dying in 1440, was in the employ of Philip le Bon (Philip the Good), Duke of Burgundy. These two brothers laid the foundations of the Flemish school of art, distinctive from all others for its technique.

The *chef d'oeuvre* of the Van Eycks was the canvas known as the "Adoration of the Lamb," hanging on the walls of the Tenth Chapel in the Cathedral Church of St. Bavo in Ghent. It is really a composite picture consisting of four paintings—three upright panels above an oblong canvas stretching right across the three below them.

The central panel dominates the group. The large figure, clad in rich robes and elaborately ornamented is generally taken to represent God the Father. On the left panel is a representation of St. John the Baptist in the vestments of a monk. On the right panel is the Virgin Mother.

The side panels are really wings on hinges which fold over the central one like shutters. The paintings on the reverse are by lesser artists and take the place of genuine ones that had been removed.

The large oblong canvas depicting the adoration of the Lamb, from which the painting takes its name, is a wonderful production. The Lamb, it must be explained, is a mystic symbol of the Christ. Its significance lies in the fact that just as a lamb is slaughtered to provide sustenance for human beings, so the Christ, according to the Christian faith, permitted himself to be sacrificed to save all those who believed in him from suffering from the consequence of their sins. In the painting the Lamb stands on an altar covered with red damask over which is placed a white cloth. From a gash in its breast a stream of blood flows into a golden cup. Angels kneel in an attitude of adoration at either side of the altar, while

around them are grouped apostles, popes, cardinals, monks, kings and princes.

Something like three hundred figures are portrayed in the painting. Each is so perfectly executed that not only the attitude but also the expression on a person's face is shown.

In the background have been sketched the buildings and scenery of the city of Ghent as they existed at that time. This is a characteristic of the early Flemish school and gives its work the added value of furnishing correct historical data of the periods in which they were painted as well as being masterpieces of art.

The "Madonna and St. Donatian," another famous Van Eyck, hangs in the Musée Communale or Municipal Gallery of Bruges. This picture, from the point of view of technique, is perfect. The light streams in a shaft across the painting illuminating the important figures, while leaving the details at the edge of the canvas merged into the shadowy background.

The work was commissioned in 1433 by Georges van der Paele, who was the Canon of St. Donatian at the time. It was completed in 1436. Van Eyck, perhaps to please his patron, painted him kneeling at the right of the Madonna, with St. George, his patron Saint, in attendance. The artist did not spare the Canon in transferring his features to canvas. He painted him in all his ugliness, even to a disfiguring wart. His homeliness is, indeed, so mercilessly depicted as to make to the effect, pathetic: for studying the various figures surrounding him, it almost seems that they are pitying him for his lack of grace and beauty and wondering at his temerity in thus approaching the Madonna and Child. He, on the contrary, has an expression of eager desire that his offering be accepted. One can almost see his pink features quivering with the exquisite pains of the fear that, they may not be deemed worthy of acceptance.

At the other side of the Holy Mother stands St. Donatian, watching the scene. The Madonna occupies the centre of the picture, seated in a throne-like chair and holding the Infant Jesus in her lap. Judging from her general appearance and the richness of her attire, Van Eyck must have chosen one of the ladies of the Court to sit as his model. She is large and robust and maturely developed. She looks as if she might have walked out of the palace of the Duke and into the canvas. Everything about the picture

indicates luxury—the arches in the background, the furnishings, the soft carpet in the foreground.

It is impossible to describe the general effect the picture has upon a person who sees it for the first time. The tones are so rich, the light and shade so beautifully distributed, that it holds one speechless—spell-bound.

Near the "Madonna and St. Donatian" hangs a small canvas prized by the Musée



Portrait of the Artist's Wife by Jan Van Eyck.
Musée Communal, Bruges

Communale as its most priceless possession. It is a portrait of Jan Van Eyck's wife, and bears the inscription in Latin: "*Conjux meus Johannes me complevit Anno 1439 Mense Junii*" (my husband John completed me June, 1439). This picture is valued by its owners at Rs. 700,000. It was discovered more than a hundred years ago in the Bruges fish-market, and was secured for almost nothing, its real value not being then known.

The portrait appears to come to life as it is studied. It stands out from the canvas more like a carved bust than a painting, although in sketching the face remarkably few lines were employed. It is full of character. One feels that this thin-lipped lady with a wart on her cheek must have kept a tight hold upon the domestic reins.

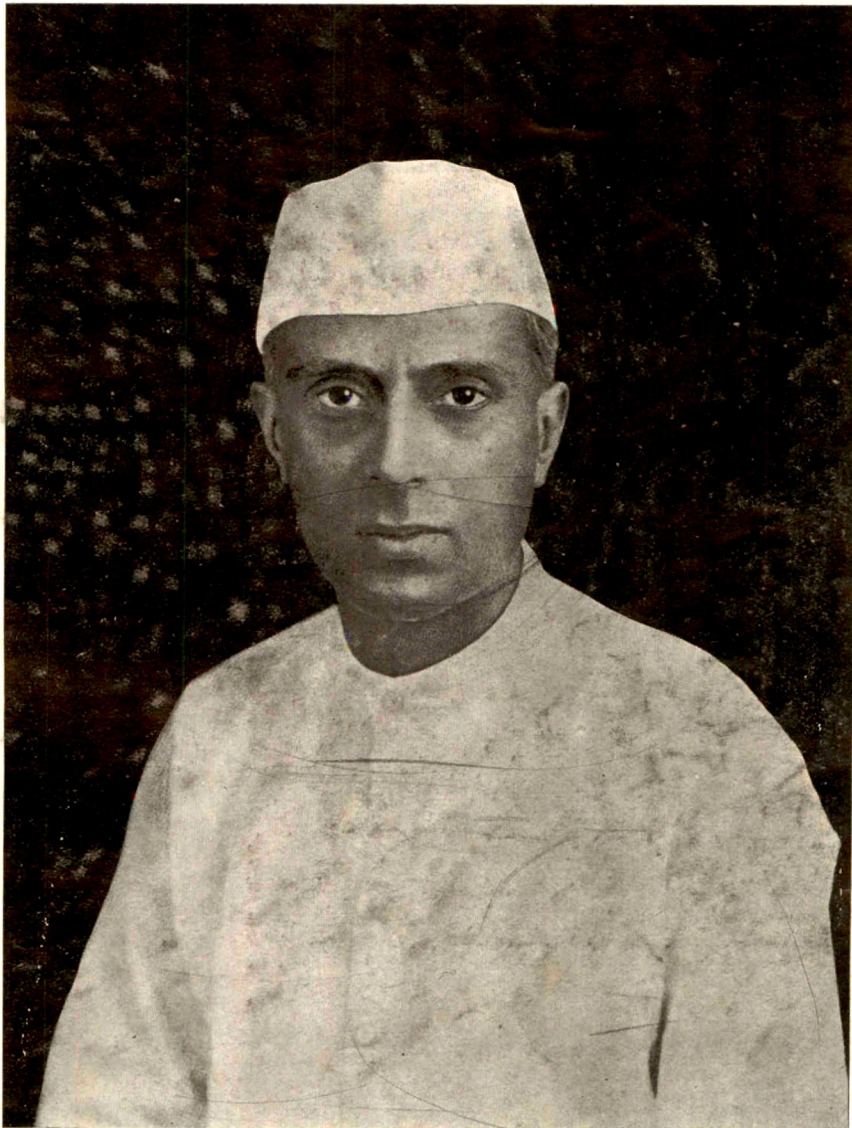
This painting was lent by the Bruges Municipality, a couple of years ago, to the loan exhibition of Flemish and Belgian masterpieces held at the Burlington House in London by the Anglo-Belgian Union. There were less than eight hundred exhibits, of which over one hundred represented the modern Belgian school; and their total value was estimated at £10,000,000 (say Rs. 135,000,000).

A head of the Christ painted by Jan Van Eyck is also on exhibition in the Musée Communale of Bruges.

England possesses in the collection of Sir Herbert Cook, a valuable Van Eyck, the "Three Marys at the Sepulchre," by Hubert. Two very famous Van Eyck paintings are "Adam and Eve" and "The Adoration of the Magi." These were originally executed for the Cathedral Church of St. Bavon in Ghent, but were removed to the Musée Royal de Peinture in Brussels. At least one of them, if I remember aright, was in Berlin for many years, but was recovered, and, I believe, returned to the Cathedral which they were intended to adorn.

There are one or two minor Van Eycks in the Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts in Antwerp; but including these and the ones already referred to, the important works of the two brothers might easily, I should think, be counted on the fingers of two hands.

The next artist of outstanding merit in the Flemish school following the Van Eycks,



PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
President, The 44th Session of The Indian National Congress, Lahore

was Roger van der Weyden. He was a pupil of the Van Eycks, and died in Brussels in 1464. His greatest masterpiece, the "Seven Sacraments," is to be seen in the Antwerp Museum. Though renowned as a religious painter, he essayed considerable portrait work.

Several of Van der Weyden's canvases are owned by American collectors. One is a lovely "Madonna and Child," belonging to the Huntington collection. Another is a "Portrait of a Lady," a treasured possession of Mr. Andrew W. Mellon, the Secretary of the Treasury in the United States President's Cabinet. Still another, a "Portrait of an Elderly Woman," a masterly production with clean precision of line, is in the collection of Mr. John D. Rockefeller Jr.

A picture that is highly prized by all critics is van der Weyden's "Lionello d'Este," the property of Colonel Michael Friedsam. It was executed in 1449-50, while the artist was in Italy, and has a tender touch that was unique in art productions up to that time.

V

Among Roger van der Weyden's pupils was Hans (or Jan) Memling (or Hemmling), who died in 1496. His work was characterized by correct drawing, great attention to detail, a pervading atmosphere of reverence and purity and richness of colouring. Always realistic in the treatment of his subjects, this artist stands in a class all by himself. No one has been able exactly to copy his technique.

Memling is believed to have been a native of Bruges. At any rate, if tradition is to be believed, he made his way to that town when he had been wounded almost unto death in one of the wars that raged in Flanders in the Middle Ages.

Then as now, the 'Opital St. Jean (Hospital of St. John) existed in Bruges, and was conducted by nuns of St. Augustine. They saved Memling's life. In gratitude, he is said to have painted and presented to them the wonderful pictures now contained in the gallery of that institution, which has become a place of pilgrimage for persons interested in art from all over the world. According to another tradition, he was commissioned by the institution to execute the paintings, and was paid a fee for his work.

The principal pictures are quite small. They cover the ends and sides of a reliquary,

a small chest shaped somewhat like Noah's Ark. It stands on a pedestal in a glass case in the centre of the gallery.

The pictures are descriptive of incidents in the life of St. Ursula, the daughter of a British king, who decided to devote her life to religious works. When her royal father sought to force her to marry a pagan prince, she fled to the Continent, accompanied by thousands of devout Christian virgins. Going up the Rhine to Italy by way of Cologne and Basle, she was received in audience by Pope Cyriacus, who gave her his blessing. Upon their return from Rome by the same route, however, the party of virgin pilgrims was set upon and killed by the "pagan" people of the country through which they were passing.

Memling depicted on the ends and sides of the reliquary, the landing of St. Ursula and her virgin attendants at Cologne; their disembarkation at Basle; their arrival in Rome and their reception by the Holy Father; their departure from Basle; their arrival at Cologne; and their martyrdom, six pictures in all. He was always careful to put in backgrounds that would faithfully illustrate the very places at which the incidents depicted took place. He is, in fact, famous for his backgrounds, which were always distinct, in perfect perspective and clearly indicated. In the "Martyrdom of St. Ursula" he was particularly careful to give to posterity a true picture of Cologne of that day, the great cathedral being shown in perfect detail.

St. Ursula and the subordinate figures are all worked out with infinite patience. There are thousands of figures in the various groups, and yet, studied through a magnifying glass, each stands out separately. As a result, whether analysed individually or taken in the *ensemble*, these productions are almost faultless.

Besides the St. Ursula series, the authorities of the Hospital of St. John treasure here Memling's "Adoration of the Wise Men of the East," the "Marriage of St. Catherine," and a bust of a woman known as "Sybilla Sambetha."

One of the Memling paintings which particularly attracts me is the "Martyrdom of St. Sebastian" in the Brussels Museum. It shows that Saint, bound to a tree, the target for arrows shot at him which have pierced his body, arms and legs. The treatment is almost cruel in its realism.



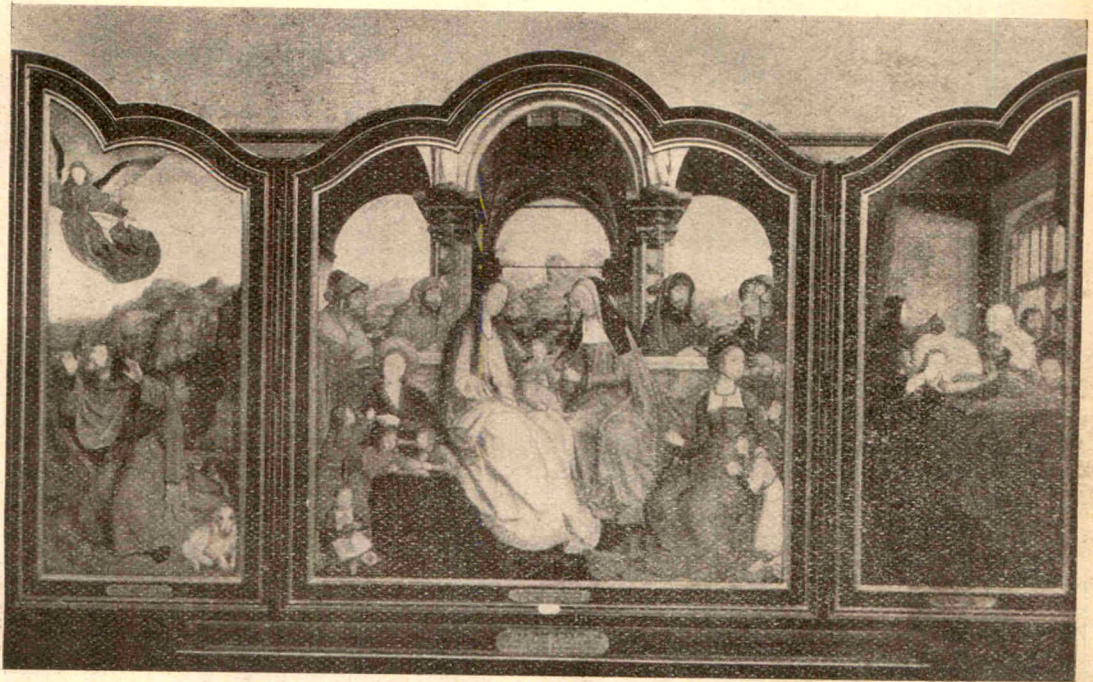
The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian by Hans Memling—*Musee Royal des Beaux-Arts, Brussels*

Memling's models, unlike those of the Van Eycks, were chosen from among the common people. Nothing could be more different in type, for instance, than the Madonna that Van Eyck painted some fifty years earlier and the Holy Mother in the "Adoration of the Wise Men of the East" by Memling.

The latter picture was obviously the creation of an austere man—a man who lived among and associated with monks, if he was not himself a friar. He did not portray the opulence of the court as expressed in rich robes, robust forms or haughty features. He idealized—spiritualized his models—painted the soul rather than the body.

VI

The next generation of Flanders produced Quentin Matsys, an Antwerp artist, born in 1466, whose work, while showing some of the features of the Van Eyck school, was greatly influenced by the Italian Renaissance. Matsys, according to the local tradition, was a native of Louvain. Brought up as a blacksmith, he fell in love with a young lady in Antwerp whose father had sworn that she should not marry anyone but an artist. Matsys, for the sake of love, gave up the forge for the brush and soon was in the forefront of his new profession. An inscription on his tomb gives



The Legend of St. Anne by Quentin Matsys
Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts, Brussels

colour to this tale. The ornamental iron work of the Quentin Matsys Well, near the entrance to the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Antwerp, is reputed to have been wrought by this great artist before he deserted his forge.

Not many specimens of the work of Matsys exist. His *chef d'oeuvre* is considered to be a triptych representing the entombment of the Christ, formerly in the Cathedral but now in the Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts in Antwerp. In the same gallery are heads of Christ, the Virgin, and Mary Magdalene. One of his works, "Ecce Homo," is hung in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, Tournai, to which place I journeyed principally to view it. One of his most wonderful works, the "Legend of St. Anne," is to be found in the Brussels Museum.

VII

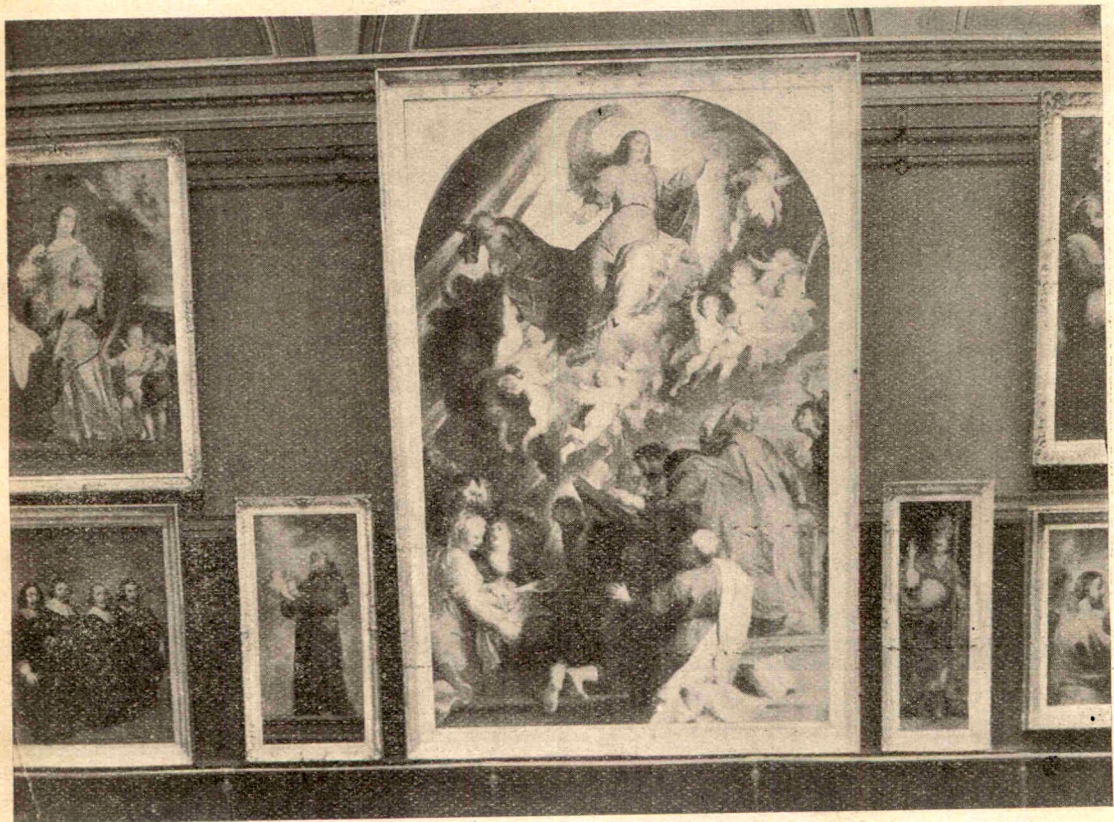
Some fifty years after the death of Matsys in 1530, was born Peter Paul Rubens, the son of an Antwerp magistrate. More than one city claims to have been his birthplace. He left behind more masterpieces than any other artist of the Flemish school.

Rubens was not wedded to his art in the same sense that the other great masters were, but was a great traveller, a politician and a diplomat. In the latter capacity he undertook several delicate missions for his liege lord.

It seems almost incredible that in the intervals of travel, one man, even though assisted by many pupils, could have painted so many pictures, most of them masterpieces. He must have been a remarkably quick worker. His canvases are to be found in nearly every gallery and cathedral—and even in smaller churches—in Belgium, while there are few important collections anywhere in the world in which at least one is not included. Perhaps the largest number in any single gallery is to be found in the Musée Royal de Peinture in Brussels. Here are fifteen of his paintings. "The Assumption of the Virgin", in which blue tones predominate, appeals to me especially.

Antwerp possesses many of Rubens' works. They are to be found in profusion in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, the Musée des Beaux-Arts, the Musée Plantin Moretus and other galleries.

In a picture in the Rubens' Chapel in St. Jacques Church, Rubens is supposed to have



The Assumption of the Virgin by Peter Paul Ruben
Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts, Brussels

painted not only himself (as St. George), but also his grandfather (as Time), his father (as St. Jerome), his first wife (as Martha) his second wife (as Mary Magdalene) and his little son (as an angel).

Rubens was successful in his profession from the financial point of view. He was paid large fees, immense for the time, for his work and was not averse from producing effects to order. He was, for instance, commissioned by the Guild of Archers in Antwerp to paint the "Descent from the Cross," now hung in the Cathedral of Notre Dame in that city. They desired him to paint a picture that would have some reference to St. Christopher, their patron Saint, and offered him 2,400 florins, a large sum in those days. He executed a wonderful canvas in the form of a triptych. In the central panel he depicted the body of the Christ being taken down from the Cross. On one wing was portrayed the Virgin Mary and on the other Simeon in the Temple bearing the Christ child in his

arms. On the reverse side of the wings, showing when they were closed, were painted St. Christopher carrying the Infant Jesus and the various emblems associated with that Saint.

Another picture that Rubens painted to order is the "Draft of Fishes" in St. John's Church, Malines. This was commissioned by the Fishers' Guild of Malines.

A third is "St. Bode Interceding for the Plague-Stricken Town of Alost," in the Church of St. Martin in that town, which is situated some seventeen miles from Ghent.

The history of each Rubens painting in the Musée Plantin Moretus in Antwerp is known, and the price paid to the artist for it is given in the catalogue.

No doubt Rubens found that his influence at court and his interest in politics was useful to him in securing commissions. It is to be doubted, in any case, if any other Flemish master made so much money from his profession as he did.

Rammohun Roy's Engagements with the Emperor of Delhi

(Based on Unpublished State Records)

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

IN this Review (January and February, 1929) I published an account of Rammohun Roy's embassy to England to press certain pecuniary claims of the poor Emperor of Delhi (Akbar Shah II). The Rajah's pleading convinced the Court of Directors of the need of making a settlement with the Delhi Emperor without further delay, and therefore, they, in their letter, dated 13th February 1833, directed the Governor-General to raise the royal stipend to 15 lakhs of Rupees per annum, leaving it to him to distribute the additional amount (three lakhs) among the other members of the imperial family in such manner as he thought just and proper upon a consideration of their respective claims.

When the decision of the Home authorities was made known to the Delhi King, he at first declined to accept the increase of three lakhs per annum, on the ground that his claims were for a higher amount. The adoption of this attitude by him was, of course, prompted by a letter from Rammohun Roy in England, instructing him to reject any offer that might be made by the authorities in India to induce him to forgo the benefit of the claims preferred on his behalf in England. But the unfortunate King was, in the end, obliged, by the premature death of Rajah Rammohun Roy (on 27th September, 1833), to be content with what had already been offered to him.

This, in brief, is the history of what Rammohun was able to do for his master. What was the nature of the inducements which had been offered to him by the Mughal Emperor to make him go to England and champion his cause?* All the existing

* Rammohun, while in England, submitted to the Court of Directors a printed pamphlet on the Delhi King's claims, which he had prepared for greater facility of perusal and information. I have been able to procure a copy of this pamphlet, hitherto unknown to the biographers of Rammohun.

biographies of Rammohun Roy fail to satisfy our very natural curiosity on this point. The only fact hitherto known occurs in the following passage of an obituary sketch of Rammohun, evidently contributed by Sandford Arnot (the Rajah's secretary in England) to the *Asiatic Journal* (Nov. 1833, p. 208):



Rajah Rammohun Roy

"A short time before his death, he had brought his negotiations with the British Government, on behalf of the King of Delhi, to a successful close, by a compromise with the Ministers of the Crown, which will add £ 30,000 a-year to the stipend of the Mogul, and, of course, make a proportionate reduction in the Indian revenue. The deceased ambassador had a contingent interest in this large addition to the ample allowance of the Mogul pageant, and his heirs, it is said, will gain from it a perpetual income of £ 3,000 or £ 4,000 a-year."

But the reader is puzzled when he comes to know that the truth of Arnot's statement that the Rajah and his heirs obtained the

"perpetual income" was questioned by Mr. Ananda Mohun Bose.

Fortunately, the State Records fill up the lacuna and help us to know the nature of the agreement between the Delhi Emperor and Rammohun Roy.

When the Delhi King signified his consent to accept the increase of three lakhs of Rupees per annum, sanctioned by the Court of Directors, in satisfaction of all his claims upon the Company, the Agent to the Lieut.-Governor, N.-W. Provinces, asked him to state his wishes regarding the disposal of the additional amount. The King accordingly furnished him in April 1836 with an abstract list of the parties to whom the extra allowance of Rs. 25,000 per month was proposed to be distributed. This statement shows, among others, the following entry:—
Rammohun's son Rs. 1,875

In the covering letter, forwarding the above statement, the Delhi King observed:

"Out of the amount of the stipendiary increase payments on account of promises made and written engagements entered into by His Majesty with those who had laboured to obtain the increased allowance shall be first made

"The particulars of His Majesty's engagements are as follows: 1st that should an increase of eight lakhs of Rupees be obtained, out of the sum of Rs. 10,000 monthly, a salary of Rs. 5,000 per mensem to be paid in perpetuity to Rajah Ram Mohun Roy and Rs. 5,000 thro. the Prince Muhammad Salim with Rajah Sohun Lal and others who have laboured in obtaining the increase—and secondly, that the amount increased allowance for one year shall be divided in equal portions between Rajah Ram Mohun Roy and thro. Prince Mirza Muhammad Salim."

"Conformably with these engagements on the three lakhs of Rupees, the sum of Rs. 3,750 becomes due monthly to these zealous well-wishers of His Majesty, of which one-half is to be bestowed on Radhaprasad and Roy Ramaprasad, sons of the late Rajah Ram Mohun Roy and the other half thro. Prince Mirza Muhammad Salim."

But the Lieutenant-Governor of the N.-W. Provinces could not approve of the parties to whom the King proposed to distribute his increased stipendiary allowance. He, therefore, ordered the scheme of distribution to be modified and sent to the King for his approval. The King, being dissatisfied with this new plan of distribution, angrily refused to accept the amount at all. The Government of the N.-W. Provinces, in forwarding

the whole correspondence to the Supreme Government, remarked:

"Neither this arrangement nor any other part of the scheme will satisfy His Majesty, whose objects will not be accomplished by such a distribution, nor the son of Ram Mohun Roy who is in waiting at Delhi to see what portion of this plunder of the State he can lay hands on." (5th October, 1836).*

As a last measure Akbar Shah II placed his grievances before the Governor-General in a *kharita*, the following passages of which will make the subject of the agreement between Rammohun and the Delhi King fully clear to the reader:

"A communication from the Agent to the Lieutenant-Governor, N.-W. P. accompanied by a statement of the distribution of the increased stipendiary allowance of Rs. 25,000 has been received. In this statement... not a farthing [has been] reserved for me, my sons nor their descendants...

"It cost me three lakhs of Rupees to send ambassadors to England and Calcutta for the sole purpose of removing my own embarrassments and those of my children, brothers and sisters and salateens, and not for the purpose of enabling some to enjoy affluence while others were left in a state of destitution... Rajah Ram Mohun Roy Bahadur confiding in my promises and favour, undertook the distant journey to England and fell a sacrifice. Other zealous servants, such as Rajah Sohun Lal and others were promised rewards and salaries through the late Mirza Salim, to the effect, that if an increase of eight lakhs of Rupees per annum was obtained, the sum of Rs. 10,000 should be paid monthly in perpetuity, *viz.*, Rs. 5,000 to Rajah Ram Mohun Roy and Rs. 5,000 to Mirza Salim, including Rajah Sohun Lal and others, and as a reward the whole amount of one year's increase, *viz.*, one-half to Rajah Ram Mohun Roy and the other half to Mirza Salim including Rajah Sohun Lal and others. Agreeably to the above arrangement, the rate on the additional three lakhs of Rupees per annum payable monthly to those meritorious individuals, will amount to Rs. 3,750—one-half to Rao Radhaprasad and Rao Ramaprasad, sons of the late Rajah Ram Mohun Roy and the other half to the late Mirza Salim and others before-mentioned. The fulfilment of my promise is just and proper and independently of my

* Translation of a letter (received on 15th April 1836) from the King of Delhi to the Agent to the Lieut.-Governor, N.-W. Provinces.—*Political Consultation* 24 October, 1836, No. 13.

* Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor, N.-W. P., Agra, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Political Department, dated 5th October, 1836.—*Pol. Con.* 24 October 1836, No. 13.

promise and without reference to the increase, the family of a man who has sacrificed his life in the service of his master, ought to be maintained by that master—especially Rao Radhaprasad and Rao Ramaprasad, sons of the late Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, who are my devoted servants, and have likewise received a promise of remuneration. Moreover, for the space of two years past, Rao Radhaprasad has been in attendance at the Royal threshold, in the hope of realizing the promised remuneration and salary on account of his father's devotion. . .

which will increase your Lordship's good name and my happiness." *

But the King's representation had no effect; the Governor-General, Lord Auckland, merely observed in his reply:

"I have attentively weighed your Majesty's objections to the proposed distribution and I regret that I cannot discover in them anything which could justify a change in that distribution. Still less can I concur in the propriety of your Majesty's wish that a portion of the increase should be granted to individuals not being members of the Royal family and who have no claim on the bounty of the British Government." (8 May, 1837). †



Akbar Shah II in a Procession

"I have in every communication on the subject invariably complained of my being troubled by my creditors, and that interest was daily accumulating. The payment of debt by every Law is a duty, and the fulfilment of my promises of remuneration and fixed salaries to the sons of the late Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, Rajah Sohun Lal and others, is as much incumbent on me, if not more so, than the discharge of a just debt. It was solely from an anxiety to liquidate my debts and redeem my promises, that a *Raxinama* for so small an increase was executed. . .

"Justice requires, that your Lordship should make a suitable arrangement for the expenses of royalty and for the satisfaction of the rights of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, Rajah Sohun Lal and others

It is evident, therefore, that the old monarch did not enjoy any part of the increased allowance of three lakhs per annum. He died shortly after, on 28th September 1837, aged 82 years, leaving Mirza Muhammad Abu Zafar to succeed him.

It will be thus seen that Akbar Shah II remembered to the last the invaluable service rendered to him by Rammohun Roy, though, in spite of his best intentions and repeated efforts, he could not fulfil his engagements for the benefit of the family of his deceased ambassador, owing to the interference of the Indian Government.

* Trans. of a *kharita* from the Delhi King to the Governor-General of India. This accompanied a letter from the Offg. Secy. to the Lieut.-Governor, N.-W. P., dated 8 April, 1837.—*Pol. Con.* 8 May, 1837, No. 26.

† *Pol. Con.*, 8 May, 1837, No. 27.

Sir C. V. Raman at the University of Paris

By RAMAIAH NAIDU

AFTER his extensive tour in Great Britain, where he was invited to deliver lectures in all the leading centres of scientific research, Sir C. V. Raman has accepted invitations to the same effect from some of the most important universities of the Continent.

Beginning their continental tour with Belgium, Sir C. V. and Lady Raman next came to Paris last week where they have been the honoured guests of the University (Sorbonne). Being a research student of science and knowing the University *milieu* intimately for the past few years, I wish to transmit to the readers of *The Modern Review* a distant echo of the cordial reception given to Sir and Lady Raman by all the great scientists of France. Prof. Raman was invited to deliver a short course of lectures on his latest research on the structure of molecules at the "Institut d'Henri Poincaré", a new temple of research built in memory of the great genius of that name, where it is proposed to establish a centre of international collaboration by inviting eminent men of science from all the countries of the world. It was under the auspices of the same Institute that Einstein also gave, just a fortnight ago, a short course of lectures on his latest work in the unitary field theory.

It is a matter of great honour to India that the next great scientist to be invited by that Institute should be an Indian. It is indeed rare in the annals of the university to see so many of the brilliant French scientists gather together to hear a foreigner speak on a subject on which many of them are themselves authorities. The audience counted among others such eminent scientists as Mme. Curie, Messrs. Langevin, Perrin, Cartan, Brillouin, Fabry, Cotton, Maurain, Maurice de Broglie, Louis de Broglie (the latest recipient of the Nobel Prize for Physics); to mention but a few of the professors of the Sorbonne and the Collège de France who were present.

Prof. Raman delivered an equally brilliant public lecture in the big Physics amphitheatre, under the auspices of the "Société de

Physique de France." The theme of the lecture was his last year's great discovery called after his name, the "Raman Effect". Prof. Perrin in introducing the lecturer alluded with feeling to the event as symbolic of the fact that the whole world was coming closer and uniting in the great struggle to enlarge the boundaries of scientific knowledge, which is international *par excellence* and a true heritage of Humanity. In Prof. Raman was a proof, he said, that India, the cradle of civilizations, which furnished so many great men in the domain of Metaphysics and Philosophy, could also, if she wished, produce equally great men of science.

The lecture was punctuated with many striking and successful experiments and lantern slides. Prof. Raman was inspiring when he mentioned, in a synthetic vision, all the great avenues of research into molecular and atomic structure that his discovery has opened out; and reckoning the brilliant results already achieved since then by seekers from all parts of the world, he hoped to see greater discoveries made with increasing speed in the near future. In all his speeches Prof. Raman has struck a note of synthesis, of all-comprehensiveness, which later I heard my professors allude to as a specific characteristic of the Indian genius. At the end, while thanking the speaker, Prof. Perrin underlined "la clarté de son exposition et la beauté de ses expériences."

I cannot of course enter here into the technical details of the subject and explain why Prof. Raman's discoveries are universally appreciated as being of first-rate importance. Having accompanied him to some of the social gatherings organized in his honour and in his visits to different laboratories and centres of research [Institut d'Optique (Fabry); Institut de Radium (Mme. Curie); Physical-Chemistry Laboratory (Perrin); the most interesting private X-Ray laboratory of the Duc de Broglie, and the world's most powerful Electro-Magnet of its kind, newly set up by Prof. Cotton in the "Office Nationale des Recherches Scientifiques et Industrielles" at Bellevue, a near suburb of Paris], I have

heard, once and again, all the eminent men in charge of them tell Prof. Raman how very glad they will be to count Indians among their students. Prof. Raman, to express, in a pleasant and somewhat humorous manner, his thankfulness for so much cordiality told

Mme. Curie that he would himself willingly come as a student to her laboratories if he could only get away from his university work!

Institut de Radium, Paris

November 25, 1929.

Centenary of the Abolition of the Immolation of Widows

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE practice of the immolation of widows, misnamed *suttee* in English, was first prohibited by Albuquerque within Portuguese India in 1510. The Mughal emperor Akbar attempted to stop it. He forbade compulsion, voluntary *suttees* alone being permitted. Towards the end of the 18th century Sir C. Malet and Jonathan Duncan in Bombay took the initiative among the British authorities to put a stop to this inhuman custom. But it was on the 4th December, 1829, that Lord William Bentinck carried a regulation in Council which declared that all who abetted *suttee* were "guilty of culpable homicide." The part which Rammohun Roy played in the suppression of this barbarous custom is well known.

It is not our intention to engage in any discussion as to whether the Hindu shastras enjoin the practice. The trick by which in the *Rigveda agre* was changed to *agneh* to give a sanction to it, is well known. "The earlier Indian law-books do not enjoin it, and Manu simply commands the widow to lead a life of chastity and asceticism." (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*.) According to Chambers's *Encyclopaedia*, "the researches of European scholars have made it absolutely certain that no countenance to this barbarous rite can be derived from the oldest and most sacred scriptures. The few passages professedly cited from the Vedas have been proved to be misquoted, garbled,* or wholly

false; and the laws of Manu are silent on the subject."

"The practice was sporadically observed in India when the Macedonians reached India late in the 4th century B. C.:...About the 6th century A. D. a recrudescence of the rite took place, and with the help of corrupted Vedic texts it soon grew to have a full religious sanction. But even so it was not general throughout India. It was rare in the Punjab; and in Malabar, the most primitive part of southern India, it was forbidden. In its medieval form it was essentially a Brahminic rite, and it was where Brahminism was strongest, in Bengal and along the Ganges valley and in Oudh and Rajputana, that it was most usual." (*Ency. Brit.*)

It is a mistake to believe that this custom was peculiar to the Hindus and that they alone were to blame for it. It is also a mistake to hold, as some orthodox Hindus do, that the voluntary sacrifice of widows on the death of their husbands was the glory (?) of Hindu widows alone. Some knowledge of sociology and anthropology would suffice to get rid of both these wrong opinions.

"Widow sacrifice is not peculiar to India, and E. B. Tylor in his *Primitive Culture* (Ch. 11) has collected evidence to support a theory that the rite existed among all primitive Aryan nations. He thinks that in enjoining it the medieval priesthood of India were making no innovation, but were simply reviving an Aryan custom of a barbaric period long antedating the Vedas." (*Ency. Brit.*)

There is a belief widely prevalent among savages that the life which goes on after death does not differ in anything from this life. So it is supposed that the dead man requires food and drink and raiment, furniture and the implements and weapons of his or her usual occupations in this life. Hence all these were buried with the dead

* "In order to give the custom a religious sanction, a passage in the *Rigveda* (X. XVIII. 7) which directed the widow to rise from her husband's funeral pyre and go forth in front (*agre*) was altered into to go into the fire (*agneh*)." R. W. Frazer, in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II, page 207.

among savages. Herbert Spencer writes in his *Principles of Sociology* :

"Carrying out consistently this conception of the second life, uncivilized peoples infer that not only his inanimate possessions, but also his animate possessions, will be needed by the deceased. Hence the slaughter of his livestock."

The author gives many examples of this custom among various savage peoples. He then proceeds to observe :

"Logically developed, the primitive belief implies something more—it implies that the deceased will need not only his weapons and implements, his clothing, ornaments and other movables, together with his domestic animals; but also that he will want human companionship and services. The attendance he had before death must be renewed after death."

"Hence the immolations which have prevailed, and still prevail, so widely. The custom of sacrificing wives, and slaves, and friends, develops as society advances through its earlier stages, and the theory of another life becomes more definite."

According to the same author,

"Among the Fuegians, the Andamanese, the Australians, the Tasmanians, with their rudimentary social organizations, wives are not killed to accompany dead husbands; or if they are, the practice is not general enough to be specified in the accounts given of them. But it is a practice shown us by more advanced peoples: in Polynesia, by the New Caledonians, by the Fijians, and occasionally, by the less barbarous Tongans—in America by the Chinooks, the Caribs, the Dakotas—in Africa by the Congo people, the Inland Negroes, the Coast Negroes, and most extensively by the Dahomans."

Persons other than wives are also sacrificed.

"To attend the dead in the other world, captives taken in war are sacrificed by the Caribs, the Dakotas, the Chinooks; and without enumerating the savage and semi-savage peoples who do the like, I will only further instance the survival of the usage among the Homeric Greeks, when slaying (though with another assigned motive) twelve Trojans at the funeral pyre of Patroclus. Similarly with domestics: a dead man's slaves are slain by the Kyans and the Milanaus of Borneo; the Zulus kill a king's valets; the Inland Negroes kill his eunuchs to accompany his wives; the Coast Negroes poison or decapitate his confidential servants. Further, there is in some cases, an immolation of friends. In Fiji, a leading man's chief friend is sacrificed to accompany him; and among the sanguinary peoples of tropical Africa, a like custom exists."

Spencer notes that it was, however, in the considerably advanced societies of ancient America that such arrangements for the future convenience of the dead were carried out with the greatest care.

"In Mexico every great man's chaplain was slain, that he might perform for him the religious

ceremonies in the next life as in this. Among the Indians of Vera Paz, 'when a lord was dying, they immediately killed as many slaves as he had, that they might precede him and prepare the house for their master.' Besides other attendants, the Mexicans 'sacrificed some of the irregularly formed men, whom the king had collected in his palaces for his entertainment, in order that they might give him the same pleasure in the other world.' Of course, such elaborate precautions that the deceased should not lack hereafter any advantages he had enjoyed here, entailed enormous bloodshed. By the Mexicans 'the number of the victims was proportioned to the grandeur of the funeral, and amounted sometimes, as several historians affirm, to 200.' In Peru, when an Yuca died, 'his attendants and favourite concubines, amounting sometimes, it is said, to a thousand, were immolated on his tomb.' And until the reign of Soui-Zin, when a Japanese emperor died 'on enterrait avec lui tous ceux qui, de son vivant, approchaient sa personne.'"

The author then proceeds to observe that we shall the better conceive the intensity of the faith prompting such customs, when we learn that the victims are often willing, and occasionally anxious, to die. Examples follow.

"Among the Guaranis in old times, some faithful followers 'sacrificed themselves at the grave of a chief.' A dead Yuca's wives 'volunteered to be killed, and their number was often such, that the officers were obliged to interfere, saying that enough had gone at present; and some of the women, in order that their faithful service might be held in more esteem, finding that there was delay in completing the tomb, would hang themselves up by their own hair, and so kill themselves.' Similarly of the Chibchas, Simon says that with a corpse 'they interred the wives and slaves who most wished it.' Of Tonquin in past times Tavernier wrote—'Many Lords and Ladies of the Court will needs be buried alive with him [the dead king] for to serve him in the places where he is to go.' In Africa it is the same even now. Among the Yorubans, at the funeral of a great man, 'many of his friends swallow poison,' and are entombed with him. Formerly in Congo, 'when the king was buried, a dozen young maids leapt into the grave and were buried alive to serve him in the other world. These maids were then so eager for this service to their deceased prince, that, in striving who should be first, they killed one another.' And in Dahomey, 'immediately the king dies, his wives begin to destroy all his furniture and things of value, as well as their own; and to murder one another. On one occasion 285 of the women were thus killed before the new king could stop it.'

"These immolations sometimes follow the deaths of the young. Kane says a Chinook chief wished to kill his wife, that she might accompany his dead son to the other world; and in Aneiteum on the death of a beloved child, the mother, aunt or grandmother, is strangled that she may accompany it to the world of spirits."

In concluding this section Herbert Spencer observes :

"As further qualifying the interpretation to be put on sanguinary customs of this kind, we must bear in mind that not only are inferiors and dependants sacrificed at a funeral, with or without their assent, but the superiors themselves in some cases decide to die. Fiji is not the only place where people advancing in years are buried alive by their dutiful children. The like practice holds in Vate, where an old chief requests his sons to destroy him in this way."

In *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples* (English translation, London, 1890, p. 391), Schrader writes that Indo-Germanic custom ordained that the wife should die with her husband, and this custom he ascribes to the desire to provide the deceased with what was dear to him during life as well as 'to make the life of the housefather safe on all sides, and to render him an object of perpetual care and anxiety to his family.' (*Ency. Reli. & Ethics*).

J. A. MacCulloch writes in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* that the custom of a wife's being slain at her husband's death "is frequently found as an extreme act of austere devotion, the wife devoting herself to death out of affection. Instances of this are found in Fiji, where wives were frequently sacrificed at their own instance; in India, where a wife lit the pyre with her own hands; in China, where wives will take their own lives to follow their husbands into the next world; among the ancient Greeks, with whom historic instances of this suicidal devotion are recorded; and among the ancient Celts."

E. Sidney Hartland writes in the same work:

"The rite was probably common to Aryan-speaking peoples while in a state of savagery, but abandoned as they progressed in civilization....."

"It is perhaps necessary to add that many of our accounts of the immolation of human victims on the occasion of a death represent some, at all

events, of the victims as dying willingly, or even committing suicide. It is conceivable that voluntary death may, in a certain number of cases, be the result of intense grief. The vast number, however, of deaths apparently voluntary are, as in the case of the Hindu widow or the dependents of a Gaulish chief, constrained by custom and the knowledge that refusal, while it destroys the religious merit of the act, will entail compulsion, or at least that life will be speedily rendered intolerable."

Conjugal love and devotion are highly praiseworthy. But it is a misuse of them which leads to suicide. Male appreciation of *suttee* could have been considered honest and sincere if even a very small fraction of widows had burned themselves to ashes on the funeral pyres of their dead wives. There have been innumerable women who have continued to live after their husbands' death, who were just as loving and devoted wives as any who sacrificed themselves on the death of their husbands. The value of a woman's life and personality is not lost as soon as she becomes a widow. She has a separate personality. Her personality can still grow after widowhood and be of use to herself, to the family, to society, the nation and mankind at large. The abolition of the practice of immolation of widows in India a hundred years ago, therefore, marks not only the end of a cruel and barbarous custom, but also the recognition of the value of the personality of women for its own sake.

It is a pity that such a memorable event has not been widely celebrated. And even the Calcutta meeting to celebrate it, which was presided over by Sir Charu Chandra Ghosh (who delivered a speech containing valuable historical information), was attended by only five ladies.

Garba

SAUDAMINI MEHTA B.A.

AND

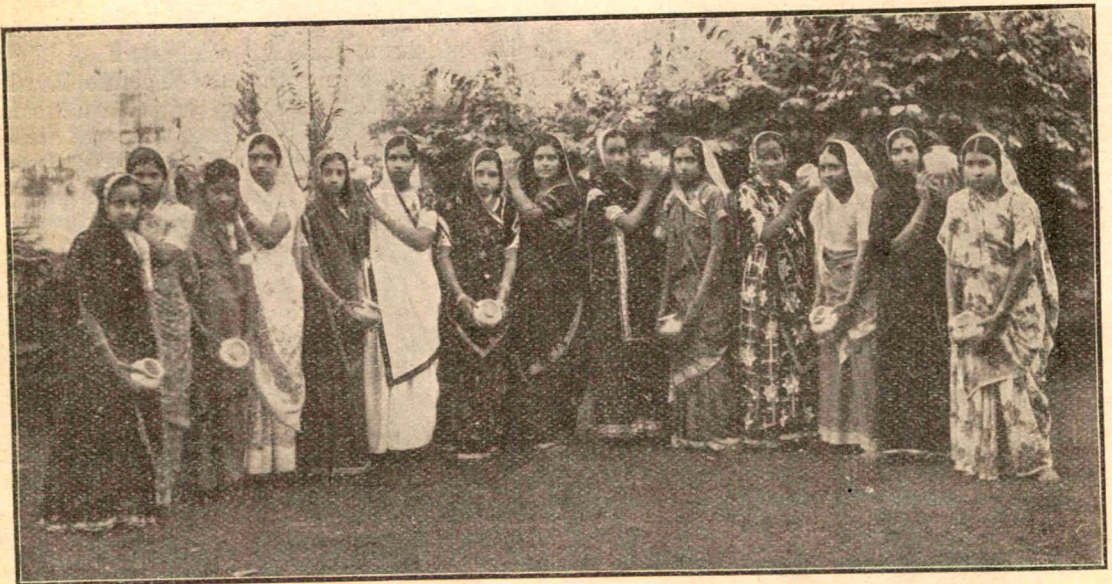
GAGANVIHARI L. METHA, M.A.

GARBA (गरबा) is a dance peculiar to Gujarat and Kathiawar. The artistic excellence of this form of dance cannot be adequately appreciated unless it is seen and heard. Its beautiful rhythm, its graceful movements and its spontaneous music make it a unique and characteristic art of Gujarati women. It has been endeavoured in the following article to explain as briefly as possible the nature of this dance for those who have not had the opportunity to see it for themselves.

The garba is sung by women forming a circle. When the music is on, they move round, sing together and while bending their bodies gracefully give *tal* (ताल) at the appropriate timing. The garba is led by one woman who sings the song in the first instance and the rest of the women repeat it and sing it back. There are certain portions of the "garba" which are known as *Sakhi* (साखी)

in which no *tal* is given so that women cease to move but stand all in a circle and sing these couplets. The rhythm of the *tal*, the steps, the movements of the hand, the curve and shape of the body when bent slightly to give *tal*, the harmony of music and movement, the variety of the costumes,—all these are delightful and fascinating to observe.

The garba is an old form of dance. The origin of the word "garba" can be traced to the custom of making what is called a *garbo* for Mother Kali and other goddesses during the *Navaratra* (नवरात्र) or *Puja* festival. "Garbo" is a white and round earthen pot in which tiny circular holes are made and in the centre of which a small light burnt with *ghee* is placed. In the *Navaratra* preceding the Dashera day, those who observe the festival by having the goddess in their own home celebrate all the nine nights by inviting other women to sing "garba" in which the



The Garba Dance

hostess or the principal lady of the house moves round with the "garbo" on her head. This ancient tradition is in existence in Gujarat till the present day. On the last day of the festival, that is on the night preceding Dashera, "garbas" are sung all through the night and at dawn when the symbolic goddess is carried away, the "garbo" is also placed in the river. Those women who come to sing the "garbas" on all the nine days used to be given *potasas* (or round sugar-cakes). Gradually, however, these sweets came to be distributed in small

harmoniums are also played as accompaniments. These "garbas" are invocations to various goddesses such as Bhadra-Kali, Bahucharajee, Ambajee and others. Here, as elsewhere, religion is an inspiration to art while the dance and the music are forms of expression of the religious emotion."*

In Kathiawar, another variant of "garba" is also very popular, called the "rasa" (रास). This "rasa" had its origin in the celebrated "rasa" of Shree Krishna with his Radha and Gopees (or rustic maidens). In Kathiawar till the present day there are such mixed "rasas"



The Garba Dance—keeping time with sticks

brass vessels. This gift is called *lahani* (लहणी) and it is given away by the hostess on one day and by those among the women who are able to afford it on the remaining eight days by turns. During *Navaratra*, one hears these "garbas" sung at every street-corner in towns and in villages and this tradition has come down from very early days. These "garbas" are more or less public functions so that any women residing in the particular locality can participate in them while the men can come to see and hear them. The usual accompaniment to "garba" has been the *dholak* (दोलक Indian drum). Now-a-days, however, modern instruments like

in which men and women both take part. While women by themselves also sing these "garbas", it is of interest to note that men have also "rasa" of their own. The men have usually small wooden sticks with bells attached to them (called "dandies") by whose mutual c'ass they give time (*tal*) and moving

* Compare Havelock Ellis: "Dancing we may see throughout the world, has been so essential, so fundamental, a part of all vital and undegenerate religion, that whenever a new religion appears, a religion of the spirit and not merely an anaemic religion of the intellect, we should still have to ask of it the question of the Bantu: 'What do you dance?' " *Dance of Life*, p. 41.

round, they sing. In this it is not so much the sweetness of the music but the beauty of the dance that is more pleasing to watch.

Apart from the "garba" in praise of the Goddess, a very common form of the "garba" has been the love song of Krishna. In this theme there is a peculiar and happy blend of the devotional sentiment with the erotic. These devotional love songs are, as a rule, more effective for purposes of the "garba" than the "garbas" composed by some modern poets partly because they are simpler in form and partly because the musical element in them is more pronounced than the merely poetical. The "garbas" of Mirabai, the "rasas" of Narsinha Mehta and the "garbas" of Vallabh are well known. Dayaram is another old and famous Vaishnav poet whose "garbas" dedicated to Krishna are very popular and are still sung in Gujarat. One feature of these "garbas" in early times was, of course, that they were not written but were handed down orally from generation to generation and became a part of the traditional culture. In more recent times, however, these "garbas" are being composed by poets and collections of "garbas" of different periods and poets are being published. The most well known and popular among the modern composers is Mr. Nanalal D. Kavi. His "garbas" contain not only poetry of high merit but are sweet in their music; moreover, they are composed in a tune which being simple and plain are peculiarly suitable for singing as "garbas." He has composed several "garbas" which have a rich variety so that they are capable of being sung on different occasions. Apart from him, however, there are several other poets who compose "garbas" among whom mention may be made of Messrs. N. B. Divatia, Khabardar, Botadkar, Keshav Seth, Deshalji Parmar, Tribhovan Vyas and many others.

Since a few years, the popular interest in folk-songs and rustic "garbas" has also increased and they are being sung in cities by educated women. These folk "garbas" composed in colloquial language and sung in villages are a characteristic form of popular art. If the poetry in them is not always of a very high order, their sweet and simple music has a charm all its own. Being in plain and unornamented style, they are more delightful to sing than to read. The credit for rescuing such folk-songs from oblivion and decay and for reviving them and interpreting them to the educated community

mainly belongs to Mr. Jhaverchand Meghani of the editorial staff of the well-known Gujarati weekly *Saurashtra* of Ranpur, Kathiawar. These folk-dances are still very popular among various tribes in Gujarat and Kathiawar such as the women of the *Lodhas* of Amedabad, the *Bhils*, the *Khavasa* and the *Dheds*.

Though the "garbas" were sung in honour of the Goddess during the *Navaratra* festival, they were gradually falling into neglect and this beautiful tradition was declining. But since the last twenty or twenty-five years, the "garbas" have once again been revived and are being re-interpreted in new and diverse forms. While the *Navaratra* garbas flourish as ever, the "garbas" are not confined to the Puja festival alone. On various occasions when, for instance, marriages or birthdays are being celebrated, "garbas" are sung simply for the sake of pleasure and without any religious associations. Various ladies' associations and societies organize these "garbas" merely as a form of enjoyment. Garbas have thus become so popular in recent years that not only on various domestic occasions are "garbas" sung in private houses but hardly any school or college or social gathering or public concert or amateur dramatic performance is organized without "garbas." If a visitor went to Gujarat in the beginning of *Ashwin* month, he will see the womenfolk of Gujarat singing these "garbas" all round. Some of the innovations being introduced in these "garbas" at present are interesting. While formerly, the timing given in "garba" was by clapping of hands, various other devices are adopted now-a-days such as using silver pitchers (*कलस*) or tambourins *khanjaris* (*खंजरी*) or small sticks and *Manjiras* (*मंजीरा*) for giving *tal*; the women also sometimes carry small earthen pots with lamps in them while singing the "garbas." Another form of the "garba" which has been in vogue but which is being revived is the "gopha" in which those who sing while moving round, tie a number of threads hung on a pole in the centre and then untie it again. This resembles in a way the Maypole dance. Many of these innovations have added to the beauty of the "garba." It may be observed in passing that the element of the dance in the garba is on the increase. The costume and ornaments of the women singing the "garba" also enhance its charm. Since some years the light shades of the *saris* have given way to the bright, deep and vivid colours of *chundaris* or *bandhanis*,

(*Saris* whose patterns are prepared and which are coloured in Rajputana and Kathiawar) with golden and silver borders on them. As the "garbas" are usually sung at night, these bright colours of the women's dress look attractive. Women also put on silver anklets on their feet and their soft tinkling mingles with the sound of the music and produces a sweet melody.

In the "garba" there is colour and music,

grace and sweetness. It is a beautiful art-form and a unique mode of culture and self-expression of a people. It is common to the classes and the masses; a folk-dance no less than a dance of the educated and leisured classes. It is one of the joys of life, individual and collective, and one of the finest contributions of Gujarat to the artistic heritage of India.

Art and Archaeology in the Far East

—French Contribution

By DR. KALIDAS NAG, M.A. D.LITT. (*Paris*)

THE study of Indian art and archaeology is undergoing a rapid and remarkable orientation. While it was possible for Mr. Havell and Mr. V. A. Smith to write elaborate histories of Indian art with only desultory allusions to Java or Cambodge, Coomaraswamy and his co-workers on the same field find it difficult not to devote a considerable part of their works to the detailed and intensive study of Far Eastern families of art and their Indian origins or affinities. It is no longer possible to discuss adequately the problems of Indian architecture, sculpture or iconography without reference to their vast Asiatic context. For nearly half a century the archaeological finds from Central Asia (Serindia), Indo-China and Indonesia have been collected, compared and studied by European scholars predominantly from the French, German and Dutch schools. The cumulative effect of their researches have been felt in a gradual development of a new taste for art forms, and a new canon of art criticism transcending the narrow limit of Graeco-Roman norms. Goethe and Hegel would have been surprised, nay shocked to find their modern descendants going into ecstasy over a Chinese landscape, a Japanese wood-carving, a Cambodging temple or a Javanese decorative *motif*. The Christian Gothic cathedral was a sufficient irritation to those nineteenth century aesthetes, what to speak of their feelings before a Khmèr,

Angkor Vat or an Indonesian Prajnaparamita! Yet we must admit that a vast change, nay a veritable revolution has taken place in course of the last fifty years when Orient and Orientalism have come to deliver aesthetic and cultural values undreamt of by Hegel and his contemporaries.

India, what to speak of the general mass, even in her academic representatives, is not yet fully alive to the significance of this change in the angle of vision. That is why we shall attempt to give some idea about one or two centres of study out of which has emanated not only a wealth of cultural data but a new vision of India's rôle in the history of mankind. In a recent publication of the famous French School of Archaeology—*Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*—we read the following significant passage:—

"We feel here (in the appreciation of Oriental art) without doubt something more than a passing fad—a development of taste beyond the habits created by the canons of occidental classicism. These new tendencies go hand in hand with a truer vision, dawning gradually, about the place occupied by the Far East, in the general history of Indian civilization. For a long time India believed herself to be bounded by the coast lines of the peninsula. Today she has started casting her glance on the world colonized by her beyond her frontiers, on her Golden

Chersonese (*Sivarna-bhumi*) and the Islands where so many and so beautiful works were born under her inspiration. And the time is not very far when the *elite* of New India will come to adore in Angkor, one of the noblest flowers of their national culture." (*Memoires Archeologiques*; Tome I p. vi.)

In the history of the progress of the *Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient* of Hanoi (Tonkin) we read the history of this progressive orientation. Ever since the beginning of the nineteenth century France took the lead in Oriental studies. The chance adventure of Napoleon in Egypt was the indirect cause of the epoch-making discovery of Champollion, and *Egyptology* at the beginning, was a French science. Keenly interested in Graeco-Roman culture as she was, France founded her schools of Athens and of Rome, but not stopping there she founded that excellent centre of Egyptian antiquities—the *Archaeological Institute of Cairo* with one of the finest museums in Asia.

So in two other important branches of Oriental studies, France had the honour of founding simultaneously in 1815 a chair of *Indology* under Eugène Burnouf and a chair of *Sinology* under Abée Remusat in the Collège de France. With the consolidation of French Power in Indo-China France started her systematic examination of its antiquities by starting an Archaeological Commission (La Commission Archeologique de l'Indo-Chine) as early as the middle of the nineteenth century. Amidst heaps of antiquities, Captain Etienne Aymonier discovered the most valuable links between India and Indo-China, the Sanskrit inscriptions of the Hindu colonies of Champa and Cambodge which were sent to the *Societe Asiatique* of Paris, which in its turn charged the then greatest Sanskritist, Abel Bergaigne, the friend of Mon. A. Barth and the *guru* of Mon. Sylvain Levi,* both of whom helped Bergaigne in his work. As the result of this happy collaboration two important *corpus* of the Inscriptions of Champa and of Cambodge were published between 1883 and 1893. Interest in Indology, especially in its epigraphic branch, was already intensified by the monumental study of Emile Senart, on the *Inscriptions of Piyadasi* (1880-1886) and the name of Senart whose death

(1828) at the ripe old age of 81, we are mourning, came to be associated soon with the foundation of the famous *Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient*.* M. Paul Doumer, Governor-General of Indo-China, conceived in 1898 the idea of founding a regular French school of Archaeology for the Far East and sought the advice and collaboration of Mon. Senart and two of his friends, Mon. Auguste Barth, the famous author of the "Religion of India" and Mon. Michel Breal, the great philologist of the University of Paris. There was once a talk of locating this research centre in Chandernagor, but financial arrangements proved unsatisfactory and the generous offer of Governor Doumer settled the question of the seat of the school. India lost and Indo-China gained by that decision, and while the research centre was organized in the far away French colony, its scientific control was vested in the renowned *Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* of the French Institute. The Academy recommended and the Governor-General ratified the appointment of M. Louis Finot as the first Director of the new School of Archaeology and gave him as assistants M. Antoin Cabaton as secretary and librarian, and Captain Lunet de Lajonquier as the archaeologist. The party arrived in Saigon January 1899 and started the work of preliminary survey. That being over, the party got the sanction of the authorities to make a tour through the Islands of Java and Bali with a view to study the ways and means of organizing the conservation work, the library, the museum, after consulting the expert Dutch workers in the same field working in the renowned *Society of Arts and Sciences of Batavia*, the oldest Asiatic Society in the East. On their return journey from Indonesia M. Finot surveyed the monuments of the Hindu colony of Champa, visiting the temples of Panduranga (Phanrang) of Po-Nagar (Nhatrang), the Buddhist monasteries of Dong-Duong and Mi-Son and the grottoes of Phong-wha. On the 20th of January 1900 just thirty years ago, the temporary Archaeological Commission was given the permanent status and name: *Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient*, which began in right earnest its career of signal success in the domain of Far Eastern Art and Archaeology. An Act for the preserva-

* Vide Nag: Sylvain Levi and the Science of Indology, *Modern Review*, 1921 (December).

* Vide Nag: Emile Senart Indian Historical Quarterly, June, 1929.



SHAHZADA MUHAMMAD SHAH
By Chitraman

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of monuments was passed to stop further pillaging of antiquities and the *Ecole* penetrated Laos to collect Laotian manuscripts and to study the relationship of the art of Laos with that of Cambodia.

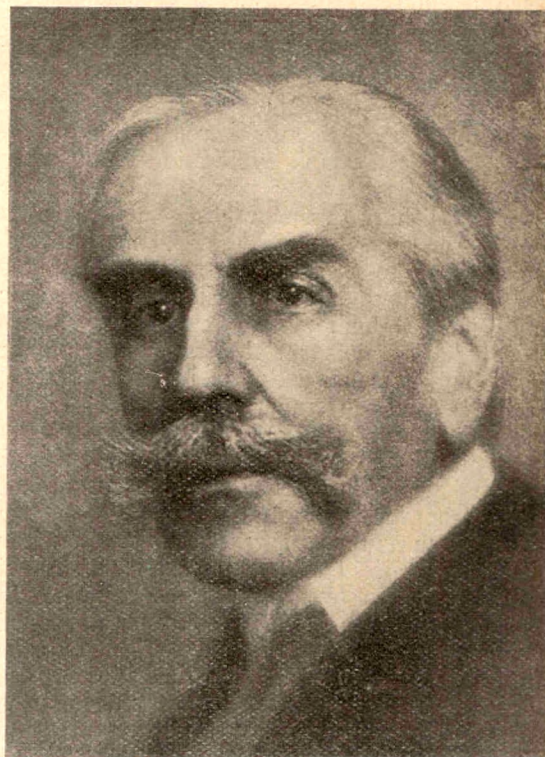
Meanwhile M. Paul Pelliot, a brilliant scholar from the French School of Oriental Languages (*Ecole des Langues Orientales*) arrived in Hanoi (Tonkin) January 1900, and with all the audacity of a genius gave a new turn to the activities of the School. In May 1900, the Boxer rebellion took a dangerous appearance, and Pelliot, a versatile Sinologist offered his services to the French Legation in Peking, and with the passing away of the political storm, Pelliot brought a rich harvest of Chinese manuscripts, paintings and other art objects which have become the cherished treasures of the museum of Hanoi and of the Louvre (Paris).

The tropical climate told upon the health of Mon. Cabaton and he returned to France working thenceforward to publish several volumes on Indo-Chinese languages and antiquities. He was succeeded by Jean Commaillie, who later on published *The excellent Guide to the Ruins of Angkor* (1912) and also by M. Henri Parmentier, whose contributions to Indo-Chinese archaeology had made the name of the School famous all over the world.

In July 1900 appeared the first publication of the School, a study in numismatics, *the Coins and Medals of Annam and Cochinchina*, by M. Lacroix and in 1901, before M. Finot could procure for himself a little holiday in Paris after the strenuous work, he had the satisfaction of establishing the museum and the library and of publishing the first volume of the Bulletin of the School, which has since then become an indispensable guide to all students of Far Eastern art and antiquities. In the very first volume which printed letters from Barth, Breal and Senart, we find articles that are of abiding interest to us. M. Finot wrote on the "Religion of Champa according to the monuments." M. Parmentier discussed the "General character of Cham architecture" and M. Foucher who came from Paris to act in the place of M. Finot on leave, wrote his illuminating "Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhara," proving Afghanistan to be a great cultural centre and pilgrim path of ancient India.

During the year that M. Foucher acted as Director, (1901-1902), M. Pelliot brought from China the second collection of Tibetan,

Mongol and Chinese manuscripts, paintings, porcelains and jades, and thus the museum was enriched beyond expectation. The same year M.M. Dufour and Carpeux started surveying and photographing the grand temple of Cambodia, *Angkor Thom* or *Bayon* and the documents were published in Paris in two vols. (1910-13). Mon. Foucher on his way back to Paris visited Bangkok and published notes on the temples, museums



Emile Senart

and libraries of that city in the second volume of the Bulletin (1902) which also published the first of the series of masterly articles by M. Sylvain Levi on "Chinese notes on India."

In Nov. 1902 there was the Colonial Exhibition at Hanoi and M. Pelliot who was busy arranging the Tibetan Tanjur and Kanjur, the Mongolian Kanjur and the Chinese Encyclopaedia, was appointed Secretary of the Orientalists' Congress. The most remarkable result of this Exhibition was the meeting of the first Congress of Far Eastern Studies held in Dec. 1902 in which six Governments, and numerous representatives of

learned societies participated. The Dutch East Indies was represented by Dr. Brandes, Siam by Col. Gerini and Japan by Dr. Takakusu who later on contributed in the Bulletin (1904) of the School his valuable study on the "Chinese version of Samkhya philosophy." The Congress worked in four primary sections; India, China, Japan and Indo-China. Thus the School had the privilege of inaugurating the first Pan-Asiatic Congress of academic collaboration.

In March 1907 a new Franco-Siamese treaty modified the map of Cambodge so that the marvellous monuments of Angkor were placed under the expert care of the French archaeologists. Elaborate preparations were made for a thorough exploration of the sites and for the last twenty years the School have been publishing monographs and memoirs on those marvels of Indo-Khmer art and we are glad to handle this year, thanks to the loving industry of Mon. Finot, Parmentier and Victor Goloubew, two sumptuous volumes on the bas-reliefs of *Angkor Vat*, showing what a phenomenal activity in art creation resulted from the rapprochement of Indian and Khmer cultures.

Similarly the grand history of the cultural and artistic efflorescence as the result of the collaboration of India and China for over a thousand years was studied amongst others by Prof. Paul Pelliot, Sylvain Levi and above all, by Edouard Chavannes. In the beginning of 1907 Chavannes started on his memorable archaeological voyage through Trans-Siberia, Kai-fong, Honan-fu, Si-ngnan-fu, Lungmen etc., famous for the relics of Buddhist religion and art of the Wei and the T'ang Dynasties. Pure Sinological contribution apart, the value of Chavannes' works to Indologists has been eloquently appreciated by Sylvain Levi in his article "La Part de l'Indianism dans l'Oeuvre de Chavannes" (*Bulletin Archeologique du Musée Guimet* Fascicule 1. 1921.)

In 1908 Indo-Chinese history and philology came to find its honoured place in the foundation of a special chair at the College de France, and the experienced savant-director of the School, M. Finot, was invited to occupy the same. The relation between the scholarly group of France and Indo-China became more and more intimate and brilliant young scholars like Mon. Huber, translator of the Chinese *Sutralankara* of Asvaghosa. Jules Bloch, author of the first historical grammar of

Marathi, Maitre and Peri, copious contributors on Japanese subjects, Henri Maspero and L. Arousseau, Sinologists, Georges Coedès, the renowned scholar of Sri Vijaya fame, Ch. Duroiselle of the Archaeological Survey of Burma, Henri Marchal, the architect, and Victor Goloubew, the famous editor of the *Ars Asiatica* series have, amongst a host of silent and sound workers, helped in the rearing of the superb edifice of Far Eastern Archaeology, with India as the golden thread running through and connecting all.

In Serindian or Central Asian studies M. Pelliot through his successive missions and excursions, contributed as much to the Museums as to the scholarly journals like *Tung Pao* and the Bulletin of the School. The documents of *Mission Pelliot* (1906-1909) are as yet far from being completely edited or published. Mon. S. Levi and Prof. Meillet had edited and commented upon a few texts and M. Pelliot has published a few volumes of his album on the paintings of the grotto of the Thousand Buddhas (Touen Huang). His researches and discoveries were of so great an importance that a special chair of Central Asian history, archaeology and languages was created in Collège de France in 1911, and ever since that date M. Pelliot is lecturing on that most fascinating branch of Asiatic history.

From 1911-12 the *Ecole* was reinforced by the services of an indefatigable worker, Mon. Georges Coedès. As early as 1908 he had published the excellent "Inventory of the Inscriptions of Champa and of Cambodge" and ever since he continued to publish solid studies on the art, archaeology and folklore of Indo-China, till in 1918 he managed to identify the long-forgotten Hindu empire of *Sri Vijaya* (Sumatra-Java) and earned the gratitude of the whole world of Indologists.

The first Sanskrit inscription of Indo-China was edited by the Dutch scholar H. Kern before the *Ecole* was properly organized. M. Coedès returned the courtesy by adding a new chapter to the history of *Insulindia* which the Dutch scholars like Krom, Vogel and others are developing in right earnest. The *Bulletin* and its rich monographs apart, the *Ecole* has published in course of the last quarter of a century, works of paramount importance. The entire problem of Graeco-Buddhist art has been dealt with by M. Foucher in his own masterly style in three volumes (*L'Art Greco-Bouddhique du Gandhara*, Tome I 1905 II (i) 1918 II (ii)

1922) M. Chavannes' precious discoveries were published in "*Mission archeologique dans la Chine Septentrionale*" (1913-1915). The monumental bibliographical dictionary of M. Henri Cordier was published in four volumes as *Bibliotheca Indosinica* between 1912-1914.

The war naturally interrupted for a while these fruitful activities, still the sympathy for and solidarity of the *Ecole* was amply testified by the publication of two valuable collections of monographs named *Etudes Asiatique*, in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the School. To this volume, old masters like Senart and Sylvain Levi sent their contributions as well as the newer generation of scholars like M. Aourousseau, Demieville, Przyluski, Marchal, and connecting the two generations stood the veteran Director M. Louis Finot whose modesty is as deep as his spirit is large and who has given his whole life to the organization, stabilization and development of the *Ecole*. Privileged to watch him working in his cultural laboratory of Hanoi during my visit in 1924, I can say that I have rarely seen an institution so modest in its external paraphernalia and yet so far-reaching in its beneficial and creative activities with regard to the elucidation of the intricate problems of Asiatic culture and its relation with India and Indology. The library that M. Finot has built up is a veritable symbol of the protean face of Asia! The museum is a glory to Asiatic genius in art plastic as well as decorative. The newly-founded museum of *Pnom Penh*, and the enthusiastic collaboration of M. Groslier had combined to make the special contributions of Cambodia, past as well as present, live before our eyes. M. Groslier *Directeur des Arts Cambodgiens* is not only trying to revive the arts and crafts of Cambodia through an excellent school at *Pnom Penh*, he has published remarkable books like *Recherches sur les Cambodgiens* (Paris 1921), *Art et Archéologie Khmers* etc., to focuss new light on the history and technique of that great branch of Asiatic art. Khmer art definitely established its claim upon the attention of experts and connoisseurs of Paris, thanks to the excellent presentation of the documents in the *Musée Guimet* of Paris which in its *Bibliothèque du Vulgarisation* has published an original and bold study of a rising art critic M. Philippe Stern: *Le Bayon d'Angkor et l'évolution de l'Art*

Khmer (1927) forcing us to reconsider the chronology of the Indo-Khmer monuments. M. G. Coedès whose valuable services were lent to the Archaeological Department of the Siam Government and who, having worked as the Librarian of the Vajirajana Library of Bangkok, is now occupying the honoured position of the Secretary of the *Royal Institute of Siam*, is still contributing valuable articles to the Bulletin (Vide *Le Date du Bayon*, in the latest number of the Bulletin E. F. Ex. O. 1929.) His presence in Siam is responsible for a series of valuable papers on the art and archaeology of the only nation that considers Buddhism as its national religion to-day.

The chief of the Archaeological service, M. Parmentier who by his industry and insight is the *architect* in the real sense of the term, of his department, is as active and brilliant as ever. He has opened quite a new vista of research into the comparative evolution of the Hindu and Far Eastern architecture by his monograph, *Origine Commune des architectures Hindoues dans l'Inde et en Extrême Orient* (1925) and also by his *L'Art Khmer Primitif* (1927).

An art critic and photographer of rare taste, M. Victor Goloubew, whose passion for Indian art brought him to photograph the frescoes of Ajanta years ago, is also a great asset to the *Ecole*. As the editor of the famous *Ars Asiatica* series he had already rendered a signal service to the study of oriental art by publishing splendid photogravure reproductions of the masterpieces of the different families of Asiatic art. In collaboration with Mon. Parmentier and Finot he published recently the superb memoir on the *Temple of Iswarapura* (Paris 1926) and this year two volumes in the *Bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat*, the veritable marvel of Asiatic art creation.

While concluding this tribute, on behalf of Indian scholarship, to these noble scholars of the French School of Archaeology I read in the latest instalment of its Bulletin the valuable notes of M. Finot on some new inscriptions of Cambodia—a study which he has made his own as much by his profound knowledge of the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages and epigraphy as by his scrupulously scientific method. How after over thirty years of strenuous service under the trying climate of Indo-China, he is continuing with unabated enthusiasm the decipherment of these positive documents

of Indian cultural expansion in the Far East—unknown *Raghu-vamsas* unwritten by any Indo-colonial Kalidas!

“विक्रमावजिताम्बोधि परिखावनिमगडलः ।
श्रीशानवम्मेयभवद राजा विष्णुरिवापरः ॥”

Inscriptions from Sambor I. 2.

The Political Situation in the Punjab

By KALINATH RAY

Editor, *The Tribune*

THE political situation in the Punjab on the eve of what is undoubtedly one of the most important sessions of the Indian National Congress, ever held, is incomparably more difficult and complicated than in any province in which a session of the Congress was held in the past. The Punjab bureaucracy, easily the worst in all India, has always been hostile to the Congress and indeed to all national activities that have it for their object to replace the present alien Government by a Government responsible to the people. Governors have come and Governors have gone, but the policy of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who made no secret of his intention of making the Punjab India's Ulster, remains unaltered. Neither the Government of India Act of 1919, nor the advent of the Labour Government has made any difference to the position. The policy of repression was never more active than now. In no previous period of the Punjab history, barring the never-to-be-forgotten days of the Rowlatt Bill agitation and martial law, did the police and the executive deal in a more autocratic or more high-handed manner with public movements and public workers than they have done during the last two years. Is there a single case on record, even in the Punjab's own past history in which the police made a savage physical assault on a universally respected political leader of all-India rank and of international reputation like Lala Lajpat Rai? Turning to affairs of another kind, what other Government in the country could have rejected the application of the Reception Committee for a site for the Congress which would from all points of view have been most suitable, the Minto Park? The

site actually granted though not till after protracted negotiation, the Dane Park, is not bad; but, if for nothing else, for its nearness to the river, it is scarcely as good a site as the Minto Park in what is undoubtedly the coldest part of the year, especially from the point of view of Bengal, Madras and Bombay delegates. Similarly, difficulties were sought to be placed by the bureaucratic head of the Sanitation department in the path of the medical officer in charge of sanitary arrangements in Lajpat Rai Nagar carrying out his scheme; but here the minister for Local self-government happily intervened in time and prevented what would otherwise have become a most unpleasant, not to say ugly, situation. In the matter of a site for Lala Lajpat Rai's statue the attitude of the bureaucracy has been even worse. Not only has there been an excess of red-tapism in a matter which any Government with a grain of sympathy, imagination and common sense would have settled without any resort to formalities, but the procedure followed has been even more dilatory than even bureaucratic procedure usually is. As a matter of fact, no decision has been arrived at up to the time of writing (December 15), though the date originally fixed and long ago announced and intimated to the Government is only ten days hence. The worst part of the thing is that, for reasons which are on the face of them absurd, the Government have rejected the recommendation of the Municipal Committee for a site which would from every possible point of view have been the best and most appropriate. From whatever standpoint the matter may be looked at, the administration in this province is still as wooden, as iron, as inelastic and ante-

diluvian as when Mr. Montagu justly applied these epithets to the administration of India as a whole in a famous speech.

So much about the immediate past. What is likely to happen during the next fortnight it is impossible to forecast. The signs are undoubtedly ominous. It is a matter of common knowledge that strenuous efforts have been and are being made to prevent students from offering their services as volunteers and Government servants from attending any function connected with the Congress. Even as regards the Exhibition, which Government servants have always and everywhere attended, no definite declaration has so far been made by Government, permitting its servants to attend it. It is absurd to say that no such declaration is needed. The Government's own attitude has made it necessary. Have they not, for the first time this year in the province, prohibited their departments from sending samples of their products to the Exhibition? And is it not within their knowledge that the circulars issued by them have created a doubt in the minds of many of their employees as to whether the Exhibition, which is undoubtedly held under the auspices of the Congress, is as much out of bounds for them as the Congress itself? Again, it has been reported in newspapers without, so far as I am aware, eliciting any contradiction from the Government or its publicity department, that villagers have been warned not to come to Lahore during the Congress week and have been plainly told that there may be trouble. On the top of all this, the Government have got a Legislature, notorious for its subserviency, to make a supplementary grant of nearly a lakh of rupees to meet the cost of maintenance of a large contingent of additional police in connection with the Congress. The ostensible ground of this addition is the prevention of mischief by unruly sections of the population, who, according to the spokesmen of the Government in the legislature, usually mix themselves up on such occasions with persons only remotely connected with the political movement. But who does not know that, in the opinion of the Punjab bureaucracy, there is no mischief worse than political agitation itself, and there are not a more mischievous set of men in the whole country than Congress men? It is the height of disingenuousness, to say the least of it, after having professed your anxiety all this time to protect the law-abiding sections of the people

from being interfered with by Congress men and other political workers to suddenly turn round and profess your anxiety to protect Congress men themselves from being interfered with by mischievous intruders! Every peace-loving man hopes with all his heart that the cloud that envelops the political sky at this moment will pass away. But if this happens, it will be largely on account of that sense of discipline and self-restraint which has always characterized Congress men on such occasions and which may be trusted to make it impossible even for a police like ours to find occasions for interfering with the proceedings of the Congress.

But the difficulties of the ensuing Congress are not due wholly to the attitude of the Government. The differences among the people of the province themselves are a no less disturbing factor. There is perhaps no other province in which the position of the Congress, which stands and has always stood for national unity, is so difficult in this respect as in the Punjab. Of the three principal communities that inhabit this province not one can be said to be generally or wholeheartedly with the Congress.

The Muslims in the Punjab, as elsewhere, perhaps more than anywhere else, describe the Congress as a Hindu or, as they now call it, a Mahasabhaite organization. With the more intelligent among them, this is no better than a pose, but the less intelligent many, who matter a great deal more than the intelligent few, have been successfully duped into believing what the others only pretend to believe. On the other hand, the Hindus in the Punjab openly accuse the Congress of being a pro-Muslim organization. It is a matter of common knowledge that some years ago they actually boycotted the Congress, and the Hindu Sabha movement, which had its origin in the Punjab, was as much a revolt against the Congress as it was an answer to the Muslim League. When the present writer came to the Punjab in 1913 the Hindus of this province were mostly out of the Congress. It was only by a slow and painful process that the few ardent Congress men in the province, led by Lala Duni Chand, aided partly by the growing volume of nationalist opinion outside the province and partly by Sir Michael O'Dwyer's policy of stern and ruthless repression, succeeded in winning over a considerable part of the Hindu as well as a small portion of the Muslim and the Sikh community to

the Congress. Then came the avalanche of Martial Law and Jallianwala Bagh, which swept away so many old landmarks, and for a time it looked as though the Punjab was going ever afterwards to be as much a stronghold of the Congress and of nationalism as any other province. The Amritsar Congress and the Hindu-Mahomedan-Sikh *entente* of the early days of the non-co-operation movement were the direct outcome, as they were the visible expression of this change.

But the dream was shortlived. Those who had expected the effects of the commingling of blood at Jallianwalla Bagh to become permanent, as well as those who had expected a marvel from the negative policy of non-co-operation, had both reckoned without the potent weapon which the bureaucracy had in the Reforms with their policy of communal division. Wielded with remarkable ability and with a zeal worthy of a better cause by Sir Fazli Hussain, who, with all his past record of service, consented to make himself, unwittingly perhaps, a tool in the hands of the bureaucracy, it soon succeeded in undoing all the good work done by Martial Law and non-co-operation, and long before non-co-operation was suspended in the country as a whole, the Hindus and Muslims in the Punjab once again stood sharply divided. Men who had in the past fought desperately for what they believed to be the cause of their religion, now began to fight even more desperately for political power for themselves and their community. What might under different circumstances have been a great source of strength to the country and a great source of weakness to the bureaucracy, because the desire for freedom and political power increases with the actual enjoyment of it—no matter on how limited a scale—thus became a source of great weakness to the country and of great strength to the bureaucracy.

The position was further complicated by the fact that there were three principal communities in the province, and not two, as in all other provinces, and that the third community, though numerically weak, was politically and historically as important as the other two. The Sikhs had indeed never been in the Congress, and, until some years ago, had resolutely stood by the side of the bureaucracy and aloof from the national movement. Even at

the time of the Lucknow Congress, they were still politically inert and consequently in the division of representation made in the Lucknow pact, their claims were absolutely ignored. But the political consciousness that came in the wake of the Reforms, non-co-operation and of the struggle for the emancipation of Gurdwaras, made them at once a factor to reckon with. It was not, indeed, to be expected that a community which only three quarters of a century ago had ruled the Punjab would remain an indifferent spectator when its two sister communities, both of which had a short time before been under its heels, were struggling for political ascendancy in the province. The result might have been foreseen. There ensued a triangular contest, each of the three parties to which naturally and necessarily played the bureaucracy's game, and the bureaucracy itself either looked on the animated struggle as an interested spectator, or, as it did occasionally, used one or other of the three parties for its own purpose. The Congress alone saw through the whole game and stood resolutely aloof from it; but in their mad rage for communal self-aggrandizement or communal self-defence, all three communities mistook its impartiality for indifference and in some cases for actual hostility.

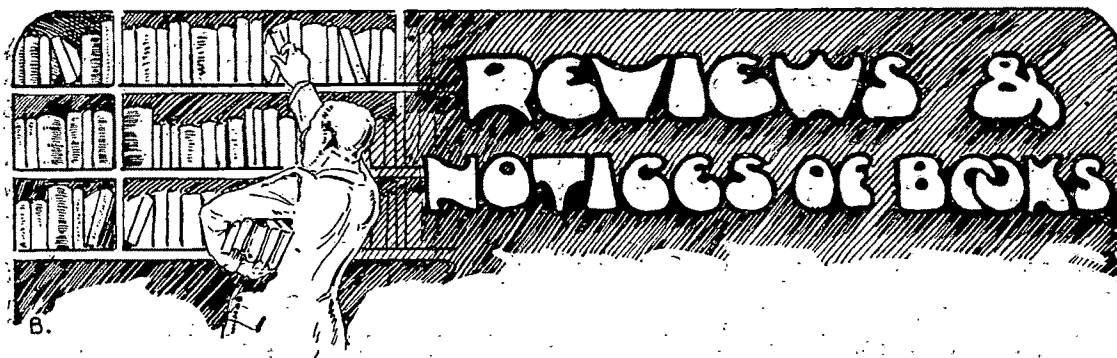
The present position of each of the three communities may be briefly indicated. The large majority of politically-minded Mussalmans not only want an absolute majority of seats in the Legislature but want their representatives to be returned by separate communal electorates. The large majority of both the Hindus and the Sikhs professedly desire the abolition of communal representation from the country as a whole, but if communal representation remains, they would have their position safeguarded in the way in which the position of the Muslims is safeguarded in the predominantly Hindu provinces. Between them, these two communities appear to have come to an agreement on the basis of the suggestion made originally by some Sikhs.

In order that no one community in the provinces may be in an absolute majority—a point on which they are desperately keen—they want that the Muslims should have something like 40 per cent representation and the remaining 60 per cent representation should be divided between them in a reason-

able proportion, which the Sikhs suggest should be half and half. All three parties are equally opposed to the Nehru report, although that report, so far as their own province is concerned, gives them substantially what they want. The Muslims forget that that report assures to them the 56 per cent representation they want if the Muslim electors prefer to be represented by none but Muslims. The Hindus and the Sikhs forget that in the Punjab at any rate, there will be no communal representation in any shape or form under the Nehru scheme, and that given the requisite mentality on their own side they have now for the first time in many years an opportunity of developing a true spirit of nationalism among the electorate.

It thus happens that each of the three communities, viewed as communities, has practically addressed an ultimatum to the ensuing Congress. "Give us our 56 per cent representation, or you must count not only on our aloofness but our hostility," say the Muslims. "Give us what you have given to the Muslims in the predominantly Hindu provinces, or admit that you are a pro-Muslim and anti-Hindu organization," say the Hindu communalists. "Give us the same weightage that Muslim minorities now have in other provinces" say the bulk of the Sikh community. The position of the Muslims is that as a majority community they would under no circumstances accept the position of a minority or even an equal position with the other communities combined. On the other hand, the Hindus and Sikhs would under no circumstances, live under the rule of a communal majority. It is between these two diametrically opposite

positions that the poor Congress is expected to strike a compromise, and if it fails to do so, all three communities, each for its own reason and from its own point of view, would fall foul of it. Never did a political body find itself in a more difficult or more unenviable position. And the worst of it is that none of the three contending parties would offer any active help to the Congress in accomplishing its impossible task. For the moment all three communities as communities stand aloof from it, those sections of them that are with the Congress being openly accused by their respective communities of betraying the best interests of their co-religionists. If the Congress is wise, it must resolutely stand by the substance of the Nehru solution, which, now, as ever, offers the only basis of agreement. As regards the alternatives offered by the communities themselves, suffice it to say that there is not a single Muslim in all India who will accept the Hindu-Sikh solution of 40 per cent representation for the Muslims in the Punjab, and not a single Hindu or Sikh who will accept the Muslim solution of an absolute Muslim majority in the Council returned by separate Muslim electorates. As compared with these, the Nehru solution has this great advantage that it can claim its supporters among all three communities, and is besides based on principles which are undeniably sound. Let this solution be altered in detail, if necessary, and if it is possible so to alter it as to make it acceptable to a larger proportion of all three communities. But for the moment no such solution is before the public.



[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Pungabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

MALABAR AND THE PORTUGUESE (1500-1663),
by K. M. Panikkar. (Taraporevala, Bombay), pp.
XVI+221. Rs 6.

Malabar, as the seat of Portuguese Power in India lasted barely ten years. Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut in 1498; Goa was occupied by the Portuguese in 1510 and shortly afterwards became the capital of their "State of India." Their flag disappeared from Malabar in 1662, when Quilon and Cochin were lost to the Dutch. But in spite of the very limited scope of Mr. Panikkar's book, it is a type of research work which other Indian historical writers would do well to imitate. A more elaborate and extensive quarrying among the original Portuguese sources than he has attempted, would, no doubt, have supplied a longer narrative, but one almost obscured by an overwhelming mass of minute details and criticism of evidence,—which would have killed the book, except as a work of occasional reference to the specialist out to verify a name or a date.

Mr. Panikkar, on the other hand, has wisely given a short narrative, complete in outline, but he has enriched it by adding—what is more precious and seen in so few of our countrymen's research works,—namely, the lessons of that narrative or the philosophy of Indo-Portuguese history, with a surprising degree of freshness of outlook and independence of judgment, which will secure his readers' assent as to the truth of his conclusions.

He proves how, contrary to the popular belief, "the Portuguese had at no time an empire in India" (p. 197)—but only "held a few fortresses on the coast", and that their supremacy was entirely on the sea and their fall also, therefore, "a matter of naval power." The whole of the two final chapters (XIII and XIV) is packed full of highly instructive and thoughtful reflections on the causes of the failure of the Portuguese and the social and political changes wrought by them in Malabar.

We are told how the reduction of Egypt into a subject province of Turkey and Turkey's European ambitions removed the only Asiatic rival of the Portuguese in the Indian seas and made the predominance of the latter in these waters possible (p. 198),—how the Portuguese, though their governors and settlements were never properly solvent, did greatly promote Indian trade by opening the world market to our products (such as pepper, cardamom, cinnamon, and ginger),—how they introduced tobacco and *kishu*, and immensely extended the cocoa-nut cultivation for coir ropes. The moral canker of the Portuguese administration is graphically described in pp. 200-202.

The reaction of Portuguese rule on Western India resulted in

(a) the increased power of the smaller chiefs as against the hegemony of the Zamorin, i.e., decentralization, national weakness and endless local feuds (p. 206),

(b) the increase of wealth and the spread of luxury among the Indians, e.g., "the construction of houses on European models became fashionable" (p. 208),

(c) the old methods of Malabar warfare underwent a great change, fire-arms became common, and fortifications were undertaken in a more systematic manner (p. 209).

The author concludes by holding that the Portuguese cannot be considered as the pioneers of civilization and the forerunners of the British empire (p. 211), because "the relations between Portugal and India were barren of cultural or political results" (p. 212).

The beautiful and clear printing, of the Basel Mission Press, Mangalore, deserves high praise; the margins are spacious. We have noticed only a few errors: p. 76 line 10 for were read was; p. 48 for Diago read Diogo, p. 139 for Khwaji read Khwaja. On p. viii. *Sarandip* is an oversight for *Sondip* (at the mouth of the Ganges). Goa finds no entry in the Index.

J. SARKAR

HISTORY OF THE PERSIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE AT THE MUGHAL COURT, WITH A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE GROWTH OF URDU LANGUAGE, PART I. BABUR. By M. Abdul Ghani. (Indian Press, Allahabad), pp. 160.

books of this kind will not stand in the way of the production of a truly scientific study of the origin and growth of the Urdu language and the cultural interaction between India and Persia in the Mughal age.

S.

HINDU ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS: By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M. A., Lecturer in Indian History, University of Madras. Published by the University of Madras, 1929. Price Rs. 6. Pp. 340.

Mr. Dikshitar has written a critique on constitutional history of the Hindus. He has reviewed the current text-books on the subject in an intelligent manner. His chapter on 'Military Organization', though misplaced, is an original contribution. The author has omitted in his survey a useful book, viz., Mr. N. C. Bandopadhyaya's *Hindu Polity*.

I am glad to find a serious student of the subject in Mr. Dikshitar. His book will be found helpful by the teachers of the subject. The author has critically noticed the mistakes of Dr. Ghoshal and Dr. Law (pp. 123-124, 157). His view on the verses given in the *Arthasastra* (X. 3) that they are quotations is sound. The feature of the work is the comparison of Sanskrit or northern institutions with the Tamil institutions.

K. P. J.

TEACHINGS OF THE UPANISHADS: By Hem Chandra Sarkar, M. A., D. D. Published by Miss Sakuntala Rao, M. A., Secretary Ram Mohun Roy Publication Society, 210-6, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.

In this small book the author has tried to give us an account of the teachings of the Upanishads. The book is obviously written for English-speaking people but unfortunately the author's mode of expression in certain places will not be understood by European readers who are unfamiliar with the Indian way of thinking. The author thinks that "the Upanishads are more of the nature of a side current than the main march of the national mind." He forgets that the Upanishads provide the ideal towards which the main currents of Indian social, religious and philosophical thoughts run. The mythology of the Puranas, the Brahmanical legends, and the hundred and one different forms of religious practices which come under the category of Hinduism really all have as their ultimate goal the realization of the Self which is also the main thesis of the Upanishads. It is, therefore, wrong to say that "the Upanishads are really a protest against the Vedic cult."

His bias for Christian Theology is traceable in his efforts to co-relate certain Upanishadic utterances with the tenets of Christianity. He deduces on insufficient evidence that the Christian doctrine of Election has been anticipated in the Mundak-opanishada; he further tries to interpret 'anandam' of the Upanishads in terms of Love. He has failed to understand the significance of some portions of certain Upanishads and has characterized such writings as "puerile." The story of the three Brahmins in the Chhandogya Upanishad has been

The author has clearly gone beyond his depth in attempting such a vast and difficult, but extremely important subject with the equipment which the present little sketch shows him to possess. It is a commonplace of philology (though evidently unknown to Mr. Ghani) that the affinity or otherwise of two languages is determined solely by their grammatical structure and idiom, and not at all by their store of words or vocabulary,—tens of thousands of which may be borrowed by one language from another without making the former in any way a branch of the latter. Urdu is, therefore, a derivative of Hindi and not of Persian, according to the science of language. A deep knowledge of comparative philology, in addition to that of Hindi in the earlier stages of its growth, is the equipment indispensably necessary for writing a true and scientific history of the growth of the Urdu language. The mere mastery of Persian, coupled with the railway traveller's Hindi, will not do.

Bare lists of the names of Persian writers who were patronized by Babur, as given by this author, are useless. There is no proof that all of them lived in India and were influenced in any way by the Indian environment;—for otherwise India cannot claim them. As Prof. Browne has pointed out in the last volume of his *Literary History of Persia*, Persian poetry from the 13th to the 18th century was so conventional and so thoroughly uninfluenced by the author's place and time that if you conceal the author's name and references (if any) to known historical personages, then it is impossible to say from the style whether a particular poem was written in the 13th century or four hundred years later.

The lists of Persian words naturalized in Hindi (and of Sanskrit or Hindi words used in Urdu), which our author gives, are equally uninforming. We refer him to Earle's *Philology of the English Tongue* for an example of the proper way to extract the history of the interaction of culture from a study of words. There the loan-words from Latin (or Norman-French) are grouped according to subjects (such as Law, the Church, hunting, &c.) so that we can see at once what branch of English life was a gift of the foreigners and what department of the people's activity retained its indigenous stamp most. And lists of native words still current in each subject, should be placed side by side with the foreign loan-words, so that we can judge the proportion of the foreign influence in any particular branch.

Our author does nothing of the kind. He does not, also, realize that the use of Indian caste or professional names and purely technical words in Ibn Batuta's book can in no sense be taken as an example of the influence of Hindi on Persian (in this case, to be exact, on Arabic, because Ibn Batuta did not write in Persian). His assertion that in the reign of Shah Jahan "the literate people did not think it derogatory to use Urdu in their private correspondence" (p. 60) is opposed to historical evidence. The English of this book is often ungrammatical.

We trust that the publication of jejune and trite

wrongly interpreted in the book. They were not discussing Supreme God as the author thinks but they were on the search for the biggest entity. Sometimes the earth, sometimes the air and sometimes the sky was conceived of as the biggest object. It was only in the latter period that the Self was realized to be the supreme all-prevading entity. Want of deep insight has led the author to suppose that the 6th and 7th chapters of the Chhandogya are of different origin. He is similarly wrong when he thinks that the difference between 'Sreya' and 'Preya' (Katha Upanishad) is 'the difference between right and wrong in the ethical sense. The book is written in a pleasant style and will be of interest to the beginner.

G. BOSE

CHRISTIANITY: A CRITICAL STUDY. By Basanta Coommar Bose. M. A., B. L. Published by Chuckerberty, Chatterjee & Co., 15 College Square, Calcutta. Pp vii+225+iii. Price Rs 3. (paper).

Besides the Introduction, the book has fourteen chapters dealing with 1. Birth of Christ, 2. Baptism of Christ, 3. Sayings of Christ, 4. Parables, 5. Miracles, 6. Arrest, Trial and Crucifixion, of Christ, 7. Resurrection of Christ, 8. Apostles, 9. Trinity, 10. Spread of Christianity, 11. Christianity in the Dark Ages, 12. Modern Christianity, 13. The Religion of Christ, and 14. Incarnation. There are four Appendices containing (1) Synopsis of the Pentateuch 2. Synopsis of the New Testament 3. Some instances of Copying from one original, and 4. The Nicene Creed.

The author, though born in a Hindu family, is 'not a follower of Hinduism' (p. 2). His strictures on *Vyasa* are very strong (p. 45). So he may be said to have written the book without any theological bias.

According to him Jesus and Buddha are the greatest teachers of religion which the world has yet produced (p. 3). 'The Sermon on the Mount is', says our author, 'one of the most ennobling and edifying lessons on man's conduct towards man, and the foundation of Christ's religion was the Unity of God, love of God and love of neighbour' (p. 43). But he comes to 'the melancholy conclusion that the noble words "Love thy neighbour as thyself" were addressed to the Jews and not to the Gentiles and the "neighbour" was meant to include "Jewish neighbour only" (p. 54). By analysing some passages of the Gospels he 'reluctantly' says that 'Jesus and his disciples thought that he (=Jesus) had come for the house of Israel and not for the whole human race' (p. 52). 'Here,' says our author, 'Jesus falls far short of the religious ideal of Buddha, the founder of the universal religion of brotherhood of all sentient beings, man and beast' (p. 61).

The author rejects the theory of the Virgin birth, the eternal damnation and the Godhead of Jesus. About his Resurrection he advances an improbable theory. He says "The probability is that Jesus did not die on the cross. He either feigned death or suspended his animation" (p. 120).

The author says that it is difficult to find anything higher or nobler than the Sermon on the Mount in any other system of religion (p. 43).

The subject has been thoroughly discussed in the Vedic Magazine, June 1927, pp 206-212.

The conclusion arrived at there is that the moral ideal of Jesus is very low. Morality is valued not for its intrinsic worth but for what is supposed to be its commercial success. Gospel morality is an affair of rewards and punishments. It is purely mercantile; it is a system of Barter, an Art of trafficking. Verses are quoted there to show that the highest ideal of Hindu morality is far superior to that of the Gospels (*vide* also the *Modern Review*, August, 1923, pp. 193-195).

The author has quoted the Lord's Prayer from the A. V. There the fourth petition is "Give us this day our daily bread." The true translation of the petition is—

"Give us today our bread for the morrow." Even the Revised Version notes in the margin that the meaning of the Greek word is "bread for the coming day."

The subject has been thoroughly discussed in the Vedic Magazine (*vide* the article—"The Lord's Prayer", in the issue of May, 1925). There we have quoted over forty authorities including Christian Divines, Scholars, Lexicographers, Grammarians and modern translators of the N. T. They all support our view (*vide* also *Modern Review*, 1924, December, p. 643).

In one place the author writes—"Jesus was himself a living example of loving his enemies when he said, speaking of his crucifiers, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" (p. 35).

This beautiful passage is an interpolation (*vide Modern Review*, 1924, September, pp 279-283).

The author has based his conclusions on the text of the A. V. and hence these mistakes.

There are many good points in the book. The author has thoroughly analysed the Gospels and his conclusions are, in the main, sound. The book is worth reading

MAHES CH. GHOSH

THE SPIRIT OF BUDDHISM: By Sir Hari Singh Gaur. Lal Chand & Sons, Calcutta.

The author knows none of the languages in which Buddhism was originally written. His knowledge of the subject is secondhand being gathered from English translations which are often misunderstood and misconstrued. The book is full of mistakes and as such cannot be recommended even to a lay reader.

WOMEN IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE. By Dr. Bimala Churn Law, W. E. Bastian & Co., Ceylon.

In this well-written volume Dr. Law has given us this time a brief account of women as they are depicted either favourably or adversely in different stages of life, in Buddhist literature specially in Pali. Indeed, one may know all about them from it in a nut-shell.

It is *Svayambvara* and not *Svayambara* as printed throughout.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

INDIAN SCIENTISTS: Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 3.

The book is a well-bound handy volume and does not profess to be more than what it is worth,

consisting, as it does, of the life-sketches of six Indian scientists of different types—Dr. Mahendralal Sircar, Sir J. C. Bose, Sir P. C. Ray, Sir C. V. Raman, Prof. Ramchandra and Srinivasa Ramanujan, together with an account of their researches, discoveries and inventions. The sketches are pleasant reading, and if not quite accurate in the matter of details, are on the whole, informing.

"Paikpara, a village situated in the outskirts of Howrah, is the birth-place of Dr. Mahendralal Sircar." If this were all, we would have thought Howrah a slip or misprint. But the biographer would be nothing, if not thorough, and with charming non-chalance goes on thus: "The Imperial Gazetteer as well as the Howrah District Gazetteer have not taken even a passing notice of this small village." He could as well have consulted the Gazetteer of the County Kent and met with the same result, for Paikpara is a well-known suburb of Calcutta and lies on this side of the river Hugli while Howrah is on the other side. Though belonging to the Satgopa caste Dr. Sircar's father or other members of the family were not "actual tillers of the soil."

Though we learn something about Sir C. V. Raman's marriage, there is no mention of such a charming personality as Lady Bose in Sir J. C. Bose's life, or that Sir Prafulla Chandra is a life-long celibate and leads the life of an ascetic. A small book of this description cannot be exhaustive, but it might have been fuller. However, the attempt to present in one handy volume the biographical sketches of our eminent scientists, and thus to interest lay readers, is in itself commendable, and as such, I believe, will not fail to serve its purpose.

SATLENDRA K. LAW

POEMS : By H. W. B. Moreno

There are sixty-one poems in this book. It is a pleasure to see that men do write poetry in these days. The author's poems on the Eurasian problem are pathetic beyond compare. One of the poems elicited a letter of thanks from the late Queen Alexandra. The author is a real poet; the rhyming is excellent; thoughts are really poetic,—

"Three nice girls
And one young man
See how they run
He arrived at the house of the girls far
ahead
They followed in haste but they found
he was wed.
For he went and he married the mother
instead."

MY LISPINGS : By N. S. Chetty : Bombay.

Madras is not behind any province in the matter of English poetry. Poems are published in book form every month in abundance. Mr. Chetty writes on various subjects: the poem on Virgin Widow runs as under:

"Let like a virgin she be wed
Than to a wicked life be led.
If left alone she would not do
Better than secret sins to woo."

This rhymes well, but is no English. "Than" has no comparative to which it can answer and

'to woo' is absurd. We say "I cannot do better than go", not 'to go'. Similar blemishes occur elsewhere. Nor are these poetical licence. We read in the "Yogi" :—

"That brings to form
All that he need."

The 'need' must be 'needs'. Mr. Chetty is apparently influenced by the common erroneous notion that 'need' does not take 's'. That is the case when it is 'intransitive', 'auxiliary', 'negative' etc. It directly governs the object 'that' here, and is as absurd English as "he give that."

MOONBEAMS : By V. N. Bhushan : Mustipatam.
Mr. Bhushan sings on love etc :

"For all that thou hast vouchsafed unto me,
Thanks, thanks, to Thee, my worthy Lord."

The Invocation and other poems are very good and thoughtful.

"UPADESA SARANI" of Sree Ramana Maharshigal :
Translated by B. V. Narasimier : C. M. & Sons, Madras.

Lovers of the Sastras would probably peruse this book with pleasure : we read :

'Distinct from God am I.
Yes. He is quite another'
Is held by common folk.
But 'I am He' is higher.

The book deals with Karma, Vakti, Yoga, Jajna, etc.

SOBS AND THROBS : By A. K. Abdulla : Poona.

A romance about the Meher-Ashram describing miracles and the exploits of Hazarat Qibla Meher Baba. Lovers of spiritualism, divine interference, and mysticism will no doubt read the book with pleasure. We read at page 94 that a motor car got out of control: brakes did not act: a touch of the magic finger brought it to a standstill.

SRI AUROBINDO : By Jyotish Chundra Ghose :
Atmashakti Library.

Another mystic composition in book form. We read at p. 18 : "A God-ordained mission of which he was to be the chosen instrument," a vague statement. Aurobindo is described as follows : "Fixed like a statue: nerves vibrating in response to divine rhythms: psychic senses open, repeating automatically what he heard uttered by some invisible power" (p. 20). The author says at page 4 : "Sri Aurobindo set about to discover the *sadhana* that would free the nation from its coils" and on page 5 : "Taposya is an effective set off against British statesmanship." Mr. Jyotish Chundra Ghose refers to the "utilization of the divine potential energy generated in Sri Aurobindo" (p. 21), as if Sri Aurobindo was a dynamo or a power-house. Mr. Tahal Ram Gungaram of Dehra Ismail Khan tried to utilize the energy stored in the fifty-two lakhs of Sadhus in India. The reviewer unfortunately does not believe in a vague 'mission' or Taposhya that can explode British magazines, arsenals and statesmanship.

CRITIC

HISTORY OF MUGHAL NORTH-EAST FRONTIER POLICY, by Sudhindra Nath Bhattacharyya, Lecturer, Dacca University. Chuckerverti Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., Rs. 10.

This book represents the first attempt to give a scholarly and complete account of the history (other than domestic affairs and internal developments) of Cooch Bihar, Kamrup and Assam proper, in relation to the Mughal empire. The length of the book, which consists of 400 closely printed demy size pages, and the pettiness of the endless combats (often mere skirmishes between small bodies of men and raids by "clubmen and spearmen" upon ryots and chaukidars)—when contrasted with the big wars of the Mughal grand armies in Rajputana or the Deccan,—may weary the reader. But this obscure corner of Indian history required to be cleared up, and Mr. Bhattacharyya has done well in exhaustively treating it, so as to leave no justifiable expectation about its contents which ignorance might have raised. Subject to the natural limitation and disadvantage of his subject, Mr. Bhattacharyya has produced a clear narrative with a fair use of the main classes of existing sources, and some of his chapters when taken separately afford agreeable reading.

The value of such a book to scholars and its durability as a piece of research will, however, depend upon the fulness and accuracy of the author's use of the sources,—Persian, Assamese and Ahom (the last in English translation). The present reviewer is not competent to apply this test, which only a specialist in possession of the original materials in the above languages can apply. He only notices that Mr. Bhattacharyya uses the English summary (made "by Blochmann from an incorrect MS. and in great hurry" as early as 1872) and not the full narrative (in Persian MS.) of Shihab-ud-din, to which he "refers only occasionally." As for the opposite class of authorities, namely, the old Assam chronicles, our author (as he confesses on p. 408) could devote only a short time to the study and analysis of the Ahom *Buranjis* (preserved in English translations in the Shillong Secretariat), though these are admitted by him as the best and most authentic materials for the other side of the shield. Mr. Bhattacharyya has not given sufficient reason why he regards the printed *Purani Asama Buranji* (in later-Assamese) as of the same old age and authenticity as the *Ahom Buranji from Khunlung and Khunlai*,—while Prof. Jadunath Sarkar in the 3rd edition of his *History of Aurangzib*, vol. III, considers it later and less reliable. Mr. Bhattacharyya is right in reading the name of the author of *Baharistan* as Nathan, instead of Sahin (as suggested by Prof. Sarkar); the Ahom chronicles give the former reading, and that decides the question.

On noticing, on p. 354 of this book, a refutation of Prof. Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, (the point occurs on p. 184 of Vol. III, 3rd ed., of the latter work), I wrote to Prof. Sarkar for his evidence and he has sent me the following reply:

"Mr. S. N. Bhattacharyya, in his *Mughal North-East Frontier Policy*, p. 354, asserts:

"As for the payment of the balance of the war-indemnity [by the Ahom Rajah to the Government of Aurangzib], the account of the *Buranjis* is extremely meagre and obscure. In only one work is the topic dealt with fully, and there too in a

self-contradictory and confusing way. It appears, Prof. Sarkar has laid undue stress on that *Buranji* in concluding that 'the promised war-indemnity was paid in full in three years' time'. The repeated demands for the submission of the arrears alleged (by the *Buranjists*) to have been made by successive Mughal faujdars upon the Assam king seem, apart from any other consideration, to render Mr. Sarkar's contention untenable."

The facts are quite otherwise than what Mr. Bhattacharyya represents.

(1) The most authentic Ahom chronicle, the *Buranji from Khunlung to Khunlai*, definitely states (vol. ii. p. 14) King Jayadhwaj had offered [i. e., presented] to the Mughals the four lakhs of Rupees promised, but one hundred elephants remained as balance [at the time of this Rajah's death].

I have explained in my *Aurangzib*, vol. iii, how when the elephants delivered to the Mughal faujdar at Gauhati died in the long march to Delhi, they were entered in the accounts as not paid but still due!

(2) As a matter of fact, 121 elephants, some presented as *peshkash* by the zamindar of Assam, and some caught in the jungles of Bengal, were received at the Delhi Court through Shaista Khan in Feb. 1666, as the *Alamgirnamah* (p. 958 of the Persian text) definitely states.

(3) Another Ahom *Buranji* gives a long and detailed account with dates (covering 8 pages) of the *peshkash* paid by Jayadhwaj to the Mughal Padishah which mathematically proves that the promised indemnity was paid in full before that Rajah's death. There is not the least confusion or contradiction in this account.

(4) This is further supported by page 10 of this *Buranji*, where King Chakradhwaj (the successor of Jayadhwaj) says that though the indemnity had been paid the Mughals had not kept their part of the engagement by settling (i. e., restoring) the boundary as promised. He could not have made any such demand if the Ahom Government had itself failed to discharge its treaty obligations.

(5) A *Buranji* written in Assamese (and therefore later and less authentic than the Ahom chronicles for such early events), which was found with the widow of Keshav Kahta at Gauhati, states (p. 98) that 'the remainder of the promised indemnity of war payment of which had been long delayed' was demanded from Chakradhwaj by Firuz Khan, the new faujdar of Gauhati. For what I have quoted above, this demand clearly refers to the 100 elephants which were short and also to the 20 elephants promised in the Treaty of 1663 as a permanent annual *peshkash*.

[J. S.]

This is astonishing. Here was before Mr. Bhattacharyya the statement of a historian of some repute (I mean Prof. Sarkar) that the Ahoms paid their promised war-indemnity to the Mughals in full. Before setting out to refute this statement, Mr. Bhattacharyya ought to have been sure of his facts. But no; he makes a "correction," which on examination of the original sources (as shown above) is proved to be wrong and the statement of Prof. Sarkar is proved to be quite right!

We wish some scholar with access to the sources of this book,—for example, Prof. Surya

Kumar Bhuyan, and some one with knowledge of Persian would make time to scrutinize Mr. Bhattacharyya's book and see whether our author is not making equally untenable statements when he talks of correcting Gait's *History of Assam* here and improving on Sarkar's *History of Aurangzab* there.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

SANSKRIT AND ENGLISH

SARVA-SIDDHANTA-SAMGRAHA, edited, translated and annotated by Premisundar Bose, M.A., Professor of Philosophy, Visvabharati. In two parts: (i) Text in Devanagiri Character, pp. 80; (ii) Translation and notes, pp. ii+98. Published by B. N. Mukherjee at the Navavidhan Press, 3, Ramanath Mazumder Street, Calcutta.

The book was originally edited and translated by M. Rangacharya, M.A., Rao Bahadur (Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College; Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library and Registrar of Books, Madras) in 1909 under the orders of the Government of Madras. In preparing the text, he used five manuscripts and showed alternative readings in foot-notes. The book has been long out of print and we are grateful to Prof. Bose for bringing out a new and improved edition of the book. The text of this edition is based on that of Prof. Rangacharya but the translation is altogether new. The Analyses and Notes given by Prof. Bose are valuable.

The book is ascribed to Sankara, but there are internal evidences to prove that it could not have been composed by him. It was written by an inferior hand centuries after Sankara. The author does not seem to be a reliable authority. We may cite only one example. In the first chapter he says that the *Uttara-mimamsa* consists of eight chapters divided into two parts, viz., (1) the section on gods and (ii) the section on knowledge; the *sutras* of both these divisions were composed by Vyasa. The subject-matter of the first four chapters is the deities referred to in the *mantras* and they are described by *Samkarashana*; this part is called *Devata Kanda*. The remaining chapters were commented on in a *Bhashya* of four chapters composed by the "Venerable Teacher" (*Bhagavat-pada*) who can be no other than Sankara. This portion, says our author, is called the *Vedanta* (I. 20-23).

We do not know whence the author has got all these. He seems to have made a serious mistake. The accepted opinion is that the *Vedanta* is not a part of, but is the same as the *Uttara Mimamsa* which has no *Devata Kanda* and has only four chapters.

MAHES CH. GHOSH

SANSKRIT

THE KICHAKAVADHA OF NITIVARMAN, Edited by Dr. Sushil Kumar De, M. A., D. Litt. Reader and Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Bengali, Dacca University, Dacca.

The Dacca University is to be congratulated on its starting an oriental series of which the present

work is the first publication. The University has already established its position by collecting a large number of rare and unique manuscripts, and it is gratifying to see that it has devised the best means for their proper utilization. Thanks to Dr. De, under whose able guidance the Sanskrit Department of the University is making a rapid progress in various directions.

The *Kichakavadha* is a short *Yamaka Kavya* in five cantos containing 177 verses in all and belongs to the class of Vasudeva's *Yudhisthira Vyaya*. It is full of *Yamaka* and *Slesa*, and far better than most of the works of this class. It is quoted by a large number of writers on Grammar and Lexicography and Rhetoric. The author, Nitivarma, flourished before the 11th century A. D.

It is for the first time that the *Kavya* is now edited by an able editor in the person of Dr. De, from MSS. secured from different places. It contains the *Tika* of Janardana Sena, and the extracts from that of Sarvanandanaga. Dr. De has added here a well-written introduction and some useful notes.

Naturally *Yamakas* are often very puzzling and such is the sloka 1. 10:

Tasyarijatam. nrpater
Apsyad avalambananam,
Yayan nrjharasambhogair
Apsyad abalamvanam.

The difficulty here is with regard to the second (b) and fourth (d) lines of the verse; *apasayad* (present participle of *V.drs*) must rhyme with *apasad* (explained as *apah syad*, *syad* being the present participle of *V.so*). But here the elision of *Visarjaniya* of *apah* can be accounted for is the question. Dr. De suggests to apply here the *Vartika* (Panini, VIII. 3.36): *Kharpare Sairi va visargalopo vakatavyah*. But though the sutra is rightly applicable with regard to such words as *purasthitah* (purah sthitah) IV. 20 (p. 119) or *bahusastri* (bahusah stri) IV. 25 (loc. cit.) as Dr. De has rightly shown, I think it cannot be done in the present case there being no *Kharpar-sar*. It seems to me that the actual reading might have been *apassyad* in both the lines. In (b) it is from the ordinary form *apasyad* (present participle), the *S* of which is doubled according to Panini's *anachi cha* (VIII. 4.47), while in (d) it is from *apah syat*, the *visarjaniya* becoming *s* in accordance with Panini VIII. 3.34, 4.40.

THE KAVYALANKARA OF BHAMAH, edited with English translation and notes by T. V. Naganath Sastri, B.A., B.L. The Wallace Printing House, Tanjore, pp. xvi+122.

Among the older school of Sanskrit Rhetoricians Bhamaha's name stands foremost and his *Kavyalankara* is well known. The present volume is a new edition of the work, edited from some manuscripts compared with the printed text as an appendix of *Prataparudra-yasobhusana* in the Bombay Sanskrit Series.

The special feature of the edition is that it supplies for the first time an English translation of the text made admirably together with notes which are very useful and thus it removes a long-felt want in the field of Sanskrit studies. But we wish the printing and get-up of the book had been better and the price less.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYYA

MARATHI

SARTH BHAVAPRAKASH : *Text with Marathi translation, by Ayurvedacharya P. G. Nanal Shastri. Publisher : Yadneshwar Gopal Dikshit, Poona. Pages 783. Price Rs. 6.*

Mr. Dikshit is doing good service to the Marathi-knowing students of Aryan medicine by publishing translations of standard medical works in Sanskrit. He has recently put on the market the above book which, for its size, usefulness, merit and price, is commendable in every way. The translator, Nanal Shastri, who is a local practitioner of established reputation has done the work as a labour of love and has made a free gift of the copyright of the book to the Tilak Mahavidyalaya—an example of benevolence which deserves to be emulated by every one who has the cause of national education at heart.

The work is divided into three parts. The first part contains information about physiology, materia medica, terminology and sundry matter likely to be useful for the treatment of diseases. The second part is entirely devoted to the diagnosis and treatment of various diseases. This part is of very great importance—especially the portion about fevers. The third part is comparatively small and of little significance.

A word of suggestion to translators of such works will not be out of place here. Exigencies of the time require such translations not to be too close and cramped, which oftener than not only mislead readers. Translations should be so made as to fully bring out the sense of the original passage and illustrations should be given, drawn from actual experience in life. The new race of Vaidyas should be taught not to be entirely dependent on the store of knowledge accumulated by their ancestors, but they should be made to feel it their duty to expand and enrich that store to the best of their ability. It is a pity that a competent translator like Nanal Shastri has not set this goal before him. However his translation, though old-fashioned, is free from fault and will be found helpful to practitioners as well as lay readers.

PASCHATYA ROGA NIDAN : *by Dr. V. M. Bhat B.A. M.B. B.S. Publisher : same as above. Pages 407. Price Rs. 3.*

The book though of modest size possesses peculiar interest for those who desire to make a comparative study of Western and Ayurvedic medicine in its important branch of diagnosis. Dr. Bhat is eminently fitted for this work, having fully gone through the training in Western medicine in a medical college and at the same time being an ardent student of Ayurvedic medicine. In the earlier portion of the book he has concisely dealt with subjects, such as Pathology, Bacteriology, etc. which form the crux of Western medical science, the rest of the book being devoted to the treatment of the main subject *viz.* the diagnosis of disease. In the renowned Sanskrit work *Madhav Nidan* to which Dr. Bhat's book is intended to be a supplementary or companion volume, diagnosis is fully treated in all its branches, such as, for instance, diseases calling for surgical operations, diseases of women and children, of the nose, ear and throat, midwifery &c. The scope of Dr. Bhat's book is very much limited. He has taken

up only *Kaya-chikitsa*, leaving other subjects to be treated in succeeding volumes which he intends to write later on. Such a vast store of foreign knowledge is pressed into service by the author in the present book that a good many students of Aryan medicine not acquainted with Western science are likely to find it embarrassing rather than helpful. The author's views on some points are likely to be challenged. For instance, from the way in which he discusses in the preface the genesis of acute and chronic diseases in the light of *Tridosha*, one is likely to be led to believe that as chronic diseases follow acute or sub-acute ones, so do the *Kapha* diseases follow the *Pitta* diseases. This is not only far from truth, but also goes against the convention of the Aryan medicine. Further, it is rather discomfoting to find the author not adhering to a fixed terminology. (Vide pp. 27, 165, 273, 277, 87) The translation of 'Idiopathic' as *Akaran* is hardly appropriate. There is no disease (effect) without its cause, though human intellect which is not infallible, is at times unable to trace it. The remarks on *Upadansha* and syphilis demand more study and modification. The author has unnecessarily taken the trouble to coin vernacular terms for inflammation, when *Madhav Nidan* (Sloka 6) while giving the description of *Sotha* has given all the cardinal signs of inflammation. These and some other points of similar nature require to be looked into with great care. A list of technical terms used in the book, whether old or newly coined should have been appended.

One word more. The term 'Western Medicine' can reasonably be held to signify not Allopathy alone, but some other *pathies* also, which are based on scientific truths and are attested by reason and experiences to be sound systems of medicine. Homeopathy is undoubtedly such a one, being recognized in the scientific world, as a connecting link between Allopathy and the Ayurvedic system. A writer who volunteers to write about a comparative study of Western and Aryan medicine will hardly be justified to quietly ignore Homeopathy, as being without the pale of his subject.

CHIKITSA-PRABHAKAR—A TREATISE ON THE TREATMENT OF DISEASES. *By Prabhakar B. Ogale of Ogalewadi, Aundh State. Publisher : the author himself. Pages 1080. Price Rs. 10.*

This bulky volume is the product of the author's laborious and patient study of the science of medicine—especially Aryan—and his varied experience extending over forty years. In the preface the author has given a brief history of Aryan medicine, mentioning its peculiarities, and giving short extracts from the high testimonials regarding its excellence given by eminent German, French, American and English doctors. The book is divided into four parts. The first part contains short descriptions of medicinal plants, a list of over 900 works on Indian Medicine (many of which have become rare) and the *Materia Medica* of Ayurvedic drugs. The second part deals with the general rules of conduct of healthy life, various methods of diagnosis of diseases, preparation of medicines and the various systems of medicine such as Homeopathy, Hydropathy, Chromopathy etc. The third part is devoted to the symptoms of various diseases and their treatment, while the fourth part

contains information about a number of allied subjects such as poisons and their treatment, bacteriology, surgical and other instruments etc. Thus the arrangement of the book is thoroughly systematic. The scope of the subject, though vast and wide, comprehending in it almost every conceivable bit of information regarding medicine, is so skilfully handled and the information given is so accurate and concise that the book may justly be called a veritable store of medical lore. It will be no exaggeration to call it the Encyclopaedia of Aryan medicine. The book does not contain learned discussions on points of contention, which interest only the learned few. The book is intended for laymen and as such it embodies every sort of information likely to be useful to a general reader. At the same time it will be equally useful to the Vaidyas practising in towns and villages. No library of a householder or a public institution can be complete without possessing a copy of this valuable book.

V. G. APTE

GUJARATI

NYAY NO NATH: By M. M. Gharekhan, B.A., LL.B., Advocate. Printed at the Sayaji Vijay Press, Baroda. Paper cover. Pp. 286. Price Rs. 2-0-0. (1928).

A very interesting novel with the background of common incidents in an Indian family, and the object of rendering poetic justice to its chief characters in the plot, the hand of the Advocate is visible in the Court Scene. It is a novel, which one would like to read.

(1) BUDDHI NUN BAZAAR, (2) LOHANA VIRO NI VATO: By Jadurai D. Khandhadia of Bombay. Cloth cover. Pp. 142: 92. Price Re. 1.: 1-4-0 (1928).

The title of the first book, the Market of Intelligence, is an ironical one. The book contains fourteen stories, the subjects of which are treated in a light humorous way. The second book contains a few stories of the strength and venturesomeness shown by Lohanas—the fellow castemen of the author—and it throws fresh light on the subject of their claim to be descended from Raghuvanshi Kshatriyas. A supplement gives the history of the

Indian Army and the pay and prospects of those who join its ranks. We think it is the first attempt of its kind in Gujarati.

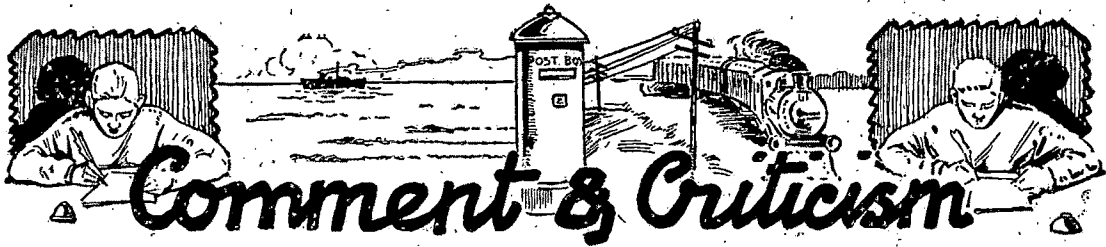
SRIMAD BHAGVAD GITA JYOTI: By Maganbhai Chaturbhai Patel, B.A., LL.B., Bar-at-law. Printed at the Surya Prakash Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound. Pp. 285. Price Rs. 3. (1927).

This "Light" on the Gita is the result of independent thought on the part of the author, and his views are embodied in a lengthy preface wherein he discusses the personality of Shri Krishna and the purpose of the "Song Celestial" with great ability. The Sanskrit text is accompanied with a translation into Gujarati and with explanatory foot-notes. Its best part, however, is its preface.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

1. THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA by Vera Anstey. Longmans, Green & Co.
2. BRITISH BUDGETS—Second series by Sir Bernard Mallet and C. Oswald George.
3. NOTES ON THE SEVEN PAGODAS by Sir Richard Carnac Temple.
4. THE MESSAGE J. MOSES by A. S. Wadia.
5. RELIGIOUS EVOLUTION IN INDIA (Vol. I) by Hem Chandra Sarkar.
6. ARABIC LITERATURE by H. A. R. Gibb. Oxford University Press.
7. BEGINNINGS OF VIJAYANAGAR HISTORY by Rev. Father H. Heras, S. J., M. A.
8. BULLETIN DE L'ECOLE FRANCAISE D'EXTREME ORIENT, Tome XXVIII. 1928.
9. A PRIMER OF HINDUISM by D. S. Satma. MacMillan.
10. MR. GODFREY HIGGINS' APOLOGY FOR MOHAMED, edited by Mirza Abul-Fazl.
11. CO-OPERATION AND RURAL WELFARE IN INDIA by B. B. Mukherjee, M.A.
12. INDUSTRIAL WELFARE IN INDIA by P. S. Lokanathan, M.A.
13. FORTY YEARS IN BARODA by G. H. Desai.
14. LIST OF THE HEADS OF ADMINISTRATIONS IN INDIA AND OF THE INDIA OFFICE IN ENGLAND, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA 1929.
15. THE EXPECTANT MOTHER AND HER BABY by Bodh Raj Chopra. W. Green & Son Ltd.



[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

An Episode in Mediaeval Mysore History

[We have received from Mr. N. Subba Rau, M. A., fuller details about the Kanarese account of the rise of Kanthirava, Rajah of Mysore. Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his article published in our November number naturally made brief extracts from the notes supplied to him by Mr. N. S. Rau with a request "to throw further light on the subject," and merely indicated (on the authority of Mr. Rau, which was fully acknowledged) that on such and such points the Kanarese accounts support and on such others they contradict the Persian account,—so that the reader may know that there was another side of the shield. He could not, we are sure, have printed in our columns the whole of Mr. Rau's material without anticipating the latter's forthcoming detailed study of the reign. Mr. Rau alone can do that, as he is doing in this issue.]

Mr. Rau would have saved himself a lot of time if he had studied the standard English works on the Muslim States of the Deccan in Kanthirava's time, for he could then have easily learnt that Rustam-i-Zaman is only another title of Randaula Khan and Afzal Khan of Abdullah (see Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. IV, pub. in 1919, pages 104 and 35.) Mr. Rau rejects the Persian sources as "official chronicles." By the same reasoning the Kanarese official accounts or bardic eulogies can command no greater credibility. He even appeals to traditions, as if traditions were reliable materials!

On inquiring from Prof. Sarkar we learn that on the points in Mr. Rau's paper not touched by him in his November article, (such as Kempe Gonda and Kanthirava's coinage) there is no further information available in the Persian histories, which deal with Bijapur only and not with the whole of Southern India.—Editor, *M. R.*

I

The relations between the Bijapur general and Keng Nayak:

Persian sources (*M. R.*, July 1929, p. 9): It is stated that Keng Nayak was humbled and heavily fined by Rustum-i-Zaman.

Kanarese sources: ['Keng Nayak'—'Kenge Nayaka.' Kenge is a place in Shimoga District. He is named Hanumappa Nayaka, Puvala Hanuma, Hanuma and Kengendra (chief of Kenge)]. Rana-dulla

Khan made friends with Hanumappa Nayaka and used him as an ally in his attempts at the acquisition of the Karnataka—particularly Seringapatam. Hanumappa was placed at the head of the Karnataka levies of the Khan's army. The friendship between the Khan and Kenge Nayaka was a diplomatic one.

[Sir Jadunath has not touched upon this point in the Nov. issue of the *Modern Review*.]

II

The relations between the Bijapur general and the Chief of Bangalore:

Persian sources: 'Rustum advances to Bangalore which is yielded up by Kemp Gonda who enters Bijapuri service' (*M. R.*, July p. 9).

Kanarese sources: [Kemp Gonda: Kempe Gowda (Immadi Kempal). Fuller details given: Encampment of the Bijapur army at Shivaganga; action: defeat of Kempe Gowda who, having given his son as hostage to the Khan and being promised protection by the latter, delivered charge of the fort of Bangalore to him and retreated to his place (probably Magadi in Bangalore district) in dismay.]

[As in I above].

III

The siege of Seringapatam by the Bijapur army etc. 1639.

Persian sources: 'Rustum advances against Srirangapatan. Its Rayal Kanti Rai submits after one month of fighting and saves his kingdom by paying 5 lakhs of hum' (*ibid*).

Kanarese sources: [Kanti Rai ought to be Kanthirava Narasa Raja Wodeyar according to Kanarese sources. Hun—hana or panams]. Rana-dulla Khan's forces besieged Seringapatam; were repulsed with great slaughter and heavy loss; the siege lasted only for three days (full details given); on the fourth day, the Khan entered into a truce with Kanthirava Narasa Raja Wodeyar, making a partition of territories in Karnataka between the Bijapur Padshah and the Mysore king. [Many men in the Khan's army lost their noses in the war with the Mysoreans—a significant feature of warfare indeed!] The Mysore king did not submit to the Khan nor paid tribute either. (The Kanarese accounts are very vivid on this topic). Alone among the Karnataka princes of the XVII

century, Kanthirava was the stalwart opponent of the advance of Muslim arms in the South.

[In his article in the November issue, Sir Jadunath gives some more details from the Persian sources to support the view that the king of Mysore submitted and paid tribute to Bijapur. The Persian versions find a complete refutation in the Kanarese contemporary sources and traditions (as above). There is nothing improbable in the utter defeat and repulse of the Muslims, at the end of their victorious career as far as Seringapatam. The Persian sources cover up this defeat, tinged, as they generally are, with bias against the Hindus. Moreover, they are official chronicles. The significant portions in italics in the above section have not been quoted or referred to by Sir Jadunath in his recent article].

IV

Campaign of 1640 : Further acquisitions of the Bijapur general in Central Karnataka :

Persian sources : acquisition of Chikanayakanahalli, Belur, Tumkur, Ballapur and Kunigal by Afzal Khan on behalf of Rustum (*ibid*).

Kanarese sources : While the Muhammadans took these places in Central Karnataka, they were repulsed by the Mysore army under Nanjarajaiah, the commander-in-chief of Kanthirava, from the following places occupied by them : Ramgiridurga, Huliyurdurga, Bagur and Turuvekere. *The Bijapur Muhammadans were prevented from having any permanent foothold in southern Karnataka.* In Kanarese sources, Afzal Khan is named Abdulla Khan.

Sir Jadunath sees nothing impossible in the Kanarese account though, of course, he refrains from quoting or referring to the portion in italics, which are significant (*vide* his recent article).

V

Mustafa Khan and the Kanarese country (1646) :

Persian sources : 'In June 1646 Mustafa Khan was despatched from Bijapur to subdue the Kanarese country.' (*M. R.*, July, p. 11)

Kanarese sources : So far as Mysore was concerned, however, Mustafa Khan was repulsed by Nanjarajaiah in the action at Turuvekere in 1646.

Sir Jadunath sees nothing impossible in the Kanarese account (*ibid*).

VI

Humbling of the Raja of Mysore into a tributary vassal (c. 1650).

Persian sources : 'About 1650, the Raja of Mysore was humbled into a tributary vassal by Khan Mahammad' (*M. R.*, July, p. 12).

Kanarese sources : There is absolutely no evidence, on the Mysore side, to support this statement. On the other hand, the trend of evidence goes to show that, by about 1650, Kanthirava sustained a temporary defeat, due, probably, to the inexperience of the commander-in-chief who succeeded Nanjarajaiah, and entered into some truce or agreement (with the Bijapur Padshah), which he never seems to have abided by! For, during the next two years again, he recuperated his position against the Muhammadans, as is evident from his conquests of Muhammadan possessions of those years. *Kanthirava was always aiming at independence of all external control, of which the striking of coins (Kanthi Rai hanams) in his name was the first proof. It, therefore, seems unsafe to assert that he was humbled into a tributary vassal.*

Sir Jadunath, dealing with the word 'tribute', now calls it 'indemnity', apparently in the light of Kanarese versions. He also says there is no real conflict between the two versions, and omits to notice here the striking of coins by Kanthirava, a sure sign of assumption of independence and a landmark in the evolution of the kingdom of Mysore. He does not even quote or refer to the significant portion in italics above, in his article in the Nov. issue. The trend of Kanarese evidence is in favour of the view that the Mysore king never paid any tribute or indemnity to the Bijapur Sultan.

The details given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar about Mustafa Khan's invasion and the "pillaging" of Mysore territories by about 1650, however interesting they may be from the Persian point of view, are not borne out by the Kanarese sources. The contradiction is thus obvious.

Das Raj, referred to in the Persian text (*vide* Sir Jadunath Sarkar's recent article in the *M. R.*), is to be identified with *Dasarajaiah*, the commander-in-chief who succeeded Lingarajaiah (Nanjarajaiah's brother), in the light of the Kanarese sources. Sir Jadunath's identification of him with *Desraj* is incorrect.

For a fuller account of the transactions together with documentary details, the reader is referred to my contribution on the subject in the current number of the Mysore University Research Journal.

11-11-29.

N. Subba Rau

The Pala Art of Gauda and Magadha

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M. A. (CALCUTTA), D. LITT. (LONDON)

Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics, Calcutta University

EXCEPT in some rare cases, the art of Hindu India, or Ancient India, in the various parts of the country, whether in architecture sculpture or painting, was deveveloped out of one common archetype which became characterized through a fusion of diverse elements during the second half of the first millennium B. C. The various elements which contributed towards the evolution of a Hindu art—taking Hindu in its widest sense, embracing equally Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism—were perhaps of three-fold origin, derived from the three types of race and culture which built up the Hindu people and its civilization—Austrie, Dravidian, and Aryan. Our knowledge of primitive Austrie art is as yet next to nothing. But the Austrie people of the Ganges valley, which later became Aryanized in speech, and made important contributions to Hindu culture (as can be seen by a study of Austrie loan-words in Aryan languages, from Sanskrit downwards), can only be expected to have given at least something in the evolution of Hindu plastic art. The Dravidian contribution was perhaps more definite; and certainly some of the bases of Hindu art we owe to this people, who it is exceedingly likely were the people of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. The Aryan contribution to Hindu art on the other hand is of a very debatable quality and quantity. Certainly the Aryans as an Indo-European tribe had very little artistic culture to boast of. But during their sojourn in Northern Mesopotamia, while they were in touch with the highly civilized Asianic and Mesopotamian, peoples during the early centuries of the second millennium B. C., they absorbed a great deal of the local culture, chiefly that of Assyria and Babylon; and it was this foreign culture, on the material side, partly or wholly absorbed and assimilated, that they might be expected to have brought into India in the course of their slow entry into that country sometime during the middle of the same millennium. Such art as they possessed could

thus be expected to have been largely borrowed from Assyrio-Babylonia. The indigenous art of the non-Aryan Austries and Dravidians, and this Aryan art which was largely of foreign, Assyrio-Babylonian origin, thus gave the basic elements of early Hindu art as a composite thing. Other elements came in later—equally foreign with the art of the Aryans, and ultimately of the same origin: namely, the art of Persia, in architecture and sculpture, which again is mainly of Assyrio-Babylonian inspiration. All these elements were fused into one national Art for Hindu India, and the earliest and fully characterised forms of this art we see in Maurya sculpture and in the architecture and sculpture of Buddh Gaya and Sanchi and Bharhut of the second century B. C. It is still a young art, seeking for the self-expression of the race,—it is still naïve, and quite vigorous in its *naïveté*. With this school of the third and second centuries B. C., Hindu or Ancient Art may be said to have entered into its career of development as an important aspect of Hindu culture, being a plastic commentary to it. With a growing knowledge of the pre-Aryan art of Mohenjo-Daro now being disclosed by new and important documents that are coming to light, it will be easier to analyse the component elements of Hindu art much better. But with a characterized Hindu culture taking form during the second half of the 1st millennium B. C., its artistic expression also became characterized, and we find this characterization in the art of the third and second centuries B. C., the archetype from which subsequent developments arose in a line of direct descent.

Leaving aside Gandhara sculpture as an unconnected episode, this oldest Hindu art of times before Christ became modified into that of the Kushana and Andhra times, Mathura in Northern India and Amaravati in Southern India presenting it in its later and more refined phase. The common character is still there, and the development in such distant tracts of the country has

been along almost similar lines. India is still one country in its art in the third century A. C. as it evidently was in the second century B. C. It is practically one style. In the subsequent centuries this oneness of style is interrupted, as art becomes more and more widely cultivated. The political union of Northern India under the Guptas ensure for a time similarity in style of the plastic arts. But already the character of the people in the different parts of India, first in the South and then elsewhere, begin to assert severally the special trend of its genius. We have, from the middle or rather the second half of the first millennium A. C., the development of provincial types or styles. And this provincialism becomes more and more accentuated as centuries pass, so that in the so-called mid-medieval art of India, the diversity of style in the various local schools has to be recognised.

The achievements of these provincial styles in their sum-total demonstrate the greatness and glory of the medieval art of the Hindus. The mere mention of the names of these provincial schools or styles will evoke visions of the architectural and sculptural glory which has won the admiration of art-lovers of all lands: Pallava, Chola, Chalukya, Hoysala, Bijanagar, and Madura, and the little-known Andhra and Kerala schools, for instance, of South India; and Orissa, Pala, Chandella and Rajasthan schools of Northern India,—apart from the earlier styles mentioned above. The old impulses have continued down to our times, almost unchequed; and, except in some parts which were predominantly under foreign Mohammedan influence for some centuries like the Panjab, Sindh and the Upper Ganges Valley (Hindustan), Hindu art continued to be a living thing, handed down traditionally by guilds or castes of artisans who practised it. But that is another story.

Among all these medieval schools of art in India, that of the Palas, which flourished in Magadha and Gauda, i.e. Bihar and Bengal during the period 750—1200 A. C., is one of the most remarkable. This art embraced all the three forms of ancient Indian religion—Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina. The art of the period of the Senas who ruled in Bengal in the twelfth century after having wrested that province from the Palas during the last decades of the eleventh can conveniently be regarded as an extension or continuance of Pala art: only Brahmanical influences were

stronger during the Sena regime. Pala art embraced a wide range; but unfortunately specimens of all the forms of plastic art cultivated in North-eastern India during this stage are not to be found. There was architecture, and remarkable architecture too, in the innumerable *viharas* or monasteries and temples and palaces erected in Bengal and in Bihar; and of these just a few temples in brick and stone have survived in Bihar and in West Bengal, but the remains of the Nalanda monastery and the adjacent structures give us a good idea of the character of this architecture. Sculpture was largely practised, in stone (a black basalt from the Rajmahal Hills being a favourite stone employed), as well as bronze casting, and numerous good specimens of these have been preserved for us. There was unquestionably a large amount of wood-carving, but only a few fragments of these have been spared by the hand of Time, and Man; but the little that has been found gives us a good idea of its character and its excellence. Then as to painting and calligraphy—there are a dozen and more palm-leaf MSS. in Sanskrit, preserved so long in Nepal, with their beautiful writing in the North-eastern Indian alphabet of the period, sister to old Devanagari and mother of the Bengali-Assamese, Maithili and Oriya alphabets, and with their wonderfully beautiful miniatures in colour of Buddhist divinities, counterparts in a small scale of contemporary sculpture: and these miniatures form our only links in the chain of the history Indian painting from the Ajanta frescoes of the eighth to the Gujarat miniatures of the fifteenth century. The paintings on the walls, and the scroll-pictures on cloth (narrating a romantic or religious legend sequence which would be unrolled and shown to the people while the story was sung aloud), are no longer in existence, but early literary reference and subsequent usage would establish their wide vogue in Pala and Sena times.

All this art was brought to a seemingly abrupt end after the conquest of Bengal by Turki Moslems in the thirteenth century. The old glory vanished from Bihar and Bengal as if at once. But some weak traditions of it has continued in Bengal in the folk-art of the country—in clay-modelling both religious and secular, in a little bronze-casting, and in painting. As folk-art, this faint echo of the old tradition can no longer maintain its existence before the sophisticated

tions and the altered outlook of present-day life ; and the now feeble stream of Bengal folk-art which derived its waters from the mighty flood of Pala art, is now on the way to its final extinction in the sands of neglect and degeneracy. Melancholy as its subsequent history has been in its native provinces of Bihar and Bengal during the Turki, Pathan and Mogul as well as British periods, the art of the Palas found a new home in Nepal and in Tibet. The art of these countries—whether in sculpture or bronze-casting or painting (certain Central Asian and Chinese influences in the painting of Tibet excepted)—is only Pala art under novel and congenial conditions of unrestrained development : and the history of the art of the Palas of Gauda-Magadha will naturally include, if one is to trace its development to our times, not only the folk-art of Bengal which has preserved it in fragmentary form only, but also that of Nepal and Tibet where it is living even to-day.

An art which has nobly served the spiritual and other aspirations of a people for well-nigh five centuries—and that too during the period of the almost unparalleled intellectual and spiritual awakening which that people manifested in ancient times—must be conceded to have some vitality in it ; and when it has continued to flourish in unabated vigour for some ten centuries among other peoples who had no art of their own at the beginning and who took it up, to express through its language—albeit hieratic—all their sentiments and passions, their devotion and their terror,—it surely merits the title of great art. Pala art with all its limitations was indeed a great art. It served the people of Bengal and Bihar at a time when this part of India was at the very forefront in Buddhist studies, and was a teacher of the Buddhist world. Its Brahmanical learning again was not negligible. There were commercial and other relations with Indo-China and Indonesia, and Tibet was a humble disciple. What a galaxy of names eminent in the philosophy of later Buddhism which the Pala and Sena periods present ! The Tibetans have preserved most of these names—of the saints and scholars, and their works ; and a long and illustrious list it is, from before the Pala period onwards : Candragomin of Varendra, Mahacarya ; Acarya Buddha-jnanapada ; Acarya Jetari ; Raikvasada, the Kayasthacarya ; Prajnakaramati ; Virya-sinha ; Vibhuti-candra of Jagaddala ; Tathagata-rakshita ; Saraha ; Nada-pada ; Rahula-bhadra ;

Vairocana-vajra ; Dipankara Srijnana Atisa ; Abhayakara-gupta ; Luyi-pada, Jalandhari-pada, Kanha-pada, Bhusuku and the other Siddhas ; and many more, including learned women like the Jnana-dakini Nigu, wife of Nadapada, and Lakshminkara, the daughter of king Indrabhuti, and others. The Tibetans have mentioned eleven great centres of Buddhist learning in Bengal and Bihar—Nalanda, Vikramasila, Purisa, Pulagiri and Mandara in Bihar, and Jagaddala, Devikotta, Pandubhumi, Vikramapuri, Salu, and Srimudra in Bengal. Side by side with the philosophic and literary developments of Mahayana Buddhism and Puranic Brahmanism in Bengal and Bihar, and of the Tantric cults both Brahmanical and Buddhist, the art of the Palas flourished, serving these faiths equally with the Scholars and Saints some of whom have been named above. There is an interrelation between this art and the religious culture behind it which cannot be ignored. And Pala art as the handmaiden of Buddhist faith and ritual inspired Nepal and Tibet, two lands with a non-Aryan Mongoloid population,—it drew out their finest artistic impulses to manifest themselves in bronzes and in banners, and in wood-carving and clay-modelling of a unique excellence.

A History of Indian Art must take note of Pala sculpture and architecture and painting, and there is as can be expected some treatment of it in the standard books on the subject. Specimens of Pala art in the various museums and collections have been described, *e. g.* in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (in the Bulletin of the Museum, and in its Catalogue of Indian Sculpture by Dr. Coomaraswamy, 1923) ; in Paul Mallon Collection in Paris (Quatorze Sculptures indiennes, decrites par V. Goloubew, Paris, no date, 58 Boulevard Flandrin) ; in the museum (the richest in Pala Sculpture) of the Varendra Anusandhana Samiti at Rajshahi (in its Catalogue and Annual Reports) ; and in other archaeological and other journals, like the Government of India Annual Reports on Archaeology, the *Rupam*, the *Modern Review*, etc. The best collections of Pala sculpture are naturally enough to be found in Bengal, in the Indian Museum in Calcutta, in the Dacca Museum, in the Museum of the Vangiya Sahitya Parishad in Calcutta, in the museum of the Varendra Anusandhana Samiti at Rajshahi, in the Patna Museum, and in some private collections in Calcutta

and elsewhere. At least one monograph study of Pala art has been published ('The Art of the Pal Empire of Bengal', by J. C. French, I.C.S., Oxford University Press, 1928, pp. 26, with 32 plates); and the 'Handbook to the Sculptures in the Museum of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad' by the late Mr. Manomohan Ganguli (Calcutta 1922) gives a good study of the images of Gauda-Magadha art in the Vangiya Sahitya Parishad, with plates. Mr. Rakhal Das Banerji's *magnum opus* on sculpture and other art in North-eastern India with representations of over 400 objects is now in the press with the Government of India, and will be an authoritative work of the highest value when it is out. And only recently has been published from Dacca Mr. Nalinikanta Bhattacharya's book—'Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum' (Dacca 1929). This work is not merely one on iconography; it is an authoritative monograph on the ancient art of Bengal especially in its later phase (i.e. 1000-1200 A. D.), and it is by far the most detailed and most scholarly work on the art of Ancient Bengal hitherto published. The introduction to the work forms a treatise of fundamental value on the art and culture of pre-Mohammedan Bengal, and with its numerous and admirable plates, the book is bound to remain for a long time indispensable not only for Gauda-Magadha sculpture but also for Hindu iconography as well. I hope to notice this important work more fully on another occasion.

Materials for the study of Pala art therefore are not lacking, and already competent guides are there, in the above-mentioned books. A full technical and aesthetic study of this art is among the immediate range of possibilities by students of Indology in Bengal. The present article is written with a view simply to point out the importance of the subject, with just a tentative attempt to indicate the general characteristics of this art.

Pala art came into being as a transformation of Gupta art as introduced into and practised in Bengal. A few Gupta images have been found in Bengal, and in the fifth-sixth centuries we find in the ruins of the shrine at Paharpur in North Central Bengal a vigorous school of sculpture already differentiated from Gupta art and foreshadowing the characteristics of Pala art. This transitional art of Paharpur is found in some sculptured slabs depicting Brahmanical

deities—Indra, Siva, and Brahma, and others, and stories of Krishna. Side by side with these stone reliefs there are several hundreds of terra-cotta tiles with figures in relief—gods, men, animals—which is not a hieratic and a finished art like that of the stone sculptures, but a folk-art, an art of the people, naive and crude yet sincere and vigorous. The subsequent history of this folk-art is lost, as no documents till many centuries later are found. But the hieratic art depicting gods and goddesses is a stage in the evolution of Pala art, and from the eighth century, when the Palas were established in Bihar and Bengal, we find a definite Pala art coming into being. Inscriptions of a votive character sometimes mention the name of the king in whose reign an image was consecrated; and this, together with indirect evidence from the style of writing in the inscriptions which quote a religious or doctrinal formula, is our only evidence for dating these sculptures. The latter method, in the absence of any other, is highly unsatisfactory. But some general stylistic characteristics in the earlier and the later Pala sculptures can be formulated. The earlier works of this school are somewhat cruder than the later ones, but stronger; the figures are more solidly designed, and are comparatively squat and short. The material is generally a grey chlorite which does not permit very fine work. In the later and finer period of Pala art—no fixed date can be indicated for the commencement of this later period—the figures become taller and more delicately carved, and sometimes they are beautifully *svelte*, the poses are finer, and there is general increase of gracefulness,—but the art is rendered comparatively weak. The favourite material in the second period becomes a kind of black basalt stone which is very hard, and can be worked to fine details, and which also takes a fine polish.

Pala sculpture is throughout a religious art, and barring a comparatively few bas-reliefs, it mostly consists of figures of gods and goddesses worked in very high relief. Figures in the round are also comparatively rare in stone sculpture. The figures range in size from tiny figurines which can be held inside the palm of the hand to about the size of a man, but seldom bigger. The background is sometimes cut out, leaving empty spaces outlining the torso and the limbs of the standing or sitting figure. These sculptures

and figures of deities were mostly intended to be placed in shrines or in niches in temple walls. In subject matter and treatment, the bronzes (the metal being an alloy on the basis of brass or copper, popularly called in Bengal *ashta-dhatu*, for which Mr. Bhattasali in his book has coined an English word *octo-alloy*) agree with the stone figures, although these are in small compass. The MS. miniatures which are late show merely a two-dimension treatment, with both strong outline and charming colour scheme, of the figures in relief or in the round; only in some rare cases, group compositions of a very simple nature occur.

The range of Pala art was limited by cult necessities, and within this narrow circle it had to move. It is an art, generally, of stately repose and contemplative calm, although the dynamic and the demoniac are not wanting. But the essential tone of the entire school may be said to be static. Pala art lacks the vastness, and the dynamic quality,—the epic imagination and the vigour and nobility of execution—of the Pallava bas-relief art at Mahabalipuram; neither does it possess the superb majesty of the Siya panels at Elephanta. Not being of the vast proportions of these latter, Pala sculpture cannot attain to their height. The Pala sculptor's again, did not care much for the life around them. The devotee's contemplation of the deity whom he passionately adores: this evidently was the inspiration of the Pala artist. In Orissan art, which is a sister to Pala art but proceeding in a somewhat new line, the little *genre* scenes which peep out here and there and everywhere from temple walls and niches and corners—a mother with her child here, there a school with a teacher and his pupils, a boat-party or a camp of ascetics at another place—that add a peculiar charm to that school. This is absent in Pala art. Then again in Pala art there was not that frank delight in flesh and in the pleasures of the flesh that form a distinction and a special quality of the art of Orissa, and of the Chandellas at Khajuraho, for instance; and also to some extent of the art of Rajputana. Woman's beauty evidently did not move the Pala artists so much, although some exquisitely modelled Lakshmis and Taras and other female divinities attest the power of the Pala sculptor in this line; and rarely, very rarely indeed do we find an erotic scene. In fact, this tendency to make art subservient to the religious

idea, to the divine conception which the scriptures taught, is a legacy which has come down to the present-day *Kumars* or clay-modellers and *Patuas* or painters of Bengal who still carry on the tradition of the thousand-years old art of their ancestors, even though they have only clay and crude paints as their medium: there is such an anxiety among them to make the figure conform to the *dhyana*—to the conception of the deity as the scriptures give it. And they are perhaps even more anxious to portray in the face of the deity, through a smile or a frown, his or her gracious or terrible aspect. The artist seemed to walk with a sacred text by his side to guide and to restrain him. His purpose seemed to be to prepare a plastic commentary on the *Sastras*: yet it was not wholly so. His hand could transform the conventional image of a god or goddess into something of a living divinity, with an ineffable smile and an aspect of infinite kindness which is characteristic of Indian art at its best: or into an avenging god who is an embodiment of terror. And indeed, some of the finest specimens of Indian sculpture are to be selected from among the Pala Vishnus, and Buddhas, and Taras, and Devis. Even when the goddess is slaying the demon, she has a look of pity in her face. And here too there is nothing of the dynamic in the act: the violent action is not suggested, but it is of the deity appearing at a certain stage in the act of killing the demon and making a pause in it as if to give a vision of herself to her worshipper. A contemplative repose with the suggestion of infinite grace—a figure such as would present itself before the ecstatic vision of a devoted worshipper—this is what shines through Pala sculpture in its most common form.

The art of the Palas was an artistic development shared in common by both Bengal and Bihar; and a thousand years ago these two tracts formed one nation and one people under the same puissant dynasty of rulers, and speaking but dialects of the same language. In the evolution of this art Bengal was the younger province in this dual kingdom of Magadha and Gauda, or Magadha and Gauda-Vanga,—younger in history and in Aryan culture. But it seems that it was the genius of Bengal that gave to Pala art its distinctive tone. The following well-known passage from the Tibetan historian of Buddhism, Taranath, quoted *in extenso* by

Mr. French in his book on Pala art referred to above, gives ancient and authoritative testimony in this matter, and incidentally also makes clear the question of the indebtedness of Nepal to Pala art: "In the time of King Devapala [end of the ninth century] there lived in Varendra (Northern Bengal) an exceedingly skilful artist named Dhiman, whose son was Bitpalo [? Vitapala]; both of these produced many works in cast-metal, as well as sculptures and paintings which resembled the works of the Nagas. The father and son gave rise to distinct schools. In painting, the followers of the father were called the Eastern school; those of the son as they were most numerous in Magadha (Bihar) were called followers of the Madhyadesha school of painting. So in Nepal the earlier schools of art resembled the old Western school; but in the course of time a peculiar Nepalese school was formed which in painting and casting resembled rather the Eastern types."

The art of the Palas is a precious heritage from the past, and it should be a subject of careful study by students, of Indian culture, and specially by the people of Bihar and Bengal as well as those of Nepal and Tibet; in addition it has a unique value in the study of Mahayana Buddhism, and as such the peoples of the Far East professing the Mahayana have a great interest in it. And a comparative study of Pala art with the other Indian schools is bound to be instructive, and productive of important results in the domain of Indian art, religion and ethnology.

Notes on the Illustrations

Fig. 1 : Bas-relief of Siva's Marriage with Uma. Grey chlorite : 19 inches by 12 inches. Provenance, Gaya. In the collection of the author.

Siva's marriage with Uma has been most nobly depicted in a colossal relief panel at Elephanta and similar panels are found at Elura. It is a favourite subject for sculpture in the south, and exquisite treatments of it in the 17th century Madura style are to be found in the temple at that place.

Siva as the bridegroom is known in the South as 'Kalyana-sundara.'

Various versions of this subject are known. The present one agrees with the bas-relief at Elephanta and at Elura in the disposition of the principal divinities—Siva to the right, Uma to the left; Siva is holding

Uma's right hand (*pani-grahana*); in his other three hands Siva is bearing the trident, the little drum, and the skull-cup, while Uma has in her left hand a round metal mirror. The downcast eyes of the couple proclaim them as the bridal pair. Between Siva and Uma sits Brahma as the priest with the lighted fire of sacrifice. The Nine Planets are on the arch overhead, with two attendant deities, and two other attendants are standing on either side below. At the base flanked by Uma's lion on one side and Siva's bull on the other is a group of *Ganas*, Siva's followers, dancing and playing music.

A similar treatment of this theme is found in a fragmentary form at Dacca, and it has been noted and reproduced in Mr. Bhattasali's book. The Dacca relief is very late, and the positions of the deities are reversed, Siva being to the left and Uma to the right. A completely different kind of the Kalyana-sundara image occurs in Bengal sculpture,



BUDDHA TEACHING
Pala Sculpture from Magadha
Paul Mallon Collection, Paris.

Fig. 2

in two reliefs in the museum of the Vangiya Sahitya Parishad and the Dacca Museum. Here the treatment is iconic, and not that

of a scene in relief: Siva stands facing the worshipper towering over Uma who stands in front of him: in the background and below are the gods and the divine attendants.

The present relief has been noted by Mr. Rakhal Das Banerji in the 'Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1925-1926', at p. 176. Mr. Banerji thinks that it 'belongs to the period of revival under Mahipala I, i. e. to the first half of the eleventh century A. D.'

Fig. 2—Figure of the Preaching Buddha. In the Paul Mallon Collection in Paris. From Magadha.

This exquisite figure is an example of Pala sculpture at its best. The Buddha is seated on a lion-seat with a lotus base, of the type which has been continued down to our times in the Nepal and Tibet bronzes. His fingers are forming the *dharmacakra-mudra*, the figure proper to teaching and preaching. On his palms are the imprints of the wheel, symbolising the Wheel of the Law which he set rolling by his first preaching in the deer park at Sarnath.



MOTHER AND CHILD
Pala Sculpture from North Bengal
(By courtesy of Mr. P. C. Nahar, Calcutta)

Fig. 3

Fig. 3—'Mother and Child' Relief ('Sadyojata'). [In the Puran Chand Nahar Collection, Calcutta. Found in North Bengal.

This relief is a beautiful specimen of Pala art, and from the style of writing in the inscription on it Mr. Bhattasali suggests for it a date prior to 1050 A. D. The subject matter proved one of the most baffling in iconography. There is the figure of a young woman decked with ornaments lying or reclining on a bed with a baby beside her, and there is also on or near the bed the *Linga* symbol of Siva: and in some other examples of this subject (several have been found), there are generally figures of the gods Karttikeya and Ganesa, with or without the Nine Planets, and sometimes with other deities and attendants. The exact significance was not known, and various explanations were suggested. There is no clear indication from the texts in this connexion. Mr. Bhattasali, who has discussed the matter at length (in pp. 134-142 of his 'Iconography'), has found texts from the *Linga-purana* and the *Brahma-purana*, on the authority of which the subject can be identified. The young mother is Uma: the child beside her is Siva, who in order to test her whether she could find her husband out from among the assembled gods, assumed the form of a child, and was found sleeping on the lap of the bride. She perceived by her inner vision who he was, and accepted him with pleasure. This is the *Brahma-purana* legend. Then the *Linga-purana* mentions how the Supreme Lord originated from Brahma as a child, *Sadyojata* or the Newly-born: and this Sadyojata is Siva. The figure of the *Linga* which is always present in these 'Mother and Child' reliefs, shows that the subject is Sivite, and that the *Brahma-purana* legend gives the best explanation. It is thus an episode in the story of Siva and Uma's marriage.

The delicacy of treatment in spite of the comparative want of facility is quite remarkable in this little relief. The inscription at the right side of the relief is corrupt and the reading suggested by Mr. Bhattasali is not wholly convincing. It is a brief dedicatory note, probably giving the name of the person who consecrated the relief.

Fig. 4: Image of Surya: found in North Bengal, now in the Museum of the Varendra Anusandhana Samiti, Rajshahi.

One of the most popular Brahmanical deities in Surya the Sun-God, and his wor-



Fig. 4 **SURYA, THE SUN-GOD**
 PALA SCULPTURE FROM NORTH BENGAL
 In the Museum of the Varendra Anusandhana Samiti
 (By courtesy of the Authorities of the Museum)



Fig. 5 **HEVAJRA WITH SAKTI**
 PALA SCULPTURE FROM NORTH BENGAL
 In the Collection of Mr. Prithwi Singh Nahar, B.A.
 (By courtesy of the Owner)



Fig. 1 MARRIAGE OF SIVA AND UMA
PALA SCULPTURE FROM MAGADHA
In the Collection of Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji

ship was very widely spread, judging from the numerous and beautiful images of him found in Bengal. The iconography of the Surya images has been discussed in detail by Mr. Bhattasali in his book (pp. 148-173). In the present image, which is one of the finest examples of the later period of Pala art, in a very good state of preservation (although a hand has been broken off), we have the god standing facing his worshippers—handsome and majestic in his youthful godhead, a figure strong and noble. In his two hands are two lotuses conventionalized. Surya in later Hindu mythology was given three wives : Ushas, Surenu or Dyans (the original Saranyu), and Chaya (or Nikshubha, or Prithvi). In the image, Ushas is the tiny figure standing in front of Surya, and Surenu is on his left side and Chaya on his right. Surya is attended also by Pingala, the bearded corpulent figure to his right, with a pen and ink-pot in hand : he is a form of Agni or Brahma, and he records the good and evil deeds of men ; while to his left is Dandi or Dandanayaka, who is usually depicted with a sword, a form of Kumara the god of war. Surya evidently stands in his one-wheeled car drawn by his seven horses, which are below the group of the godly figures. The horses are driven by Surya's charioteer, the footless half-man half-bird Aruna. There are also female attendants shooting the rays of the sun as their arrows on the either side of the wives and male attendants of the deity : and overhead are a couple of celestial beings, Vidyadharas, with garlands.

Surya is remarkable among North Indian deities in wearing top-boots, together with his wives, sons and attendants, while all the other deities of the Hindu pantheon remain bare-footed. There was a revival of Sun worship in the early centuries after Christ through Iranian influence : and the Iranian Mithra or Mihira, bearded and booted, came to India and was absorbed in the Indian Surya with his seven-horsed chariot : and the result of this fusion, of what were but the diversifications of the same cult, gave us the medieval North-Indian Surya, some of the most artistic representations of which are to be found in the later Pala art of Bengal.

Fig. 5 : Hevajra with Sakti. About one cubit high, in black basalt. In the collection of Mr. Prithwi Singh Nahar, B. A., 38 Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta. From North Bengal. Late Pala.

This piece is one of the most unique and most interesting in Pala art, and is an invaluable document for both its iconographic and artistic importance. It is in perfect state of preservation, and is a direct ancestor of the Tibetan *Yab-Yum* or 'Father-and-Mother' figures in which the deity is in the embrace of his Sakti. Modern Tibetan bronzes, representing the same deity Hevajra in the same pose and with the same attributes, are in existence. Hevajra is one of the tutelary or protecting deities—*Yi-dam* as the Tibetans call them—who are worshipped by the devotee to help him in his quest. These protecting gods are ultimately forms of the Dhyani-Buddhas, conceived in their mild and their angry or terrible aspects. In their terrible aspects they are made to accompany their Saktis. Hevajra was one such tutelary deity of terrible aspect. The worship of Hevajra seems to have gained in popularity in the later Pala period of art, but the deity seems to have received great honours outside India, in Tibet and in Mongolia. Khubilai Khan the Mongol emperor was converted to his cult in the 13th century. Albert Gruenwedel in his book on the *Mythology of Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia* gave an account of Hevajra and his attributes (French ed., p. 107), and Getty following Gruenwedel has treated of Hevajra in her *Gods of Northern Buddhism*. Indian (sanskrit) accounts of Hevajra are wanting ; and only one Pala image of Hevajra has been discovered so far—one without his Sakti. It is a bronze image with an inscription in letters of the 11th-12th century, and it has been described by Mr. Bhattasali. The stone image in Mr. P. S. Nahar's collection which is reproduced here will thus be the second Indian image of Hevajra known, but this one is remarkable in having the Sakti as well. Hevajra has eight heads, sixteen arms, and four feet : his eight hands carry skull-cups, and in those on the right side are figures of animals while in those on the left side are figures of the gods, and the two natural hands hold cups evidently of eatables. A Dhyani Buddha is on his eighth head, and his countenance is surrounded by a halo of flames. There are eight medallions with dancing goddesses above, beside and below the figure of Hevajra and his Sakti,—a detail which is not seen in the similar Tibetan bronzes which do not have the frame of the halo. On his lotus stand there are human bodies on which the deities are trampling.

The Sakti is embracing her lord, encircling one foot round his loins.

The conception of a godhead as above would seem not to have left any scope for the artist, and yet all this weight of symbolism has not been able to kill the art which is unmistakable in this composition. There is spirited modelling of the limbs, and the faces have the Pala touch, in successfully

bringing out the terrible yet benign aspect of the godhead as in Hevajra's faces here. Viewed from all aspects, this image, which is published here for the first time, is one of the most remarkable in Pala sculpture, and is a precious document of Buddhist art and iconography and of the development of religion in North-eastern India.

Tantrism in Cambodia, Sumatra and Java

BY DR. B. R. CHATTERJI, PH.D., D. LITT.

TANTRISM flourished in Java in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of the Christian era. We have no precise information as to when it was introduced into this island. But we know that in Cambodia Tantric texts are mentioned in the ninth century A. D.

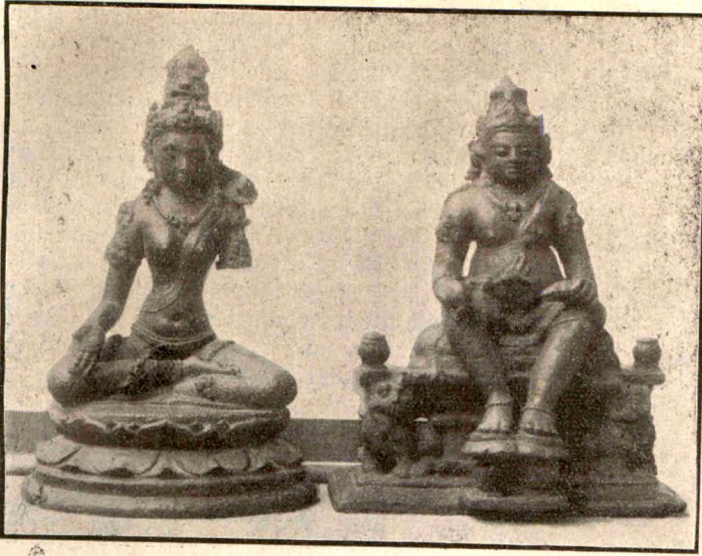


Bodhisatva

A Cambodian inscription relates how a Brahman, of the name of Hiranyadama,

came from Janapada to the court of Jayavarman II (802-869 A. D.). This Brahman recited the Vinashika, the Nayottara, the Sammoha and the Shirashcheda from beginning to end so that they could be written down and then he taught the Royal High Priest these texts. It is mentioned also that these four texts constituted the four faces of the 'Tumburu'.

Now there are three regions each with its special Tantras, and among the Tantras of the Vishnukranta region (which includes Bengal and extends to Chittagong) there are two works, Sammohana and Niruttara Tantras, the titles of which approach very closely to the names by which two of the texts (Sammoha and Nayottara) are mentioned in this Cambodian inscription. Again 'Tumburu' is the name of a Gandharva and there is a Gandharva Tantra in the Vishnukranta group. It is interesting to note that another group of Tantras is mentioned, the Ashvakra group, to which is allocated the region extending from the Karatoya river (in Bengal) to Java. There are other references in Cambodian inscriptions as to how several kings were initiated into the Vrah Gubya (the Great Secret) by their Brahman *gurus*: Cambodian Buddhism was probably much more free from Tantric influence than Javanese Buddhism of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But there is reference in an eleventh century inscription to the "Tantras of the Paramis." Also images of He-vajra, a Tantric Buddhist divinity, have been recently discovered at Angkor Thom, the ancient capital of Cambodia.



Kuvera and Paundravasini



Lokesvara with Sakti



Siva

In Java Tantrism seems to have attained greater importance. Kritanagara (1268-1292 A. D.), the last ruler of the kingdom of Singasari (in East Java), who was adored in

his lifetime as Shiva-Buddha, was an adept in Tantric practices. Prapancha, the author of the important Kavi (old-Javanese) chronicle *Nagarakritagama*, says that Kritanagara had gone through the ten ceremonies of purification and the eight processes of initiation and that he diligently carried out the *pancha makaras* "free from all sensual delusion." He goes on to say "After Kritanagara's 'jina initiation' his name was everywhere known as Shri Jnana-bajreshvara." We know also from the inscription engraved on the pedestal of the statue of this king dressed as a monk

that after his 'jina initiation' on a cremation ground, Kritanagara was supposed to be identified with Mahaksobhya. His funeral monument was adorned with two images, both of them described as exquisitely beautiful, one of Shiva and the other of Aksobhya.



Avalokitesvara

Then we come to the Tantric inscriptions of Adityavarman, a prince of Sumatra (c. 1343-1378 A.D.) An inscription of this prince dated 1269 Shaka era (1347 A.D.) describes the consecration of a Buddhist

sculptural group of Amoghapasha-Gaganaganja with his companions and in this connection speaks of the virtuous practices to be observed by the Buddhist community and then goes on to praise the practices of Yoga of the Mahayana. At the same time it glorifies a god and goddess Matanginisha and his Tara. Prof. Kern remarks that Matanganisha and Tara must be Amoghapasha and his Shakti and presumably they are Buddhistically fitted aspects of Shiva and Durga. In this inscription Matanganisha is represented as drunken and amorous—executing a mystic dance with his Tara in a locality resounding with the notes of birds, perfumed with the sweet scent of jasmine, full of the humming of bees and the cries of rutting elephants, and the merry shouts of sportive Gandharvas. Probably Adityavarman himself is to be identified with Matanganisha and his queen with Tara and the inscription commemorates some Tantric rite performed by the royal pair. Adityavarman is supposed to be an incarnation of Kama-rajadhimukti-sadasmritijna, i.e., Kama whose endeavours are continuously directed towards *mukti*. This fits in well with the scene depicted here where the royal couple carry on their amorous dance (in the aspect of Matanganisha and Matangini) in the fragrant groves, echoing with the lovely songs of nymphs, where lovers, with their locks of hair adorned with mandara blossoms, seek out trysting places where they disport themselves with their beloved. Is the whole scene the description of some *chakra* ceremony?

Another inscription of Adityavarman dated 1297 Shaka era (1375 A. D.) narrates that on Tuesday, in the month of Jaisthya of that year, king Adityavarman was made a Kshetrajna with the title of Vishera Dharani. Then it goes on:—"Seated on a high seat, eating delicacies, lord of Suravasa drinking, laughing with myriads of flowers spreading on all sides their perfume....The perfume of Adityavarman's offerings is indeed indescribable." The sentences are disconnected and the meaning can only be guessed at. But we may be sure that this obscure passage does not refer to a royal picnic. As Herr I. J. L. Moens has tried to explain (Tijd. Batav. Genoot., 1924) all this may mean that king Adityavarman became a Kshetrajna in a cremation ground (like king Kritanagara)—enthroned on a heap of corpses, laughing like a maniac, drinking blood, while his *mahaprashada* (his human

sacrifice) flamed up and spread all around a dreadful smell.

Finally, we come to the Mantrayana text—the Kamaliayanikan, a Kavi (old-Javanese) work which has been recently edited (in Dutch) by M. Kats. This text, we may conclude from the internal evidence gleaned from its pages, dates from the Majapahit period (14th and 15th centuries A. D.)—i. e., during the rule of the last Hindu kingdom



Aksobhya and Tara

of Java. It commences with Sanskrit slokas extolling in very high terms this particular way to salvation. The Sanskrit verses are accompanied by a Kavi (old Javanese) commentary which is extremely obscure as in addition to the difficulties presented by the Kavi language it abounds with Tantric technical terms. Some of the introductory stanzas may be construed as follows: "Come Oh child, I shall teach you fully the method of Mantra-charya-nayam of Mahayana as you are worthy of receiving this great lesson. The Buddhas who have gone and those who have not yet arrived (in this world) and those who are still existing for the welfare of the universe—all of them have attained omniscience through the knowledge of this supreme Vajra Mantra system. . . . You should practise this noble Yana which is beyond positive and negative, clear as the sky, solemn indisputable, stainless beyond all illusion, which is manifested only by its own manifestations, which is free from all action, beyond the duality of truth and

falsehood—the greatest, noblest path. . . One should not speak of vajra, ghanta and mudra to those who are not in the mandala and only the faithful, who is in the circle, may laugh (i. e., think himself fortunate)."

Then comes the sloka: "There is nothing which is prohibited for him who has attained the highest wisdom. He should enjoy at all times, without any hesitation, the pancha Kamas (the pancha makaras?)." In another passage we find: "Vajra, ghanta, and mudra are never to be abandoned; the acharya is never to be despised, he is equal to all the Buddhas. Therefore, never insult the Vajracharya mahaguru even if you can see no good in him." In the concluding stanzas we get: "Today your lives have fulfilled their purpose, to-day, well-versed in this (doctrine), you have become the equal of the gods . . . today without the slightest doubt, after having overcome Mara, you have reached the supreme goal and have attained Buddha-hood."*

In the Kavi (old-Javanese) text, which follows the Sanskrit slokas, occurs the following passage: "The ten paramitas (dana, shila, kranti etc.) have for tatva (essence)—five Devis. Shri Vajradhatishvari Devi, of peerless wisdom and beauty, is the tatva of six paramitas. The tatva of Lochana is maitri, of Mamaki Karuna, of Pandaravasini mudita, of Tara upeksha. In this way the ten paramitas have five Devis as tatva."

After the paramitas the Mahaguhya (the Great Secret) is mentioned which is the means of meeting the Lord and consists of Yoga and Bhavana. Yoga, the heritage (as is given in the text) transmitted (to us) by the illustrious Dignaga, is of four kinds: mula Yoga which makes us realize the Lord of Akasha, madhya Yoga which acquaints us with the Lord who is in (our) bodies, vasana Yoga which introduces us to the Lord of Prithivi-mandala and anta Yoga by which we know that there is a Lord in the Shunyata-mandala.

This reference to Dignaga is interesting. In this connection we may recall the tradition that Dharmapala, the disciple of Dignaga, after having adorned for thirty years the University of Nalanda, spent the last years of his life in Suvarnadvipa (Sumatra?).

Enough has been said about the Kamahayanikan to show that it is well worth the careful study of scholars who have

* I have to express my thanks to Pandit Krishnanand Pant, M. A. for helping me with the Sanskrit text.

Two Indian Landscapes

BY SAMARENDRA NATH GUPTA

LANDSCAPES have never been a favourite theme of any of the orthodox schools of Indian painting perhaps for the simple reason that the portrayal of the outward representative aspect of nature did not appeal to Indian artists as other subjects of religious and sentimental interest. By instinct the Indian mind is a worshipper of nature. He reveres nature not because she is beautiful but because he cherishes a feeling for her which appeals to his soul. He is also intuitively fond of details which give him food for thinking. These go a long way to explain why Indian artists seldom took to landscape painting as a separate subject. He painted foliage and flowers to perfection; he painted the fleeting glory of the evening sun, sometimes a part of a landscape, in a painting; but he seldom attempted to paint a landscape as a subject by itself. The landscape was not an interesting undertaking for him; his love for the decorative and descriptive—essential characteristics of Indian painting—made him disregard the common aspects of nature. He treated nature in a purely decorative and artificial manner to suit his aesthetic expressions. Elements of landscape in Indian paintings whenever introduced have a relevant value in relation to the subject-matter of the paintings where they are incorporated. In this respect the Indian masters show a wonderful power of selection of essentials. This selection took the form of an intricate landscape, a single tree, or even a spray of flowers, but they always created an atmosphere and provided a befitting background to complete the subject-matter of the paintings.

A very interesting example of a purely decorative landscape is reproduced opposite page 90. It is a purely artificial rendering of an imaginary landscape in a most poetical manner. It illustrates a verse from Jayadeva's *Gita-govinda* where the Malaya breeze is said

to be blowing towards the Himalayas to cool itself in the eternal snows as it finds it difficult to bear the pain of the bite of snakes and hear the sweet cooings of the cuckoo at the sight of mango blossoms.

The artist (Manak, about 1830 A. D.) has interpreted this verse by showing two mountains. One is full of angry snakes and blossoming trees and the other one on the left—the Himalayas—with specks of snow on the ridges. It is a purely arbitrary rendering of a landscape and yet its fine decorative treatment both in design and colour make it a most remarkable painting.

The other painting reproduced as frontispiece is of a different character. The dominating element of the painting is its landscape in the background which creates the necessary atmosphere and gives colour to the subject of the painting.

It shows a noble on horseback with attendants out for hawking. The landscape is generalized, artificial, and yet true in spirit of nature. It does not perhaps represent any particular spot which the artist may have seen or made note of. It gives a bit of the dreamland of the artist—not nature as she is but what the artist fancies her to be—full of rhythm and beauty. His intense feeling for the landscape made him have the same kind of sympathy for the glades and meadows as he had for the blades of grass which cover them; he fancied the trees, as he has often seen them, leaf by leaf; he visualized the ducks and cranes revealing their wonderful plumage to the light of the day when all was quiet and they had no fear; he inhaled the scent of lotus blossoms in the fresh sparkling water of a hill-lake. All this came before his mind's eyes when he composed this picture and when he came to paint them he went over the glades and meadows, trees and flowers, birds and waters with that precision and care which love alone could command. •

Architectural and Art Treasures at Polonnaruwa*

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

NO place in Ceylon is of greater interest, from the artistic point of view, than Polonnaruwa. Once the proud capital of Lanka, it is now not much more than a small clearing in the heart of the jungle, some fifty miles from the eastern sea-board and a little above the centre of the Island. Monuments of early mediaeval glory, many of them conserved and renovated during the last generation, stand here in great profusion. In beauty of line and decoration some of them are unexcelled elsewhere in Ceylon. A temple cut in the rock, with giant statues carved in the boulder at either end, is unquestionably the highest artistic achievement in the country.

Comparison with Anuradhapura—the older capital—some sixty-five miles to the north-west, is inevitable. For one thing, it has been known to history for a somewhat longer time than Polonnaruwa. The foundation of Anuradhapura is attributed to Anuradha, who served as a minister to Vijaya—the scapegrace from the ruling dynasty of Vanga (new Bengal), who is believed to have landed in Ceylon during the sixth century B. C., and who established the Sinhalese dynasty. According to another tradition Anuradha, a brother-in-law of King Panduvasudeva, who succeeded Vijaya, built it. It has, in any case, existed since the fifth century B. C. Historically speaking, Polonnaruwa dates only from the seventh century A. D. It is mentioned in the *Mahavamsa* or the story of the great dynasty founded by Vijaya, in connection with a king who reigned in that century. How long it had existed before that monarch's time is a matter of conjecture.

Pulatthinagara, by which name the city was known in ancient times, is the Pali form of Pulastyanagara or Pulastyapura. It was later shortened into Pulatthi or Pulastya. There, according to a tradition,

lived, in the *Krita Yuga* or Golden Age, the *Rishi* Pulastya, a son of Brahma and the grandfather of the demon-king Ravana of Lanka, whom Rama vanquished.

According to another tradition related to me on the spot, the Pulatthi who lived there was not the Hindu sage, but a Buddhist hermit who, I was given to understand, assisted in gathering together the Buddha's precepts at Alu Vihare (near Matale) in the first century B. C.

When the first sod was cut for laying the foundations of the city, I have been told, the pick-axe fell upon the head of a serpent of the deadly *polunga* species. The settlement, therefore, received the name of Polunga-nuwara, or "City of the Serpent," which later became corrupted into Polonnaruwa, of our day. The legend may possibly have been suggested by the serpent emblem—the *polunga* standing on its tail—that figures on the upright stone door-posts of many of the old buildings in the place—emblems to which I shall refer later.

Whatever the truth as to the foundation of Polonnaruwa, it did not definitely become the capital until the ninth century A. D., though more than one Sinhalese king had governed the kingdom from there, either during a part of, or throughout his reign. The Court was finally driven away from Anuradhapura, it is explained, through the fear of Tamil invasion. There has recently been some tendency to question this belief. It is argued that the distance between the two towns was only about sixty-five miles and also that the location of Polonnaruwa did not offer any great strategic advantages. Scholars who question the accepted theory declare that Anuradhapura must have been abandoned because malaria had become rife, or some plague, of which no account has been discovered, swept over the city, menacing the life of the inhabitants. They add that Polonnaruwa had been known through the ages as a healthy place and kings had been in the habit of going to it for a change.

Whichever of the two explanations be correct, Anuradhapura had been the seat

* This article must not be reprinted nor translated without first securing the written consent of the author.

of government for well over a thousand years. Polonnaruwa's period of pride, on the other hand, was comparatively brief. It ceased to be the capital early in thirteenth century. The buildings and statuary which I shall describe presently were, therefore, created in Polonnaruwa during four hundred years or so—or rather in the intervals of fighting during those centuries.

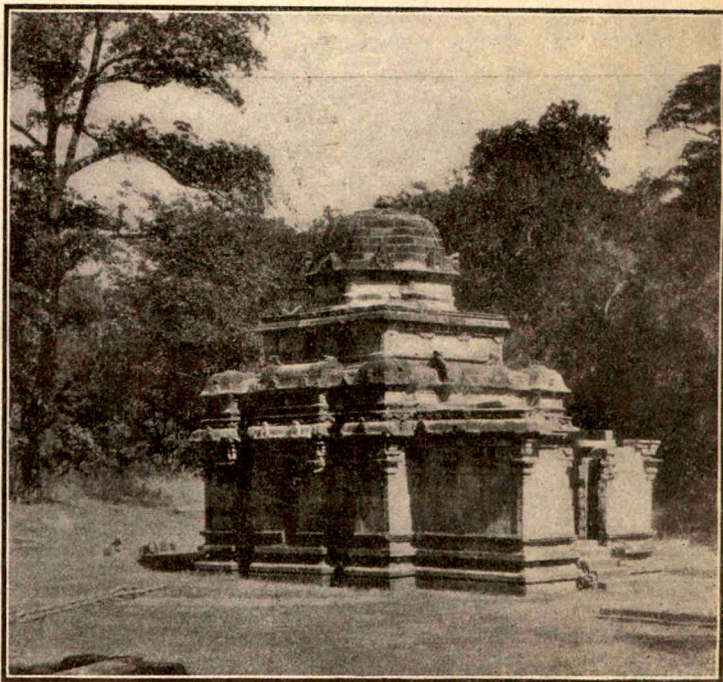
The ruins at Anuradhapura occupy a much larger area than do those at Polonnaruwa. This does not, in itself, warrant the assumption that the older capital, in the heyday of its splendour, was necessarily more extensive. More effort has been put into excavation at Anuradhapura than at Polonnaruwa. It is not at all unlikely that further exploration might disclose parts, or at least suburbs, of the early mediaeval capital that today lie buried in the jungle. It is generally presumed, however, that Polonnaruwa did not, at any time, attain the dimensions of Anuradhapura. The country between the two cities, it is said, was at one time so thickly settled that a cock, alighting on a roof in either place could go all the way to the other by flying from house to house, without ever coming down to the ground.

Both Nature and man have wrought greater havoc at the older than at the later capital. Much, moreover, remains to be done to repair these ravages at Anuradhapura. The only buildings that have been restored are interesting from the religious rather than the artistic point of view. The Buddhists responsible for rebuilding were impelled by the desire to acquire merit and woefully lacked the artistic perception of their forefathers.

Each time that I visit Anuradhapura in quest of data for my forthcoming books on Ceylon, I return more impressed with the callous disregard for monuments of the past shown by the people and the Government alike. Strewn over the sward are stones with carvings that any nation with the slightest

love for the past would take infinite pains to protect. Statues precious from the artistic and religious points of view, rest insecurely on broken, tottering pedestals. It appears, however, that everybody is content with what has been done, and little attention is being paid to the monuments that are lying about unconserved.

In Polonnaruwa the case is very different. The relics of olden days that have been exposed to view there are, as a rule, in a much better state of preservation than those at Anuradhapura. That difference is not due to the fact that more durable materials were used, nor that time and man have done nothing to demolish them. Quite the contrary.



The Siva Devale - Polonnaruwa

Most of the buildings in Polonnaruwa are of brick. The Government of Ceylon has, however, taken the trouble and incurred the expense to restore them as much as possible to a semblance of their pristine glory. The monuments in Polonnaruwa, therefore, impress the casual visitor much more than the ruins at Anuradhapura. Even the serious student of art and archaeology is not compelled to piece together information from broken bits of stone as he must at the older capital, but is able to see the ornament in its original

setting, and the building among its neighbours where it has stood for centuries.

In one other respect Polonnaruwa differs from Anuradhapura. So far only structures of a sacred character have been exposed to view at the older capital. The Archaeological Department of the Ceylon Government appears to be convinced that it has discovered the spot upon which the king's palace stood. When I last saw the site excavation had not resulted in baring any part of the building. In Polonnaruwa, on the other hand, structures of temporal character can be seen. Among the remnants are, for instance, a palace, an audience chamber and a council chamber. The last-named building is particularly important because it enables us to form an idea of the administrative institutions that existed in the early Middle Ages.



Parakrama Bahu's Audience Chamber—Polonnaruwa

II

To a student of Indian culture the art treasures at Polonnaruwa are of a special interest. The two distinctive schools of art evolved in northern and southern India met here early in the Middle Ages and were harmonized.

The process of reconciliation had begun some time before the seat of government was permanently removed from Anuradhapura. The southern Indian influence is particularly noticeable in the ornamentation assigned to the two or three centuries prior to the change.

The infiltration of southern Indian technique was only to be expected in view of the geographic propinquity of Ceylon with southern India and the intercourse that undoubtedly existed between the two from the earliest times. Accounts of several Tamil invasions have been handed down by the Sinhalese chroniclers. They also mention cases of Sinhalese kings seeking their brides in southern India. Peaceful penetration from the Pandyan and Cholian kingdoms was either too prosaic or too imperceptible to have been set down by the monks who compiled the *Mahavamsa* and other chronicles more or less based upon it.

As the result of this steady process of migration from southern India, mixture of blood took place not only in the ruling dynasty but, to a greater or lesser extent, among all classes of people. It was inevitable that forms of thought and worship and ideals of art and architecture should change.

Though these processes began long ere the Court deserted Anuradhapura, they received great strength during the Polonnaruwa period. For one thing, off and on during this period southern Indians either occupied the Sinhalese throne or exercised great political influence. In the tenth century, for instance, Sena V., the Sinhalese King, fled, following a quarrel with the head of his army, to the southern part of Ceylon or Ruhuna, as it was then called. The capital was thereupon seized by the Tamils. His successor, Mahinda V., after carrying on government with great difficulty for twelve years, was himself forced to flee to Ruhuna for safety.

Early in the eleventh century the Cholian king, with his capital near Madras of our day, taking advantage of the unsettled conditions in Ceylon, sent an army across the Palk Strait and brought the entire northern half of the Island under his sway. Not until many years later were the Sinhalese able to throw off the yoke of the Cholians.

During three or four generations the Fates kept the Island in a constantly unsettled

state, with the southern Indians always harrying the Sinhalese, sometimes succeeding in completely driving them out of power, again receding more or less into the shadows. Gaja Bahu restored the Sinhalese fortunes and was followed by Parakrama Bahu the Great, who ruled from 1153 to 1186 A.D. Fierce controversy rages over Parakrama's lineage—whether or not he was of mixed Tamil and Sinhalese blood. He certainly had a Hindu queen for whom he built and endowed Hindu temples. His devotion to Buddhism did not apparently prevent him from listening to Hindu discourses and recitations from the Hindu scriptures. Within a year of Parakrama's death a Prince from southern India was anointed as the overlord of the Sinhalese under the title of Kirti Nissanka Malla; and he ruled until 1196. Within a few years of his demise the Tamils were in undisputed possession of Polonnaruwa and a little later Bhuvaneka Bahu I removed the capital to Yapahuwa.

Only a few of the archaeological remains at Polonnaruwa antedate Parakrama's reign. They are temples devoted to the worship of Siva and Vishnu and unmistakably of Tamil workmanship. The others show, almost without exception, a strong southern Indian influence.

III

The monuments of outstanding interest at Polonnaruwa fall into two distinct classifications according to whether they are of temporal or of a religious character. Of the former, two deserve special attention—the private audience chamber standing at the back of the ruins of Parakrama Bahu's palace; and the council chamber erected by Kirti Nissanka Malla.

The private audience chamber, judging by what has been left of it, must have been a gem of architecture. It was not a large building but was evidently graceful in proportion and beautifully ornamented.

The foundation consists of three platforms, slightly decreasing in size as they rise. Running round the base is a row of elephants. Around the middle platform is a row of lions, and around the top one is a row of grotesque dwarfs. Upon careful examination it is found that no two figures are exactly alike. The elephants particularly are carved with vigour and realism.

The chamber is reached by a short flight of stone steps. The design on the moonstone lying like a huge, semi-circular mat at the

bottom of them has become nearly obliterated. The guardstones have fallen. The balustrades remain in position and are noteworthy for their graceful form and skilful carving. At the top are two lions, one on either side, their mouths partly open as if snarling threateningly. Though exposed to the devastating effect of wind and weather, they retain much of the detail patiently chiselled by master-craftsmen centuries ago.



The Sat Mahal Pasada—Polonnaruwa

The pillars that once supported the roof rise from the third platform. Some of them are broken. Not one is there, however, that does not show that attention was lavished upon it by men who had inherited skill from many generations of stone-carvers.

The purpose to which this building was put has been lost in the labyrinth of time. Various conjectures have been made, all based upon its proximity to Parakrama's palace. The theory that is generally accepted is that the king here received his trusted advisers and discussed with them plans of campaigns and other important affairs of state. It has been suggested to me by a Sinhalese friend who has spent many years of his life in Polonnaruwa, at first as a forest

officer and later as a revenue officer, that Parakrama may have met his secret agents here and received from them information of a confidential nature.

The ruins of Kirti Nissanka Malla's council chamber lie a furlong or so distant from the private audience chamber. The ground upon which they stand is high, and in official archaeological literature is spoken of as "the Promontory."



Carved in Bas-relief on a Granite Boulder supposed to be a likeness of King Parakrama Bahu the Great Polonnaruwa

This building was undoubtedly meant to accommodate a much larger number of people than the private audience chamber. Unfortunately little has been done in the way of fitting the stones into the places from which they have fallen. There is, in consequence, an unkempt air about the place.

Any one who takes the trouble to examine the ruins carefully is nevertheless amply rewarded. The plan according to which the building was constructed was pleasing. The decorations that remain are certainly worth close study.

Only one of the lions at the top of the steps at either side is standing. The other, much more perfect, was taken to Colombo years ago and is exhibited prominently in the Museum there.

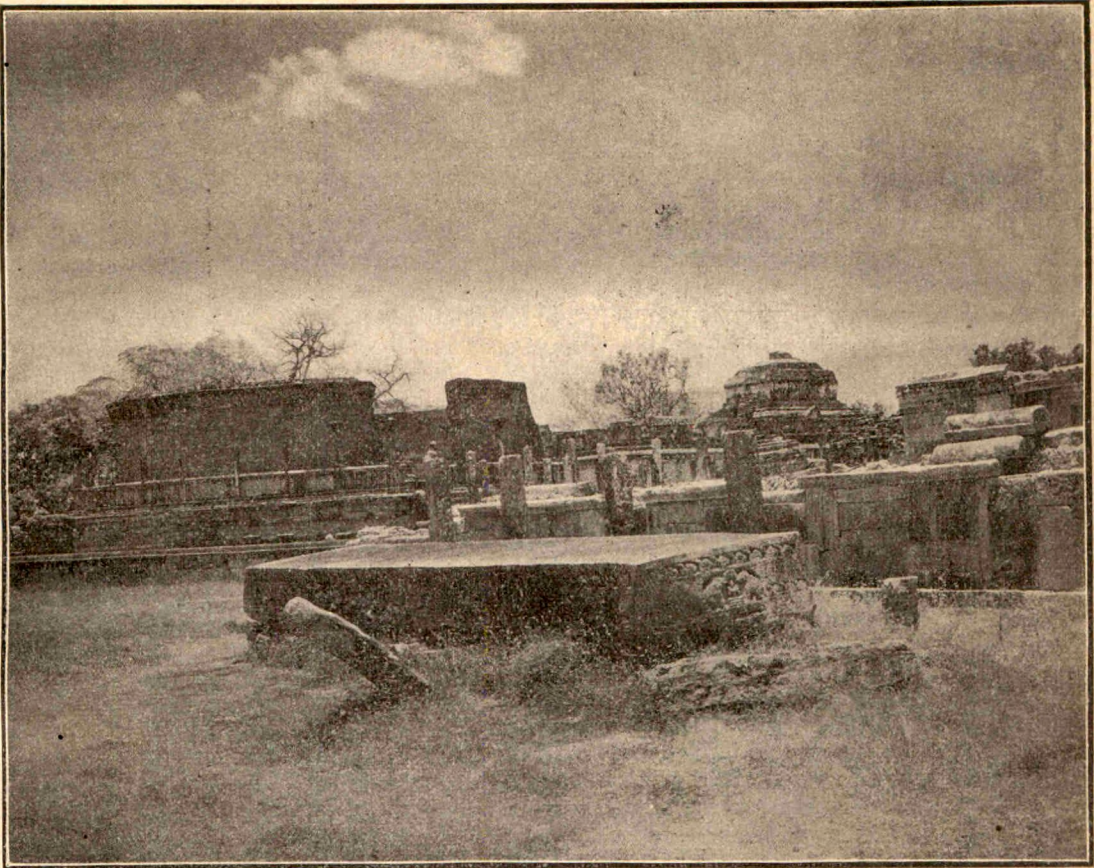
In the days when Polonnaruwa, like so many other places of archaeological interest, was inaccessible, it may have served a useful purpose to gather together in a central place examples of the art of olden days. Now, however, when this early mediaeval capital is one of the important points which pilgrims, students and tourists visit, it would be a better idea to send the lion back from the Museum to stand once more on the pedestal from which it had been removed; to lift up the pillars and stones that have fallen and set them in place; and to restore the structure as much as possible.

The use to which this building was put is definitely known. A stone at one side of the entrance bears a long inscription that sets all doubts at rest. It was the meeting-place of the Legislative Council of the day—a Council consisting of the king, his ministers and unofficial members representing various communities, including the merchants.

The ruler, as President of the Council, sat on the lion throne at the far end of the chamber, with the heir-apparent beside him. Each minister stood at his appointed pillar at the right side of the building, while merchants and other unofficials who had been given the dignity of Councillors stood on the opposite side, each in front of the pillar assigned to him.

Only the shell of Parakrama Bahu's palace is left. If it answered in any way to the account of it penned in the *Mahavamsa* it must have originally been a fine, seven-storeyed building, artistically decorated and furnished. It had a thousand chambers, the gates, doors and windows were of gold. The king's bedroom was ornamented with garlands of pearls and was lit by rows of gold lamps. The beds in the various chambers were of gold, ivory and other precious materials. The golden bells hanging here and there in the palace tinkled musically when stirred by the breeze.

According to the same authority, Parakrama Bahu did not lavish splendour only upon his own palace and forget the people. He, in fact, created for them a pleasure-garden (*Nandana*). It contained a number of lotus and lily ponds. Peacocks with outspread tails strutted over the grass displaying their



The Gal Pota or "Stone Book"—Polonnaruwa

gorgeous finery. Birds sang in the flowering and fruit trees, lovely butterflies flitted about and bees flew from blossom to blossom extracting honey from their nectar.

Wonderful baths were provided for the populace where novel effects were produced mechanically. In one the water was perfumed. In another it descended in a spray like falling rain. Water was conveyed from Topawewa—the artificial lake, so large that it was called Parakrama's Sea. In close proximity to the park and the baths was a theatre where singers and dancers performed for the amusement of the people in a hall so beautifully ornamented that it was likened to the hall of the assemblage of the gods.

From these ruins I turn to a gigantic statue carved against an isolated boulder that lies about a mile and a quarter from them. In a fine state of preservation, it attests to the high pitch of perfection that sculpture had attained in the early Middle Ages in Ceylon.

The figure, though of heroic stature, is perfect in proportion. The head, trunk, arms, hands, legs and feet have been increased in size with due regard to the measurements of a normal human body.

The sculptor shows remarkable restraint, particularly in carving the face. The features are chiselled out of the rock with a few deft strokes, giving to them an air of strength and repose which they would have lacked had he skimmed effort on the one hand or, on the other, had he attempted to elaborate them. The treatment given to the head-gear, a tall, embroidered hat, the navel and the girdle, and the indication of the folds of a garment which looks to me very much like a *dhoti*, mark him out as an artist capable of executing detail in a rough, resisting material, with the precision of a painter of miniatures on ivory.

The man knew human anatomy to perfection. If a living person stood against the

rock holding an *ola* (palm-leaf)—book in his hands, he would have just the slight stoop that the sculptor gave to the figure that he carved. It can be seen to the best advantage from the side.

In the popular estimation this is a statue of Parakrama Bahu the Great. No documentary evidence has, however, been discovered so far that would warrant that belief.

The figure is probably symbolic. The boulder upon which it is executed stood, it is believed, in the immediate vicinity of the library erected by Parakrama Bahu. The structure, which persons who accept this theory have in mind was probably the "circular building" which that king frequently visited to listen to the reading of the *Jatakas*—stories relating to the hundreds of births through which Gautama passed prior to attaining Buddha-hood.

Two other objects of temporal character deserve passing reference. One of them known as the Sat Mahal Pasada is a seven-story building, with each successive story diminishing. The purpose for which it is built is not known, though one of my Sinhalese friends suggests it might have served as a lighthouse for guiding shipping in "Parakrama's Sea" at night. It bears signs of having been richly ornamented, but weather and vandals have made sad havoc with the figures.

The other object is an immense slab of granite known as the Gal Pota—or stone book. Upon it is carved a long inscription at the instance of Nissanka Malla, which shows him to be an enlightened monarch, with enlightened policy of taxation. The inscription is decorated with the sacred geese (*hamsa*), which though very much worn, show taste and workmanship.

Great ingenuity must have been required to transport such a heavy slab from Mihintale—the mound on which Mahinda, the royal missionary, alighted in the 3rd century B.C. The weight is estimated to be in the neighbourhood of 25 tons, and the distance over which it was carried about fifty miles.

IV

Monuments of a sacred character need to be considered under two separate heads, according to whether they were created for Siva or Vishnu worship or for the glorification of the Buddha and the preaching of his precepts. Siva, I may add, is regarded in southern India and by the Hindus in

Ceylon as the god of gods rather than as an aspect of the *Trimurti* (Hindu Trinity).

One of the Siva Devales—known in archaeological lore as "Siva Devale No. 1," is situated not far from the ruins of Parakrama Bahu's palace and private audience chamber, and is in a fairly good state of preservation.

The temple was wholly constructed, from basement to dome, of squared stones dressed and moulded. Pilasters and half pilasters flanked central niches; and a wealth of ornamentation in admittedly Dravidian style, was lavished everywhere. It reminds me of the Subramanya shrine at the great temple at Tanjore, which I recently visited.

Not one of the sculptures that adorned this Devale escaped mutilation. Among the best preserved are a four-armed Ganesha seated on a lotus throne, with the rat running over his face and an eight-armed, standing Kartikeya (the war-god, son of Siva) holding various symbols in its hands. Both are carved on slabs in low relief. There is also an image of Kali the goddess, carved in full round. She is depicted with high-peaked hat and waist-cloth and with the traditional face, body, arm and leg ornaments. This statue evidently stood on a pedestal in a wall niche.

The most valuable art treasures found in this temple, however, consist of a number of bronze images which were discovered a foot or two below the surface by workmen who were digging a trench along the building. They must have been buried by Hindu priests to save them from destruction, at the hands of fanatical Buddhists, but nothing authentic is known as to their origin or history.

All the bronze figures are now in the Museum at Colombo, where they form some of the choicest exhibits in the collection there. The largest is three feet in height and the smallest four and a half inches. Some of them are the work of master artists who, while strictly adhering to the canons laid down in the *Sastras*, were able to produce statuettes characterized by originality, power and perfection of finish.

A four-armed Siva with an aureole representing the god in the dancing attitude, or as Nataraja, is particularly striking. So is one showing Siva and Parvati seated on a lotus throne. The statues are not all images of the deity with or without his consort. Saints, too, are included in the series. There is, for instance,

a male figure with short hair standing in an attitude of worship with a wedge-shaped implement over the left shoulder. It is supposed to have been made in the likeness of Turu-navuk-arasu Swami or Appar Swami, a disciple of Siva and a psalmist, who found his chief delight in weeding the grass in temple courtyards. Another male figure standing holding an *ola* book is believed to be the image of Manikka-Vachaka Swami, who, before he renounced the world, was the prime minister of the Pandyan king at Madura. A figure in bridegroom's attire is that of Sundara-Murti, who is said to have had a vision of the god as he was in the midst of his wedding ceremony, which he left unfinished in order to become a chanter of Siva's praises.

The temple from which these bronzes were taken is popularly spoken of as the *Dalada Maligawa*—the 'Palace of the Tooth.' The left canine tooth of the Buddha is believed to have been brought to Ceylon by the Princess Hemamala of the dynasty which ruled over Kalunga (modern Orissa) in the fourth century A. D. The Buddhist kings paid great homage to it. It was taken to

Polonnaruwa when the capital was shifted from Anuradhapura. It might possibly have been placed in the Siva Devale during some period of invasion, as probably the only means to save it. Or perhaps the people have erroneously formed this idea.

Another Siva Devale known in archaeological annals as "Siva Devale No 2," is situated ten minutes' walk from the temple I have just described. It was restored some years ago and is in a good state of preservation.

On more than one occasion I have seen Buddhists garlanding the *lingam* enshrined in this temple and placing flowers and perfume and lighting incense sticks and candles in front of it. They fondly believe that such acts of devotion would secure their salvation.

The ruins of several temples believed to have been built for the worship of Vishnu have also been discovered at Polonnaruwa. None of them, however, is in a state of preservation that would justify me in attempting to describe them.

I propose to deal with monuments sacred to Buddhism in a separate article.

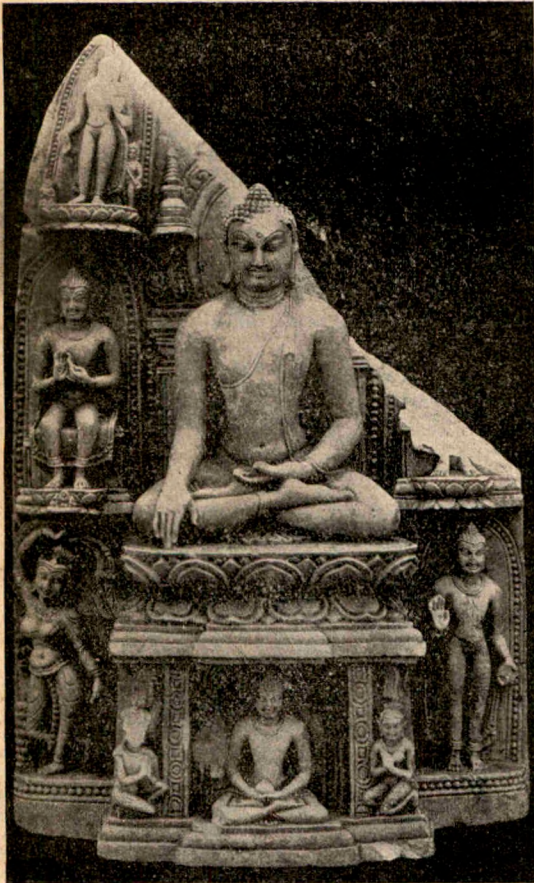


The Garba Dance

Buddhacharita in Bengal

BY PROF. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

AFTER the end of the 7th century A. D. Buddhism was slowly driven out of the rest of India and found shelter in Bengal and Bihar. Gradually Buddhist sculptures became confined to these two provinces.

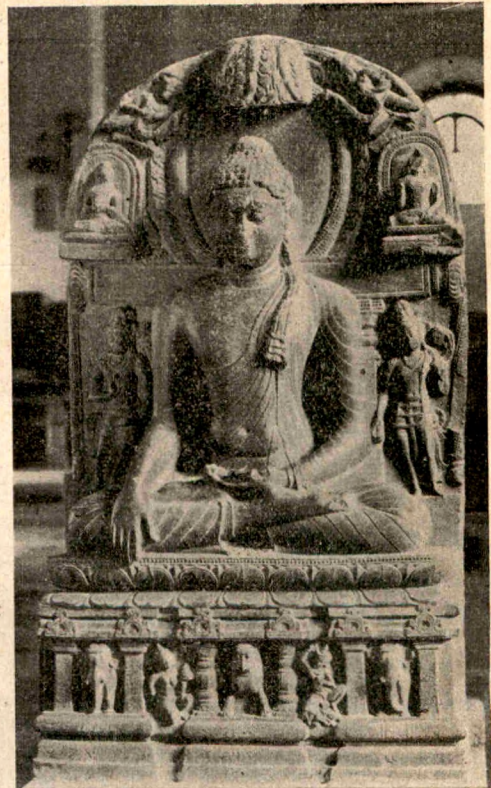


Stele with Eight Principal Incidents of the Buddha's Life

From Nalanda, Patna District

Just as Krishnacharita or Ramacharita finds favour among modern sculptors and painters so also Buddhacharita found favour among Buddhist artists of the north-eastern provinces of India. Buddhist artists gradually

selected a series of pictures or scenes from the life of the Buddha which were slightly different from the series adopted by the Greek artists of Gandhara. For six long centuries this particular selection of scenes of the Buddhacharita prevailed in Bihar, Bengal and Burma. When Buddhism finally disappeared from Burma in the 10th century,



The Enlightenment of the Buddha

From Kurkihar, Gaya District

its place was taken by Hinayana Buddhism from Ceylon, and the representation of this particular style of Buddhacharita disappeared from Burma. Occasionally Buddha's life of this particular style are discovered in Arakan, Pegu and Lower Burma.



Scenes from Buddha's Lives: The Visit of Indra to the Buddha in the Indrasila Cave, The First Sermon at Sarnath, and the Perfect Enlightenment at Bodhi-Gaya (Kushan School)

places like Bodhi Gaya, Nalanda, Bihar and one or two places in Bengal. These images of the Buddhacharita differ from those of the older schools of Indian sculpture in two prominent factors. Unlike the ancient Indian school of Bharhut, the Indo-Greek school of Gandhara, the Scythian school of Mathura and even the Gupta schools of Mathura, Benares and Pataliputra, the Bengal School drops the representation of the Jatakas entirely. Moreover, it does not represent the earlier scenes of Gautama Siddhartha's life such as, Maya's dream, its interpretation etc. The representation of the Buddha's life begins with Gautama's birth in the Lumbini garden and ends with his death in the Sala forest at Kusinara. In the majority of cases, the long series of scenes of Gautama Buddha's life represented by the Indo-Greek artists of Gandhara are omitted; In the Bengal school special images of the Buddhacharita are classified into four styles :—

I. Images with the figure of the Buddha attaining perfect wisdom in the centre and surrounded by a large number of scenes beginning with the birth and ending with the death of the Buddha. Only two such images have been discovered up to date, one at Shibbati in the Khulna district of Bengal and another at Bihar Sharif of the Patna district.

Such images or stelae agree in almost all respects, except in some of the scenes represented. In both cases the centre of the slab is occupied by a representation of the

In Bengal and Bihar images of the Buddhacharita are being discovered in different places; specially in Buddhist holy-

great temple at Bodhi-Gaya with a figure of the Buddha seated in the attitude of 'touching the earth'—*Bhumisparśa-mudra* inside. The

fact that this is not an ordinary image but the representation of one of the principal incidents of his life is indicated by ;—

(a) the posture or attitude of the hands indicating the exact moment when the Bodhisattva Gautama became the Buddha.

(b) the symbol for the *Vajra* or the 'thunder-bolt' on the lotus-throne of the Buddha

(iii) the failure of this attack.

(iv) the allurements of Mara's daughters and their failure.

The enlightenment of the Bodhisattva Gautama being generally regarded as the most important incident of the Buddha's life its representation is given in more detail in these two images. The Buddha-

charita commences on these two images or stelae inside a miniature temple to the left of Bodh-Gaya temple, then follow minor incidents ; such as competition in archery, the leaving of Kapilavastu on horseback, the change of garments, the cutting of the hair etc., till the enlightenment is reached. The remaining incidents, such as the first sermon at Benares, the great Miracle of Sravasti, the descent from the heaven of the thirty-three gods, the Miracle of the monkey at Vaisali, are represented in miniature temples on the left side of the stelae or in the interspaces, until the line reaches the top where we find the death scene or the *Mahaparinirvana*.

II. Image of the Buddha in the posture of attaining perfect wisdom, surrounded by seven other principal scenes of his life. This is really a stela, and the largest and the most perfect example has been found on the bank of a tank at Jagdishpur near Nalanda. In these images there are seven scenes on the back slab :—

(a) Birth, (b) first sermon at Benares, (c) the taming of the mad elephant Nalagiri at Rajagriha, (d) death on the top of the back slab, (e) the descent of the Buddha from the heaven of the thirty-three gods, (f) the Miracle of Sravasti, and (g) the Miracle of the monkey at Vaisali. The main image is surrounded by the army of Mara attacking the Buddha before his enlightenment.

The great image or stela of Jagdishpur still remains unique though it was discovered early in the 19th century. It is a colossal



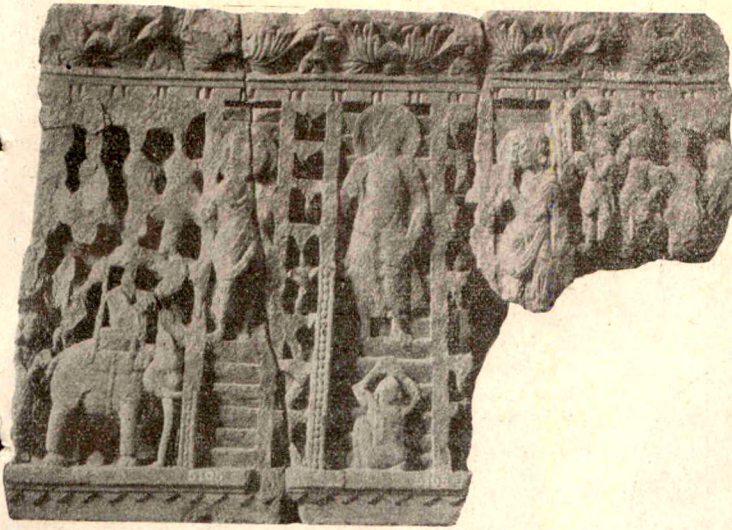
The Birth of the Buddha—Indo-Greek Bas-relief
Indian Museum

indicating that the seat must be the *Vajrasana* at Bodh-Gaya, under the PIPAL tree on which Gautamā became perfectly enlightened.

(c) two rows of figures under this lotus-seat representing the scenes immediately preceding the enlightenment :—

(i) Mara, the Buddhist Satan arriving on the scene on his vehicle, the *Makara*.

(ii) the attack on Gautama by Mara's army.



The Descent from the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods
Indian Museum



Stele with Scenes from the Buddha's Life
From Shibbati, Khulna District (Bengal)



The Miracle of Sravasti
From Nalanda, Patna District

image, the most perfect of its kind. The central image or the main figure, does represent the Buddha at the moment of the

enlightenment but the temple of Bodh-Gaya is omitted. On the other hand, on the left side of it we find the host of Mara sailing through the sky to attack the Bodhisattva on their wild mounts. On the other side we find the same army flying through the air after their defeat. On the back-slab of this image we find seven other neat bas-reliefs, each complete in itself, so that if these seven scenes are detached today, they would become seven distinct bas-reliefs representing seven scenes of the Buddha's as are common to the Bengal school. With the exception of the Jagadishpur stele no other image of the Bengal school, not even the fuller stele found at Shibbati or Bihar Sharif shows the representation in such full detail. In all other stelae bearing eight principal incidents or separate images bearing one incident details are gradually omitted till it becomes extremely difficult to recognize them. In the

Jagadishpur stele each incident can be recognized at the first sight and the details are as copious as in some of the bas-reliefs found on the larger of the Gandhara *Stupas*.

III. A large number of less elaborate stelae discovered at different places containing eight different scenes of the Buddha's life, of which the birth, enlightenment at Bodh-Gaya, first sermon at Benares and death are constant. The remaining four scenes are composed of any

In the majority of these smaller stelae the central figure is that of Buddha in the attitude of obtaining perfect wisdom, but there are certain well-marked exceptions. In the Archaeological collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta as it stood in 1916, when I left that institution, there were a number of such stelae in which the central figure was that of Buddha at the time of the Miracle of Sravasti or the first sermon at Benares.

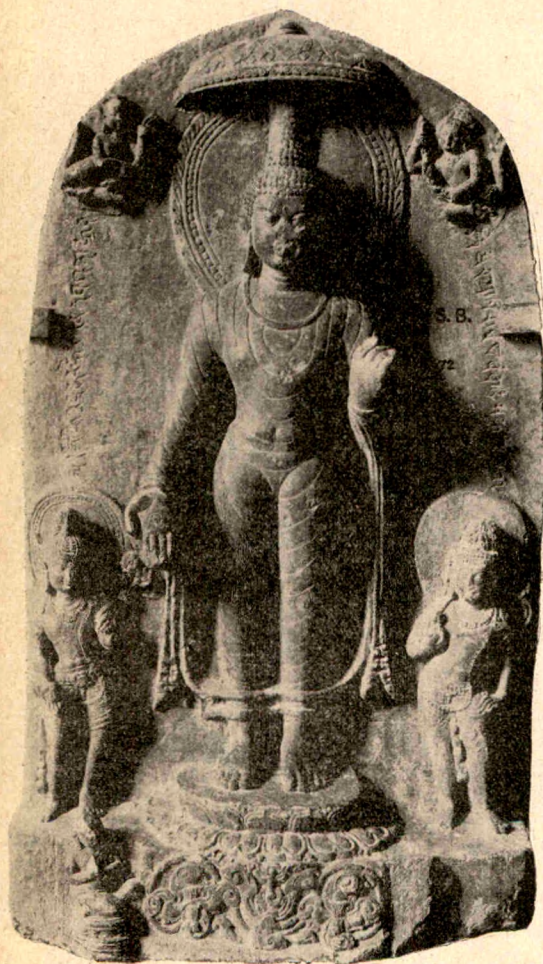


Image representing Buddha's Descent from the Heaven of Thirty-three Gods
Bengal

of these four : (a) the taming of the mad elephant Nalagiri at Rajagriha, (b) the taming of the robbers employed by Devadatta to kill the Buddha in the narrow streets of Rajagriha, (c) the Miracle of Sravasti, (d) the Miracle of the monkey at Markatahrada, Vaisali, (e) the descent from the heaven of the thirty-three gods.



Stele with Scenes of the Life of Buddha
From Bihar Sharif, Patna District

One of these stelae I found at the Museum of the Varendra Research Society's Museum at Rajshahi and another in the Patna Museum in 1925 and 1926. One specimen at least in the Museum of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad at Calcutta and another in the north-western corner tower in the second floor of the great temple at Bodh-Gaya show that the central figure in these stelae are the descent from the heaven of the thirty-three

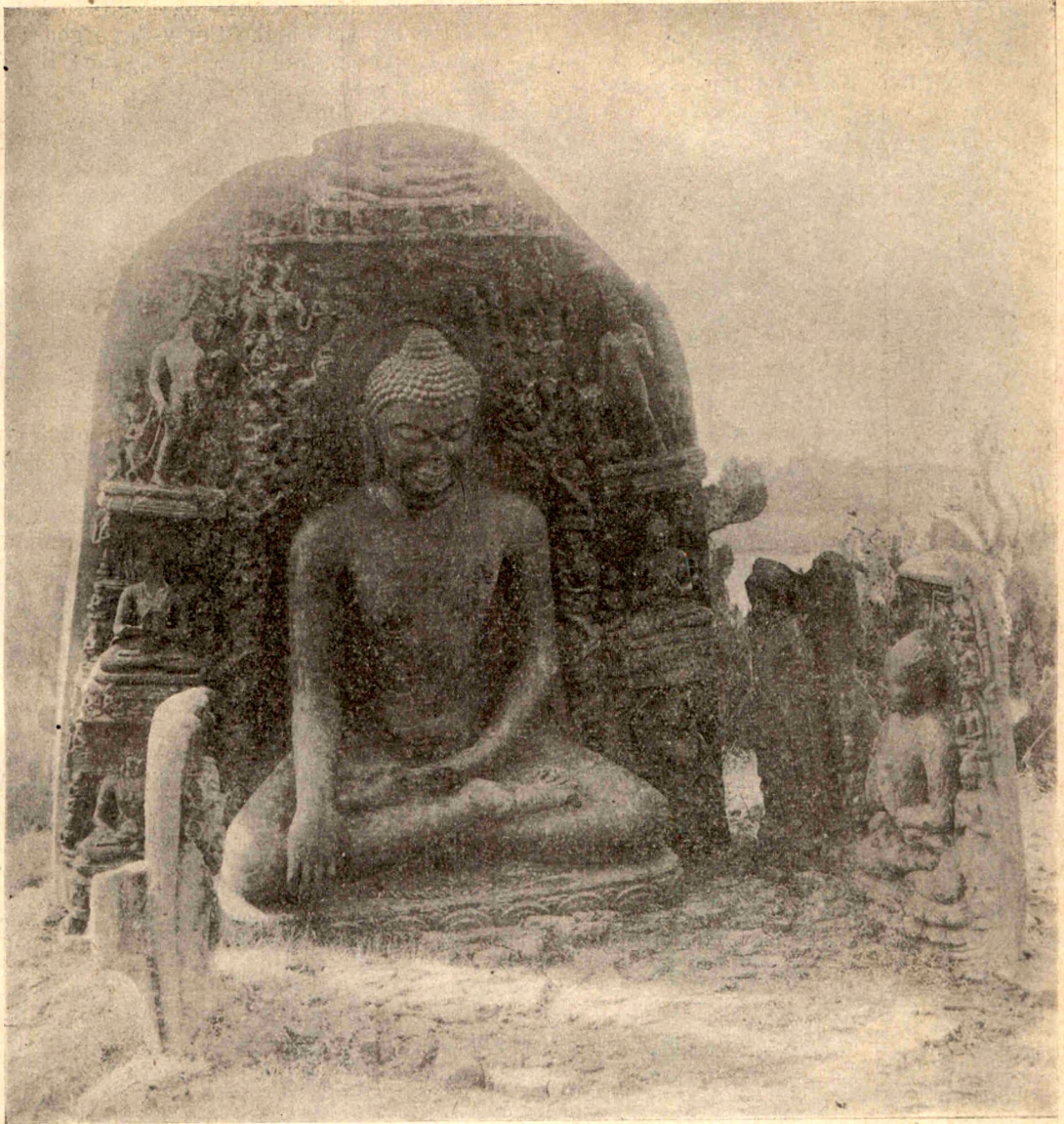


Image with eight Principal Incidents of the Buddha's Life
From Jagdishpur in Patna District

gods. In some cases the total number of incidents is less than eight. The birth and the death and even the Sambodhi or the perfect enlightenment are omitted in these imperfect stelae. Such arrangements of incidents of the life of the Buddha are to be found only in the Bengal school of Sculpture and its offshoot, the sculpture of Arakan, Burma and Siam.

IV. Separate images representing one particular incident of the Buddha's life.

Such images were evolved for the first time in the Gupta school of Benares. An image dedicated by the Sthavira Bandhugupta at Sarnath, representing the enlightenment of the Buddha, is the earliest example of separate images of principal incidents of the Buddha's life. In the Gandhara school we find separate bas-reliefs but in the Bengal school we find separate images representing incidents.

In the Mathura school we find representations of incidents of the Buddha's life carved

on one slab of stone, side by side, such as :

(a) Visit of Indra to the Buddha at Indrasila cave, (b) the first sermon at Benares,



The Death of the Buddha
From Bihar

and (c) the perfect enlightenment at Bodh-Gaya (bas-relief in the Lucknow Museum).

In the Gandhara school we find the Buddha,

Brahma and Indra descending by three ladders from the heaven of the thirty-three gods; but in the Bengal school we find the Buddha standing under an umbrella attended by Indra and Brahma. In one case only in the Indian Museum there are steps before these three figures as in the case of the Gandhara sculptures.

In the Bengal school there are also separate images of the birth of the Buddha, of the Miracle of Sravasti, of the perfect enlightenment of the Buddha and finally of his death.

This style of representation continued till the last stage of Buddhism in the 12th century. When all other provinces of India had practically given up Buddhism, the artists of Bihar and Bengal began and continued this cramped style of representation of the Buddhacharita. When Bengal fell under the Musalmans and when the Neo-Vaishnavism of Chaitanya whitewashed the dregs of decadent Buddhism, this style lasted in the miniature paintings of Nepal till the 18th century.

Traces of the influence of the Bengal school were discovered in Pegu when the late Lord Carmichael received an image of the Buddha in stone with eight principal incidents, which was described in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel. So long as the Mahayanic Buddhists of Burma were able to stem the tide of Hinayanic invasion from Ceylon, Bengal art held the mastery over Burma and Malaya. When the Burmese kings drove away the Ari, the influence of Bengal came to an end over the Tibeto-Burman population of Further India.

World Significance of a Franco-German Political Accord

By DR. TARAKNATH DAS, Ph. D.

DR. Einstein, in a recent interview to a Paris paper, "Excelsior," extended his full support to the foreign policy of the late Dr. Stresemann. Dr. Einstein believes that a vast majority of the German people are in favour of such a foreign policy as will ensure peace and allow them freedom to work and prosper. Dr. Einstein feels that to ensure peace for Europe "an accord between Germany and France is very desirable. A Franco-German political accord presupposes economic collaboration which will lead to similar co-operation by all countries of Europe. I consider a Franco-German compromise the kernel of a great European policy, for if our two countries give the example the other countries will do the same. France and Germany, said Dr. Einstein, thus have a great duty to perform and great responsibilities."

Under the pretext of preserving the 'balance of power,' Great Britain for centuries followed the programme of isolating that Power in Europe which challenged British supremacy. British statesmen accomplished this end by playing one European Power against another or siding with various European Powers against Britain's enemy on the Continent. Without going into much detail a few historical facts may be cited to sustain this thesis.

Early in the nineteenth century Britain destroyed France's colonial power and dominant position by bringing about a coalition of Powers against Napoleon. It is a fact that Wellington could never have won the victory at Waterloo without the support of the Prussian army under Blucher. Later on when French statesmen followed a policy of extending French influence in Asia Minor and Egypt, British statesmen favoured an understanding with Russia against France. However, when the Russian expansion in Central Asia and Russian encroachment towards Constantinople through the Balkans, became evident, British statesmen fought Russia with the support of France and Italy (Piedmont). This incident is known

as the Crimean War. After the Crimean War, Britain felt that France was her rival in Europe and therefore in 1870-1871, during the Franco-Prussian War, British moral support was in favour of Prussia. When, to save France from isolation in world politics, her far-sighted statesmen formed the Dual Alliance with Russia, British statesmen showed their preference for the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy. During the latter part of the nineteenth century more than once, British statesmen approached Germany to form an alliance with the latter, so that Germany might be used against France and Russia or any one of them. Germany refused to get into such an agreement and incurred British displeasure and hatred. But Britain succeeded to form the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (the original idea was to form an Anglo-German-Japanese Alliance) to curb Russian power. This happened at the beginning of the twentieth century, when German industrial and commercial expansion, merchant marine and navy were challenging British supremacy. The late Lord Haldane and other British statesmen have acknowledged that the Anglo-French Entente was formed to curb German naval power. How the Anglo-French Entente developed into a virtual Anglo-French-Russian-Belgian-Italian-Japanese understanding against Germany and her ally (Austria) is a matter of history; and facts regarding world diplomacy relating to the World War, have been impartially and most carefully recorded by Prof. Sidney B. Fay of Columbia University, in his monumental work—*The Origins of the World War*.

After the conclusion of the World War, British policy was to curb French power and to lay the foundation for an Anglo-German or an Anglo-American-German Alliance. Therefore British statesmen at no time wholeheartedly supported any scheme which might bring about a real Franco-German understanding. After the World War, French statesmen, as realists, took the necessary precautions against a possible Anglo-German understanding

or a German-Russian compact which might be directed against France. They formed a chain of alliances with France and Belgium, Poland, Czecho-slovakia, Rumania and Jugoslavia.

Broadly speaking the actual situation in European politics of to-day is as follows:—Great Britain is "on the fence" and is watching the regrouping of Powers in Europe and trying to use all the groups to promote her imperial interests, without committing herself into any definite alliance. France has alliances with various European Powers. Germany and Russia are virtual allies, France's relations with Italy has not been very cordial. However, it is expected that the proposed marriage between the Belgian princess and the Italian Crown Prince will lead to cordial relations among Italy, Belgium and France. Furthermore recent efforts on the part of France to secure Spanish co-operation in Africa is bound to create better feelings between these two nations. Franco-Spanish co-operation might bring Italy, France and Spain in closer understanding, because Italy and Spain are already on most cordial terms.

Therefore, if France and Germany agree to co-operate, then it seems quite possible that by a common agreement, there will be no chance for Great Britain to play one nation of Europe against another and there will be peace in Europe. A Franco-German accord will be the foundation of the so-called United States of Europe, and it will be the best security for France as well as Germany. One is inclined to think that both M. Briand and the late Dr. Stresemann were working for the object of creating a new peaceful Europe through a Franco-German understanding. British statesmen are opposed to any such development and they have been working to create a strong party in Germany which will work against the programme of Franco-German understanding, but promote Anglo-German friendship and hostility towards France. A Franco-German accord, with its possible corollaries, will bring about a revolution in World Politics; and its one effect will be that Britain will have to change her policies

towards other nations, especially towards the peoples of Asia. Britain, under such circumstances, will be forced to pay respectful heed to India's demands for freedom.

Indian politicians do not apparently realize that India is kept under subjection due to three things: (1) isolation of India in World Politics and Britain's alliances with other nations; (2) Indian disunity and (3) lack of military education among Indians who have been disarmed by the British. It may be safely asserted that unless India succeeds in ridding herself of political isolation and makes close friendly understanding with other Powers, Britain will never give up her hold on India—she will never agree to grant even Dominion Status for India. As long as Britain will be able to keep Europe divided into two fighting camps, India will not succeed in securing effective co-operation from at least a group of European powers.

During the World War, the people of India might have secured their independence through a revolution. But the British statesmen knew that because of "isolation of India in World Politics" and also because of the existence of allies of Britain—France, Russia, Japan, Italy, China and the United States—Indian revolutionary nationalists could not secure *effective* moral and material support from outside. It is a well-known fact that during the World War, Germany tried to aid the Indian nationalists to free India from British control. But German efforts were neutralized because Britain was supported by other Powers to keep India in subjection, while both India and Germany were in virtual isolation. Have the Indian nationalists learnt their lessons that freedom of India depends largely upon the ability of Indian statesmen in breaking up the "isolation of India in World Politics?" What are they doing to-day to free India from the existing political isolation? What are they doing to establish close friendly relations with great Powers? Are they doing anything to help to bring about a revolution in World Politics, through a Franco-German accord?



TWO PAGES FROM A GUJARATI MSS.
Illustrating the Jaina Romance of Sripala-Ras



Rural India To-day

The Hon'ble V. Ramadas Pantulu writes in *The Scholar* on rural India. The picture of economic and social helplessness he draws is gloomy enough. Writes he:

Go to the smallest Indian village in the remotest corner of the country. What do we find? We find that the minutest and simplest wants of the villager are catered to by the enterprising foreign manufacturer. Ordinary articles of consumption by agriculturists like sugar and salt are largely foreign. The Swiss condensed milk and Danish tinned milk products are to be found in the humblest hut. The durable brass and bronze domestic utensils are practically displaced by cheap enamel, porcelain and aluminium or other light metalwares from European, Japanese and American factories.

Just as the new commercial and economic regime resulted in the destruction of the industrial life of villages, the new civic-administrative regime—"the individualism emanating from the Legislature's anvil, the Judge's rod, and the Settlement Officer's compass"—led to the disintegration of all corporate life in rural India. The theories of state land-lordism, economic rent and contractual relationship between landlord and tenant, which are essentially western notions, led to the development of an irrational and oppressive land revenue system which has made our peasantry economically crippled, weak, disunited and disorganised. The foundations of the community right in the waste lands, pasture grounds, service *inams*, religious and charitable endowments and the like, which were once administered for common purposes like the maintenance of village services and works of common village utility such as education, irrigation, recreation or poor relief, are destroyed. To-day there are no local services or common properties which in legal theory and customary practice really appertain to village communities and which are administered by them without control or interference by the central or provincial governments or their agents in the districts. The growth of local self-government under these conditions is an absolute impossibility. The villages are now mere clusters of houses inhabited by individual residents who are not animated by common economic or civic purposes in life and who live in a state of pathetic, placid contentment, depending upon the foreign rulers to look after all their political and social needs and on foreign manufacturers to supply their daily wants.

World-Economy 1919-1928

The economy history of these ten difficult years is summed up for *The Journal of the*

Bengal National Chamber of Commerce by Signor Alberto Pirelli, President of the International Chamber of Commerce:

Ten years of strenuous reconstruction work have reduced this chaos to order and the panorama of economic conditions at the close of 1928 presents an entirely different picture, not only in those countries that bore the brunt of war, but in all parts of the world. Devastated regions have been reconstructed and restored to their normal economic rhythm; political conditions in many countries have improved under more stable governments; public finances have been reorganised and currencies stabilised everywhere; the revival of activity and confidence in the future bear witness to the excellence of the results attained.

But such great achievements, as indeed the whole work of reconstruction, have not left the pre-war economic situation unchanged; and we must reckon with new elements and new factors, that have arisen or undergone change during these years of feverish reconstructive activity.

One of the most important factors of this great change has been the attainment by the United States of a level of economic prosperity never before achieved—the most notable feature, as we have already said, of the post-war situation. The great financial prosperity of that country, its abundant supplies of raw materials; the possibility of adapting its production and distribution systems to the requirements of a huge home market, have favoured industrial development on a gigantic scale and even led to widespread economic and commercial penetration of foreign markets, in keen competition with the old-manufacturing countries of Europe.

And while the world of business has lived since the war under the sign of American expansion, accompanied by higher tariffs to protect her home market, Europe has been attempting to re-establish the normal flow of trade currents across her many frontiers, in spite of their increased number; all of which has increased the tendency toward economic nationalism and independence.

The situation has been further complicated by the closing of a great European market, that of Russia, left almost entirely out of the picture of trade revival.

A Dying Industry of Bengal

One by one, says a writer in the *Indian State Railways Magazine*, once famous industries that flourished in the days of the Hindu kings and the Moghul viceroys of Bengal, are dying out, and specimens of their outturn, manufactured by hand, like the

ancient tapestries of England and Europe, are being relegated to the show cases of museums. The particular industry which according to the writer is soon going to join their ranks is the Chank industry, one of the most ancient and beautiful crafts of Dacca :

The high prices of shells, a rise in the remuneration of workers, the hard economic condition of the wearers of the bangles, a sudden supply in the market of potato-made bangles and lac bracelets, during the last few years, have all contributed to bring about a fall in the demand as well as the supply of chank products.

"The present is a precarious time in the history of the chank industry in Bengal," says Mr. A. C. Dutt, "and unless people evince a taste for indigenous articles, one of the oldest industries will soon pass into oblivion beyond recall." In Dacca may be seen some very fine bangles artistically bordered with gold, an article fit for the highest in the land to wear : and bangles of milk white beauty in the process of manufacture never fail to command admiration.

The industry as said before, at present is not a very paying one owing to the rise in prices of shells : and owing to the condition under which the children work in the narrow cells of the factory, and the tedium of the work, which injures their bodies and minds and causes nervous breakdown among them, is causing an aversion to the industry among the *Shankaris* themselves. But apart from these causes, they are faced with a greater difficulty in finding experienced cutters, who are forsaking their calling in large numbers for less irksome and paying occupations.

The remedy of course lies in the invention of a chank-cutting machine worked either by hand, by steam or by electric power. This matter has already received the attention of the Director of Industries, Bengal and after many experiments, an order for a machine has been placed in England to be driven by electric power giving four thousand revolutions a minute. If the machine proves suitable it will be a veritable god-send to all shell-workers in the country ; provided the price is within the reach of all.

All the chank fisheries being at present the monopoly of Government, who invite tenders for their purchase, eliminates the artisan from the market, who can only buy their shells from a class of middlemen speculators who tender for the purchase of the fisheries and secure the contract.

These obstacles are working to the detriment of the trade, and to protect themselves, the chank workers of Dacca have formed themselves into an Association which first came into existence in 1921.

In the method of selling the Chank fisheries, it cannot be denied that the industry is suffering from the rapaciousness of the middlemen speculators, and, unless the contract system is given up, replacing it by methods by which a reasonable valuation of shells can be fixed for a whole year, thus allowing the *Shankaris* themselves to enter the market, who at present cannot get the shells even at a second monopoly rate, the Chank industry is doomed. There are many by-products of the industry. Buttons made from the refuse of shells command a high price, but the supply

is not equal to the demand, the refuse which hitherto has been burnt in lime and generally used with the *pan* or *betel* leaf, still commands a market. While Chank powder has been from remote ages recognised by the people of India as of great medicinal importance, being used by some internally in cases of acute dysentery, and from remote ages also, has it been known as a specific for pimples and skin diseases ; as an eradicator of the marks left by the ravages of small-pox it is said to have no equal, and it now only remains for Chank powder to catch the market as a specific and cosmetic, to command a large demand in all the markets of the world.

To-day, unless Government speedily comes to the rescue and takes all measures to save the industry, there is little hope for it. The hopeless outlook, the more remunerative and less arduous trades, are daily taking away men who are the main-stay of the Chank industry, and everything points to a speedy and imminent collapse.

The Indian Princes and their Subjects

The All-Parties Convention, as is well-known, invited the Indian Princes to a tripartite conference between themselves, the British Indian representatives, and the representatives of the subjects of the Indian Princes. The proposal did not find favour in the eyes of the latter. Among other causes, their objection is based upon their unwillingness to sit in a conference with their own subjects on a footing of equality. The Maharajah of Bikanir in a statement issued to the Press, and reproduced in *The Feudatory and Zemindari India* explains the attitude of the Princes. Referring to the invitation of Pandit Motilal Nehru he says :

But whilst ignoring the British Government, and not including any of their representatives in the invitation, the representatives of the "Peoples" of the Indian States appear, in accordance with the terms of the All-Parties' resolution, to have also been invited. It is difficult to conceive that it was not apparent to the All-Parties' Convention that in the circumstance it was in any case impossible to expect the Princes to depute the duly constituted representative of their Governments to sit with and to negotiate on an equal basis with the so-called representatives of their people as a separate and independent party, nor could they have possibly expected the Governments of the States to agree to be bound by any such decision of the so-called representatives other than their subjects whose credentials in regard to such claims it would at least be interesting to examine. Such demarcation between the duly constituted Governments of States and their peoples was, to say the least, unfortunate and implied a complete misconception of the relations between the Ruler and the ruled in our States which the majority of the bonafide, loyal and thinking subjects of our States would themselves find unacceptable, since they have from time immemorial been accustomed to

regard their rulers as their natural leaders and spokesmen and the hereditary defenders of their rights and interests. Here I wish to emphasise that if in their efforts in the past to secure the just rights of their States, the Princes and States as a body have, as I said in my speech last month, whole-heartedly worked in the best interests of their subjects as the custodians of their rights, they will endeavour honourably and consistently to bear in mind their duties towards their peoples and to do their best for them in all future negotiations. But the treaties of the States have been entered into between the British Government and the Rulers as the representatives of their people, as such the Rulers and their Governments, who have every right to stand on their constitutional rights, will note with satisfaction that this correct distinction has been drawn in the Viceregal statement and the Prime Minister's letter by making it clear that the invitation of His Majesty's Government will be extended to "representatives of different parties and interests in British India and representatives of the Indian States." These remarks are, I trust, also a sufficient reply to the question asked in the press as to why, if the Princes can attend a conference convened by His Majesty's Government, they should be unable to attend the All-Parties Conference.

Physical Education in Germany

The *Youngmen of India, Burma and Ceylon* reproduces through the courtesy of the World's Committee of the Y. M. C. A., some extracts from a report prepared for the International Labour Office, on Physical Training, Gymnastics and Sports in Germany. They are of special interest to Indians, in view of their newly awakened interest in physical culture:

The task of physical regeneration of the post-war German youth has now been taken over to a great extent by official bodies, like the municipalities and district-boards ('communes'); of course they co-operate very actively with different German Societies for Promotion of Physical Culture and Sport; as a matter of fact the latter organizations are mainly responsible for the original initiative and the present-day universal enthusiasm for sport in Germany; they have worked steadily for years and have gradually succeeded in winning over full official support. To-day the combined membership of different Sports' Clubs in Germany reach the high figure of 4,000,000. Their aim is to secure, in near future, for the German nation some 100,000,000 sq. metres of open space for gymnastics and sports! (One square metre = 10.76 square feet). The cost of buying this vast tract will be roughly 100 million gold marks and the construction of stadiums, courts, etc., will require another 1,500 million gold marks, thus making a grand total of over 1,600 million gold marks! Just now it is beyond the means of the German municipalities and Sports' Clubs to raise this enormous amount within a short space of time—so the plan is going to be gradually realized in 30 years' time, or, in other words, 55 million gold

marks are going to be spent annually for 30 years. The Central Government (Reich) will contribute 10 millions annually, the provincial Governments will also give an equal amount every year, while the Sports' Clubs will raise the rest, namely, 35 million gold marks every twelve months.

The city of Berlin owns and maintains some twenty 'parks' for Physical Culture and Sport and in near future they are going to construct some thirty more. Hitherto some 45 million gold marks have been spent on the construction of these 'parks' for sport: The city of Berlin as well as certain Societies for Promotion of Physical Culture furnished the greater part of the amount: the Central Government (Reich) also made special grants; lastly proceeds of special "flag-days" and donations from private and semi-public organizations went to make up the grand total.

Agricultural Cycles and Sunspots

This is the title under which Professor Radha Kamal Mukerjee contributes an article to the *Indian Journal of Economics*. Fluctuations in the annual amount of rainfall which means so much to the Indian *ryot*, is notorious. Professor Mukherjee finds their cause in astrophysics. Following the cue given by the investigations of Koppen and Newcomb, he attempts to prove by means of exhaustive statistics that variations in rainfall in India is closely related to the sunspot cycle:

Cyclical variations in pressure have now been seen to depend upon a relation between atmospheric pressure and the cycle of activity through which the sun passes in a period of about 11 years as shown by various solar phenomena. Various investigators, especially Koppen and at a later date the famous astronomer, Newcomb, have found unmistakable evidence of a world-wide variation in temperature in harmony with the sunspot cycle.

Koppen's investigations showed that temperature reaches a maximum shortly before spot minimum and a minimum above spot maximum. Humphreys who has investigated in detail the relation between temperature and sunspots has concluded that at least since 1750 and presumably, therefore since an indefinitely distant time in the past the two phenomena, atmospheric temperature and sunspot numbers, have in general varied together with however marked discrepancies from time to time.

After these preliminary remarks he passes on to specifically Indian conditions.

There are cyclical fluctuations in agriculture in Northern India due to drought and rainfall and an examination of sunspot minima and maxima and variation of rainfall from the normal over a period of more than sixty years clearly indicates that the North-Western economic and meteorological cycles are synchronous with the cycle of solar activity and quiescence. The average length of the interval from one year of greatest quiescence to the next is nearly eleven and a half years and the range

in length of this interval is from 10 to 13 years. Thus the scarcity or famine or prosperity cycles follow every eleven half-years though sometimes they may recur between 10 and 13.

1. Minimum sunspots below 15 are accompanied by a deficiency of rainfall from about 25 to even 40 per cent of the normal. Such sunspot minima when they continue for four or five years co-exist with a drought or famine.

2. This deficiency begins to decrease up to a limit of about 25 sunspots, when the rainfall oscillates about the normal.

3. As sunspots increase there is an increase of rainfall except at a number of about 60 where the eight-yearly transit of Venus seems to affect the rainfall and reduce it to deficiency.

4. Beyond 60 the rainfall is unaffected by the transit of Venus, and increases with increasing sunspots.

Foreign Trade in India

Mr. S. H. Mistry writes in the *Quarterly Journal of the Indian Merchants' Chamber* on the foreign trade India :

Realising as we do the extreme importance to our foreign trade of checking the drain caused by foreign capital, it behoves us to enquire what measures we must seek to adopt for tapping our financial resources which, as if it were, got lost in an infinite number of small parcels. The most effective way of achieving this end is suggested by the creation of a strong, centralised banking institution for the express purpose of attracting by exploring all the possible avenues innumerable small savings that would no longer remain "shy," the moment an adequate inducement is offered them to leave their dark holes and underground habitations. The details need not concern us here but it must be added that if success is to attain any such undertaking, mere tinkering will not do, but a bold, nation-wide and elastic policy will be needed. The proposal for a state bank which emanated from the Royal Currency Commission has been widely discussed in the country, and though hitherto the scheme has not matured, we may hope that as a result of various views something fruitful will be achieved that will make India self-supporting in respect of her capital requirements and rid the Indian export trade of the undesirable influence of a perennially crushing burden. The effect will be two-fold: not only will the invisible exports diminish by so much but there will be a buoyancy in the visible export trade consequent upon our industrial development that is sure to take place owing to the resulting abundance of indigenous capital.

The Cause of India's Womanhood

Miss Margaret E. Cousins acted as the International representative of the Women's Indian Association, and addressed over one hundred and fifty meetings in different countries, thus promoting the cause of India's womanhood. She writes in *Stridharma* :

It has been a joy to publish everywhere the tidings of the entire equality of political status with men which Indian women now possess. Everywhere I found people interested in the condition of India. Almost all were in the dark about Indian matters. The specialised view-point of Christian missionaries, the political and commercial vested interests of England, the exaggerations and untruths of "Mother India" have all combined to draw generalised pictures of India so false, so damaging to its reputation that I often found myself flaming in passionate revolt against the questions that were put to me. I used to wonder why the evils that are found in every country were made reasons why India only was considered too degraded, degenerate, and unfit for self-government. This was unjust specially because there are splendid Indian women Legislative Councillors, over a hundred women municipal and Local Government Board members, and eighty women magistrates, while in Switzerland and France, women have not even the vote, and in Japan women may not attend political meetings nor join any political associations and they hardly have any legal standing.

She then goes on to describe the interest of American women in their sisters in India, particularly in connection with motherhood, which, as Miss Cousins says, forms the fundamental bond of unity among the women of all nations.

In the United States only a fully qualified woman Doctor is allowed by law to deliver each newly born babe, nurses there of three years' training and with midwifery certificates are not considered sufficiently skilled for the most important health service in the world—that of accoucheurs. These American women consequently are deeply pained and compassionate when they hear of the inadequacy of medical help available for their Indian sisters. They have learnt that the benefits of widespread and thorough education bring happiness, health, and freedom to women and they sent through me at every meeting at which I spoke messages of support for the demand of India for self-government so that India can get control directly of its own finances to apply them for the spread of knowledge and the reduction of diseases and infantile mortality. Such resolutions were passed particularly by the branches of the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom in such important cities as Philadelphia, New York, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Winnipeg, Pittsburg, to mention only a few. Many of the Women's Guilds of the Co-operative Society around London have passed similar resolutions which show that they also understand the needs of India.

This was my first visit to America and many aspects of its life have impressed me deeply and favourably. The women at the meetings I addressed showed intense interest in the collection of photographs of Indian life I had brought with me and the collection of lantern slides made from our snapshots. The tangible evidence of sight seems to clinch all the facts, figures and arguments I had used.

The International Labour Office and Students

The International Labour Office, which is an adjunct to the League of Nations, takes very great interest in the welfare of students. The possibilities of a greater co-operation between student organizations and the League is discussed by Dr. P. P. Pillai of the I. L. O. in *The Progress of Education*. He writes :

The students' associations are interested in the office not only because they are in sympathy with its ideals, but also because of what it can do for them from the practical point of view. Life is very difficult for professional workers at the present time, and several students' associations have asked for help in finding a solution for the problems of unemployment among them. It is perhaps not yet widely known in India that India occupies an important place in I. L. O's scheme of enquiry into the causes and remedies of unemployment amongst the intellectual classes.

He then goes on to give an account of the two conferences which had been organized by the International Students Service :

Dresden was chosen for the former meeting partly because it is the seat of the "International Institute for Student Self-Help and Co-operative Organisations", which was started in 1927 as a department of the International Student Service, and is concerned with the study and promotion of student self-help and co-operative work in all parts of the world as a basis for the betterment of the material condition of students, the development of the "working student" idea, and the enabling of working class people to obtain a university education.

The main questions for discussion were student co-operative organisations, student houses, financial aid, the "working student," unemployment among intellectual workers, the financing of student self-help enterprises, etc. Of all these subjects the problem of the "working student" and the unemployment of intellectuals and the means of overcoming it, such as vocational guidance, etc., were most carefully studied by the delegates. In the discussion on the latter subject reference was made to the enquiry undertaken by the International Labour Office into the situation of unemployed intellectual workers. The conference passed a resolution thanking the International Labour Office for this undertaking, and asking the delegates present to support, in every possible way, the efforts of the International Labour Office.

At the annual Conference at Krems, the programme of the International Student Service for 1930 was worked out. Here again the discussion on "student and worker relationships," took a prominent place in the work of the Conference. It was suggested that there should be held in the near future, a special conference between students and workers, and that in the meanwhile, an effort should be made to encourage discussion between groups of students who differ in their attitude to the social question, and to find opportunities for bringing such different groups into contact with

industrial conditions and with both workers and employers. The conference also decided to give material aid to students, and to promote self-help in countries where, at present, there is very great material need in university circles, such as China, India, Bulgaria, South Wales and, to a certain extent, amongst native students in South Africa.

Study of Sanskrit in Germany

A new review, in German and English, called the *Deutsche Rundschau*, has been started in India. Its object is to promote interchange of ideas between the Germans and Indians on an intellectual platform, to collect all possible information of the educational facilities in Germany. Among many interesting articles in the first number we quote from an article by Professor Otto Strauss of the University of Breslau. He writes on the present situation of the study of Sanskrit in Germany :

A German University professor has a double task to fulfil: teaching and research work. As regards the former, Sanskrit is being taught to students at almost every German University. There are, of course, only very few people who take up Sanskrit as the main subject to their doctorate—that is to say, who write a dissertation on a Sanskrit topic to be printed besides undergoing an oral examination. Most students take up Sanskrit as a secondary subject, of which with us in Breslau three are required besides the main one. For these students it is only necessary to show a certain practice in *prima facie* interpreting a Sanskrit text of no great difficulty (e. g. Upanishads, Bhagavadgita, Kalidasa's Epics, Hitopadesa, and similar texts) a general knowledge of Sanskrit grammar from the descriptive, historical and comparative point of view and general acquaintance with literary history, religion, philosophy and political history of ancient and mediaeval India.

The Work of the Mission to Lepers

We have received the Report of the Fifty-fifth year's work in India of the Mission to Lepers. The *Report* surveys its work in the different centres of India from Sept., 1928 to August, 1929. Among other subjects it dwells upon the public value of the work :

While the service that is rendered by the Mission is primarily directed to the five thousand five hundred odd lepers and their children for which it makes provision, its value to the public is apt to be overlooked in these days when the emphasis of propaganda is upon the treatment of the early case, still non-infective. That emphasis is a very wise one, if it is not pressed to the exclusion of other important factors. But we live in a world

where we must take things as they are as our starting point; and it is very clear that there are to-day multitudes of lepers who have already passed beyond the primary non-infective stage, and that for many years yet there will continue to be such cases. Working particularly among that class of the community which is least able to observe the rules of self-segregation at home, the Mission is directly serving the public by its care of such cases. At the large asylum of Purulia, to give an instance: there are, besides the very early and very advanced patients, no less than 432 infective cases. There are repeated evidences of one infective leper, living at home, transmitting the disease to numerous relations with whom he is in close contact, and particularly to children. We know of one case where 111 lepers can trace their infection back to one leper. It can therefore be readily appreciated that the provision of our Homes for such lepers as are infective, and even for those who are in the pre-infective stage and who would normally become infective if they were not treated in time, is of no inconsiderable public service. The care of the most advanced cases, too, who like wrecks after a storm bear the enduring effects of the fury that has passed, is a social service no less real because it is not directly one of consequence to the public health. Other factors enter into civic well-being, and an important one is the proper care of the infirm and helpless. The rescue of the children, by the provision of separate Homes for those who are still uninfected, but who, if left with their parents would frequently become victims of the disease themselves, is another service of definite civic value. Over seven hundred such children are at present being saved to become builders, instead of breakers of society. They go out into life bearing health and not disease.

Market Research

Market research is an indispensable preliminary to industry and commerce in these days, and perhaps the last thing attended to in a systematic and business like spirit in this country. A writer in *The Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce* explains its scope and utility:

Research is to marketing what diagnosis is to medicine. That is a basic principle upon which all advertising and merchandising men are agreed. Nevertheless, the fact remains that there are comparatively few of us who really appreciate the full value of market research and apply it properly to our particular business.

Markets are people. Generally the only limits placed upon their expense are the number of people who can afford to buy the product and the number of people who can be made to desire it when they are properly informed about it. The producer is being brought closer to the consumer almost daily by human ingenuity. Time is almost vanishing as a factor in communication and transportation. While this in itself is a great ally of the marketer, it likewise makes it vital to his success that he market more scientifically, because his competitor has the same time-effacing facilities at his disposal. How can the producer market more scientifically? By market research.

What is market research? It is the application of scientific principles to the problems that arise from the kind, size and peculiarities of the individual market and the securing of the necessary data for bringing the product to the people in the most economical and effective way. Naturally this presupposes an accurate knowledge of facts. The marketer must be able to say "I know," not "I think." To make the research of most value it is necessary to most intelligently plan the means of "Fact Finding"; then must follow careful analysis; later proper correlation of the data collected and their interpretation and finally adapting the findings to the particular product under consideration.

America and India

Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, the editor of the *New York Nation* sends "a word" to the *Indian Review* and through it to the Indian people. After dwelling upon the sympathy of the American friends of India, he goes on to offer a few words of advice. He writes:

Finally, as one devoutly in sympathy with the non-resistance of Gandhi, may I strongly urge all who may see these lines to use their influence against any form of violence? If violence, let it be on the other side and let it be received upon non-resisting bodies. There is no greater weapon than that, none surer, none more certain to win in the long run, if only there can be adequate endurance. It is only a few years since I heard an American Minister to China declare that the foreign problem there was most difficult because, so he said, to an audience of American newspaper men, "the Chinese have got hold of the most dangerous weapon in the world—non-resistance, and you can't beat that." This was just after he had said that as far as the shells of our gun-boats could reach, we should inflict our wills on the Chinese whether they liked it or no!

There is a great reservoir of goodwill for India here, though we have also many sympathizers with British imperialism and many believers that the white race is justified in imposing its will upon coloured people wherever it finds them, whether at home or abroad. But the reservoir of goodwill will be largely unavailable if force should be used by the Indians. I hope therefore that whatever else happens in India after January, there will be no overt acts. You may be sure that those of us who are sympathetic with your aspirations will await the coming of that day with profoundest anxiety and with deepest sympathy for all concerned.

Students' Strikes

Mr. A. S. Venkataraman, B. A., L. T. has some judicious remarks to offer on students' strikes in *The Indian Educator*. He says:

Students' strikes are becoming more common and familiar that it is high time that we stopped

to examine the causes and consider the remedies. In a sense, there is discontent in the student mind and there is a general restlessness everywhere and if it takes the undesirable form of a strike, it is only an outward expression of an inner force, which exists either as a mild or strong one. In some cases when it bursts out, the manifestation is sudden and violent, and seems the only method though vociferous and demonstrative—open to students to ventilate their grievances.

The causes as diagnosed by the Mysore Students' Strike Enquiry Committee are the influence on the students of the political and economic unrest, absence of good home influence, defects in the organization of our educational system such as lack of co-operation between the home and the school, undue stress on the intellectual side of education to the neglect of other sides, absence of personality among teachers, lack of intimate contact between the teachers and the taught, due to frequent transfer of teachers, unwieldy size of classes, and the taking up of other occupations by teachers.

It seems to me that no adequate provision in school is made for pupils to use their animal spirits and when we expect implicit obedience to rules laid down by authorities, by asking the pupils to "keep quiet", we insist on an unnatural conformity to impossible requirements and in so doing, the authorities themselves violate every law of god and Nature.

As regards the lack of intimate contact between the teachers and taught, and lack of sympathy between students, teacher and administration, we have to note one thing. Points of contact must be established. While it is imperative on the part of the administration to put an end to its indifference and callousness, it is equally necessary and urgent that teachers and pupils should be drawn nearer together outside the school, as inside it.

As prevention is better than cure, it is wise for the authorities to create opportunities for students to take interest in and assume responsibility for school activities. The honour and traditions of the school are as much in their hands as in the hands of others and pupils should be made to feel it. In this connection, we have to note that teachers should not be frequently transferred and the unwieldy size of classes should be reduced.

The Progress of Khadi

The *Mysore Economic Journal* contains an elaborate study on Mahatma Gandhi as economist from the pen of the editor. The following extract from it demonstrates the effect of khadi propaganda on the import of foreign cloth.

That Mahatma Gandhi's campaign for the economic regeneration of this country is well conceived and despite the tremendous odds against him succeeded remarkably well, there can be no gainsaying. Within the short period of five or six years, the popularization of home-spuns has gone so far as to make even unbelievers rub their eyes and see what has been accomplished by voluntary

workers—unpaid or ill-paid. According to a statement recently issued, covering the work of the two months, March and April (1929), it is seen that the Khadi propaganda in this country has had serious effects on the import of Manchester cloth. More positive evidence is afforded by the Khadi sales effected during the preceding quarter. The All-India Spinners' Association Khadi Stores throughout the country sold, it would appear between the months, January to March 1929, Khadi worth over Rs. 11 lakhs as against a little over Rs. 7 lakhs during the same period in 1928. This record indicates a rise of nearly 44 per cent. The expense incurred for effecting these sales is certainly instructive. During the quarter referred to, the total expenditure incurred amounted to Rs. 626-11-0, including Rs. 358-8-0, spent on printing propaganda literature. That seems honorary work with a vengeance even for India, where such work is common! The report we have referred to above furnishes the essential facts relating to the replacing of imported cloth by indigenous cloth.

Indian Merchants in England

At a general meeting of the Indian Chamber of Commerce in Britain, Mr. N. D. Allbless, deputy chairman, delivered the annual address, (reproduced in *The Indian Textile Journal*) in which he drew attention to racial discrimination towards Indians in England:

Drawing attention to racial discrimination in England, he said that various restrictions were imposed on Indian merchants in London. He said it was practically impossible to become members of the Baltic Exchange, the Commercial Rooms or London Jute Association, although foreigners had been admitted. The members of the Indian community felt that they were badly treated in this respect. Mr. Allbless declared that racial discrimination was obviously made when Indians applied for admission, and said that it would give rise to a better understanding and co-ordination of commercial interests of both parties if such anomalies and unjust treatment were wiped out. He begged the Indian merchants throughout the world to sink their personal differences and to unite and fight for their just rights, and thus build up the Indian foreign trade through their own national effort.

The Textile Industry of Bombay

The *Indian Textile Journal* writes editorially on the textile industry of Bombay:

The outlook for Bombay appears none too bright at present but when we remember that it was the spirit of adventure and the industrial patriotism of Bombay that started and built up the industry, and that it was Bombay that gave a lead to the whole country in this matter was in many others, we need not feel pessimistic about the

future. The great qualities that brought the industry into existence and that helped to build it to its present position are certainly not dead. When those qualities are brought into play again, as they certainly will be, there will be once more a brighter prospect for the first and easily the most advanced city in India. We cannot afford to give up the industry. A million persons live by it, and Bombay's wealth and importance entirely depend upon it. But there is another point to be kept in mind. It is an Indian industry in the most complete sense of the term. It is financed by Indians, it is controlled by Indians, it is worked by Indians. Europeans have helped it and Bombay is a city which seeks co-operation from every quarter, but it is Indians who are really the architects of this great cotton piecegoods manufacturing industry of India. The whole of India may well be proud of that. Every industry has its ups and downs, and the depression and bad times are sure to be followed by prosperity and better days. All that is needed is closer co-operation between capital and labour, and between producers and consumers. That is bound to come if capital is humane and labour is considerate, if producers are not greedy and if consumers are patriotic. India has vast resources of cotton. She may well gratify all the needs of her children in point of piecegoods. She

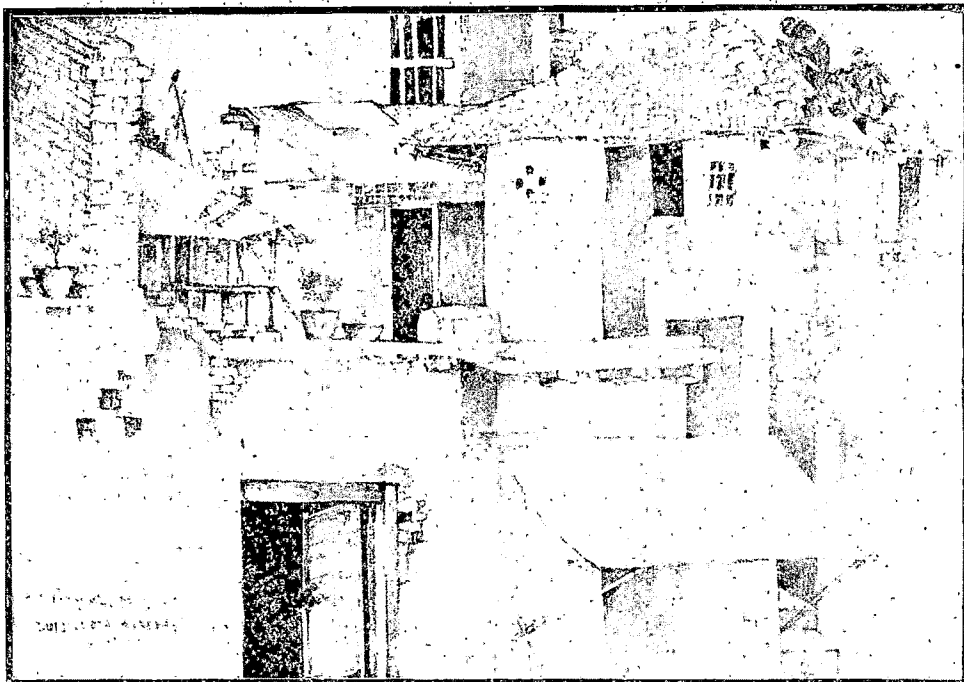
has the chance also of supplying the eastern markets with her goods, provided the goods are of quality, and are sold at competitive prices.

In the same paper

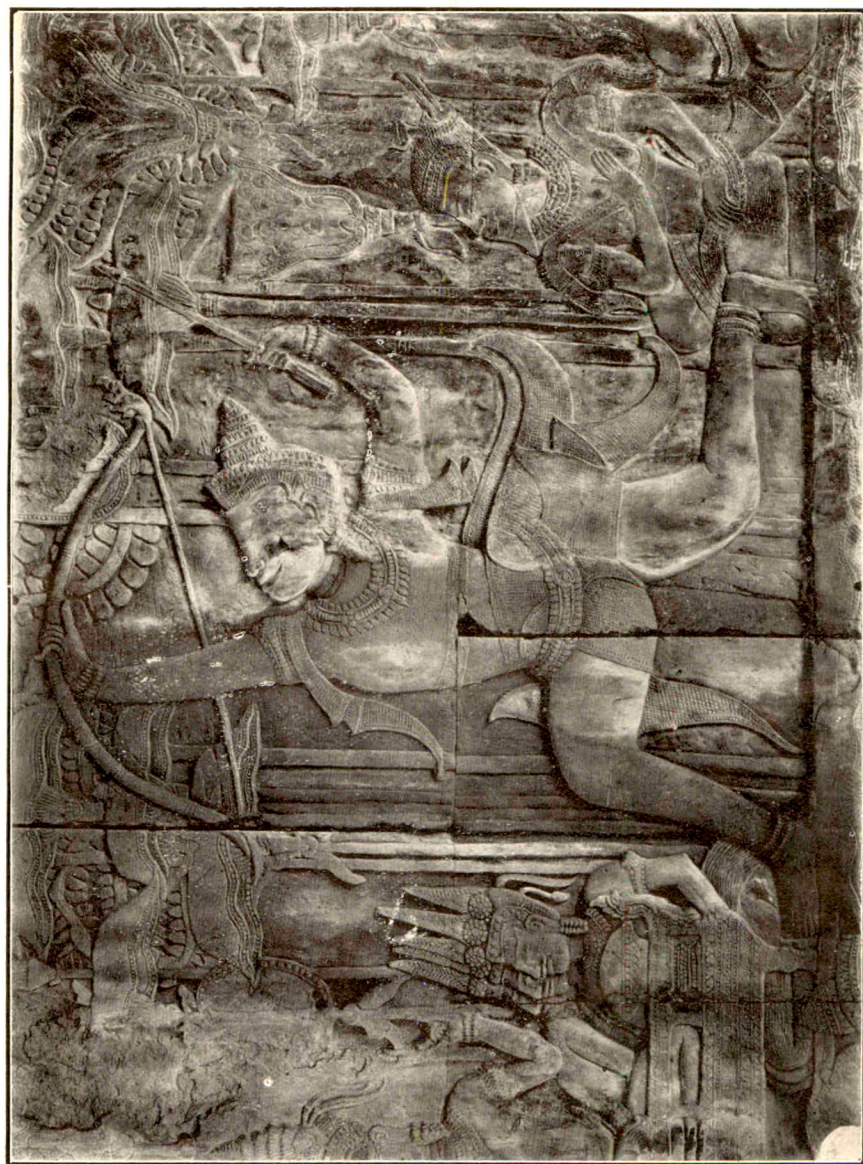
Is given a table of figures indicating the production of woven goods in the different parts of India for the two months of April and May during the last three years. All the figures represent yards. The figures are combined for the two months.

Province.	1927.	1928.	1929.
Bombay	309,773,359	178,930,026	246,889,012
Madras	10,538,992	10,264,626	9,308,580
Bengal	5,415,518	5,628,972	9,559,623
United Provinces	13,952,634	14,920,142	17,318,719
Ajmer-Merwara	2,063,008	1,883,908	2,360,885
Punjab	1,000,722	543,710	736,440
Delhi	4,617,370	6,366,748	8,764,273
C. P. and Berar	10,645,737	10,809,784	13,311,830
Indian States, etc.	33,093,292	37,591,737	47,754,016

The last category, Indian States, etc. means Indore, Mysore, Baroda, Nandgoan, Bhavnagar, Hyderabad, Wadhwan, Gwalior, Cambay, Cochin, Kolhapur, and the French Settlements at Pondicherry.



Decay
By Manishi Dey



RELIEF FROM ANGKOR VAT
Historical Gallery, Pavilion of the N.-W. Angle



RELIEF FROM ANGKOR VAT
Historical Gallery, Pavilion of the S.-W. Angle

FORUM PERIODICALS

The Leader of the Anglo-Saxons or Kaiser-i-Hind

Owing to a narrow-minded colonial policy which Great Britain has since wholly abandoned, the Anglo-Saxon community of the world finds itself to-day, under a divided allegiance, that of the British Empire on the one hand and the United States of America on the other. With the increasing cordiality which marks their relations at present and is probably going to bear its first fruit in the elimination of naval rivalry between them, will there be an attempt at an *Anschluss*, sentimental if not political, of the two halves?

This, at any rate, is what ought to be, is the opinion of Professor G. E. Catlin who writes in *The Realist* on the desirability of an Anglo-Saxon comity. He presents Great Britain with a choice of policy between racial loyalty and racial disloyalty cloaked by a narrow nationalism and false perception of Imperial interests. He writes:

Great Britain has before it a tremendous choice in policy. She can look West towards the lands of her own speech ("her own speech" whatever the futile censoriousness of a few intellectuals may be about the unity of that speech). Or she can look East. As Austria-Hungary based her policy on the Danube, so Britain may base her policy on the maintenance of the route to India with its complications in Europe, in the Levant, in Egypt, and in India itself. Apart from the separate problem of the safeguarding of Australasia (which could also be affected through the Panama Canal), this involves basing power and prestige on the obedience of millions who can never be sentimentally and culturally at one with Great Britain. The maintenance of the bond with India may be regarded as a desirable contingency; it is folly to regard it as the palladium of Empire. Whatever the lure, as an adornment, of the Indian ruby, whatever even the mutual advantages of the imperial connection, to build power on the Raj in India is to build a mighty castle on the sand. The foundation of power is in the sentiment of the British peoples and the good will of the Anglo-Saxon world: it is not in being Kaiser-i-Hind.

The Menace of Freudianism

"We may be said to be living in a Psycho-analytic age. For there has been

insinuated into our outlook a Freudian temper," so writes Mr. Joseph Jastrow in the autumn number of *The Century*, and it is in this ever widening application of psycho-analysis as a complete instrument for the exploration of human character that he thinks precisely where the menace of new psychology lies. Some rather technical studies of hysteria, as he happily puts it, have within the space of a generation converted the human scene into a neurotic clinic. Has it profited mankind? Will it profit mankind? Perhaps these questions are best answered in the writer's own words:

The Freudian temper extends from the attitude of its contributing advocates to its effect upon the lay mind, and there reaches its menacing expression. The popularity of Freudian ideas may prove to be a disaster to mental fitness and a sane outlook on life. The most pernicious complex of the day may well be the psycho-analytic complex—the unexpressed desire to dig at the roots of delicate psychic growths that prosper best in the undisturbed privacy that nature has provided for them. The tendency to bare our intimate personal problems to the Freudian diagnostic knife, to rush off to be "psyched" on slight provocation or none, is about as wholesome as would be a periodic exposure on the operating-table to see whether our insides are in order. Whether more persons have been injured or aided by psycho-analysis is an open question.

The analyst vivisects the most sensitive tissue of the human personality. If every analyst were a superman, the procedure would still be hazardous. Some of us are in fact most complexly composed, and others quite simple in our make-up. The analyst is too apt to insist upon complexity as well as complexes, and to find what he looks for or incite it. To be of service, the psycho-analyst must be at least as high-grade a personality as his patient. When, all too commonly, he is not, his knowledge of technique cannot replace his intellectual, his social, his personal shortcomings. In many an instance, considering the contrast between his own human stature and that of his patient, when that patient belongs to a superior class, his procedure and advice is nothing short of an impertinence. A dose of indignation may accompany this verdict when the patient is a woman and the analyst a man, by reason of the natural barrier between their inner lives and the different texture and design of the feminine emotional cloth; so much at least is open to masculine understanding.

As on the professional side in less responsible

or less competent hands, the practice takes on the dangers of a cult, on the lay side the recourse to it flourishes as a vogue of emancipation.

Through all social circles the Freudian wave has spread with variable local symptoms and with no benefit to the tone of conversation or intellectual stimulation. "And everybody talks glibly of repression, complexes, sublimation, with wish fulfilment and subconsciousness as if they really understood Freud and knew what he was talking about. Gentle reader, let me say this, that with the exception of a few professional philosophers, Psychologists, psychiatrists, and psycho-analysts, I have not met a dozen people who knew more than the terms of Freud." And Dr. Myerson, thus cited, has his office in the very centre of culture, on Boston's Beacon Street.

French Thought on America

After all the adulation that it has become an intellectual fashion to shower upon the new woman, it is, at any rate, refreshing to come across so downright a denunciation of them in the Paris *Comoedia* :

To us Latins the American woman, that luxurious and futile object, remains an object to amaze. Her rôle of mother, of wife, of guardian of the home is almost non-existent. Should one even speak in this connection of a home? Yet no society can live without such an armour. . . . No nation has ever seemed to me to have felt so tragically the emptiness of its soul. Its moral life has become enfeebled in proportion as its material prosperity has grown. But what are the foundations of a spiritual life that is not nourished on the profoundest realities of humanity?

The name of the writer is Max Frantel, and it seems that this denunciation is the part of a general onslaught on American ideals and American manners, in which more than one distinguished name in contemporary French thought has been brought in. We have had occasion, more than once, to draw attention to the rising hostility of European thought towards America. This antagonism is crystallising more and more in the form of a war between the spiritual values for which European civilisation stands and the material scale of values of America. This is clearly brought out in the summary given in *The Literary Digest* of the article from which we have quoted above, and from its comments on it :

"More to be pitied than censured is the verdict passed by some French writers on America in her flood-tide of prosperity. As for admiring American industrial and commercial progress, such sad observers avert their eyes from the awful spectacle of material plenty and luxury in the United States, for while American success seems to have no bounds set to it, the French are cautioned not to be misled as to what such power

of wealth means. Along these lines runs the comment of a contributor to the Paris *Comoedia*, who calls our attention to a book of Henri Massis—*"A Defense of the West"*—in which America is evidently subjected to a severe punnelling.

According to M. Massis American prosperity is only "an imposing facade, the mighty collapse of which will probably be seen by our grandchildren." As quoted in *Comoedia*, M. Massis continues :

"One can imagine at a given period the general suicide of this nation, which will have lost its soul in seeking the most perfected means of living and, having found them, will blow up the machine, as if fascinated by chaos. The reason is that one can not violate the conditions of human nature beyond certain limits. Baudelaire, in his preface to the stories of Edgar Allan Poe, uttered prophetic words to explain the evil that is silently working in the United States, a country that is at once gigantic and infantile. Baudelaire said: 'Proud of its material development, abnormal and almost monstrous, this newcomer has a naive faith in the almighty power of industry. He is convinced, as are some unfortunate ones among us, that industry will eventually devour the devil. The material activity which is exaggerated to such an extent as to be a national mania leaves very little room in the mind for things that are not of this earth.' And it is paid for while we are here below."

Dominion Status for India

A momentous decision will have been taken by Indian Nationalism by the time that these lines will reach our readers. Nevertheless, there is no harm, and perhaps not wholly a mere historical interest in drawing attention to an article by Major Graham Pole in *The Labour Magazine*, which is the official monthly journal of the Labour Movement. It gives an authoritative exposition of the point of view of official Labour. Major Pole begins by saying :

I think we hardly realise at what a fascinating period of the world's history we are living. A new era is upon us and changes come about with apparently startling suddenness. These changes, however, can often be foreseen by those who care to look below the surface. There is an irresistible tide of freedom, liberty and self-determination sweeping over the whole globe. It is for us to see that we do not try to stem that tide, but rather lead it into the right channels. The attitude of some of our die-hards in this connection makes one think of the old conundrum of what would happen if an irresistible force met an immovable object!

Equality of Indians and Europeans in India is, of course, nothing new—as far as declarations go. As a nation we are good at making declarations.

He then goes on to trace the history of all the declaration from the Queen's Proclamation down to the statement of Mr. Ramsay

MacDonald when he set up the Muddiman Committee. About this last he says :

Before that Committee had reported, however, the Labour Government had been replaced by a Tory Government; the doctrine of continuity of policy was forgotten; and the promise of the Prime Minister was never redeemed. Nothing happened; and India was again given reason to believe that she could place no reliance on British promises.

Things went from bad to worse. Lord Birkenhead made every mistake possible in the setting up of the Indian Statutory Commission (the Simon Commission). Speaking in the House of Lords as Secretary of State for India, in connection with the Commission, he said that they would go out to India as "a jury," and twice in the course of that speech, which I heard, he referred to the Indians as "natives"—quite oblivious of the fact that that word had been banned by the Government of India many years before, it having in India the same connotation as "nigger."

In spite of all that any of us who have been trying to make a better understanding between England and India could say or do, the Indian National Congress passed a resolution at its meeting in December, 1928, that unless Great Britain gave India Dominion Status by December 31, 1929, they would declare and work for Independence outside the British Commonwealth of Nations. The steps to be taken would be "civil disobedience," non-payment of taxes, etc., etc.

Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, realized the serious position and the necessity of restoring in India faith in the promises and intentions of the British people. Lord Irwin was a member of the late Conservative Cabinet before his appointment as Viceroy of India, and this gave his advice—coinciding as it did with the views of the Labour Cabinet—all the more weight. He is the "man on the spot," who according to all Tory doctrine, ought to be trusted and upheld.

His remarks on the Press attack on the Viceroy's statement is illuminating, as is his exposition of what can be done at the Round Table Conference :

The recent Press attack, it should be noted, was made not on this innovation, but on the declaration that Dominion Status as the goal of British policy for India was implicit in the Montagu Declaration of 1917. In the course of this attack the *Morning Post* and the *Daily Mail* abandoned their talk of our being trustees for the voiceless, and down-trodden millions of India, and showed the real nature of their "interest" in India. Said the *Morning Post* : "If the British Government really does contemplate this folly of 'Dominion Status,' it had better begin to raise a relief fund for the Anglo-Indian population." Whilst the *Daily Mail* was even more plainspoken : "The people of Great Britain stand to sacrifice a capital of some £1,200,000,000 by Dominion Home Rule in India. There is, further, the certain loss of the considerable sum now paid in this country by the Indian Government in pensions to retired Civil Servants and officers." No argument and no proof was offered for this palpably absurd and untrue statement.

Everything can come up at the Round Table Conference to be held next year. The Simon Commission Report may be discussed, but so, also may the Nehru Report and the Butler Committee Report on the Indian States. The Indian States may be represented, both Princes and peoples, and the various political bodies in India and the various religions and interests can also have their representation to meet the Government here and so "promote the full co-operation of all parties and interests in the solution of the Indian problem as a whole." That is the great thing that the Labour Government, with the cordial co-operation of the Viceroy has brought about.

Demand for Scottish Home Rule

The establishment of a Dominion in Ireland is apparently going to have its repercussions in the sister Celtic nations of Wales and Scotland. There have already been set on foot in both these countries Nationalist parties which have for their aim the establishment of two more Dominions within the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Hon'ble Ruairaidh Erskine of Marr, the President of the Scots National League writes on this subject in *Current History*.

Advocates of Scottish nationalism are sometimes criticized on the ground that the success of the doctrine they preach would lead to the isolation of their country. Those who use this foolish gibe can know little about either current political tendencies within the British group of nations or what is really in the minds of the Nationalist leaders. Those tendencies are not toward isolation in respect of any one member (present or future) of the British group, but, on the contrary, toward closer and more effective co-operation for common purposes—in a word, toward confederation. The idea of what was at one time called "Imperial Federation"—that is, a scheme or system of politics by virtue of which the British "colonies" and dependencies would have been linked up with England as the centre and the controlling power of the system—is as dead as emphatic repudiation of the scheme on the part of "Greater Britain" can render it. What lives and tends to live yet more vigorously with the passing of each successive Imperial Conference is the notion of friendly co-operation in respect of common aims between the different sovereign States of which the British group of nations is composed. It is toward this particular end that the Scottish Nationalists are working and it is into this comity of nations that they propose to introduce their country, not under the suzerainty of England, gifted in virtue of the latter's benevolence with a limited measure of "home rule" and otherwise tied to her, but as a sovereign State, independent of England even as Scotland was formerly independent of her, and independent of her even as the different Dominions are to-day independent of her.

Such is the great political end toward which the Scots who are Nationalists are working to-day. It stands to reason that the more the kindred

nations of the Irish and the Welsh are drawn toward the same lofty ideal and the better the concert is among the three in order to bring it about, the more perfectly is it likely that existing major tendencies in British political affairs will be fulfilled.

Emil Ludwig's Tribute to His Great Countryman

Among the numerous tributes to the memory of Gustav Stresemann, that of the *Vossische Zeitung* (translated in *The Living Age*) comes from the pen of Emil Ludwig, the eminent literary man of Germany and a friend of the dead statesman. Stresemann leaves behind him an abiding reputation as a man of peace, and there are few competent judges who would not recognize his achievement in the reconstruction of post-war Europe. He began his political career as an out and out imperialist. He modified his outlook to suit new conditions, but he did not, as Ludwig records to his credit, turn red in five minutes during the troublous days of November, 1918.

The frightful defeat in the war had completely shattered him intellectually, but his ear detected the new historical rhythm and his trained historical mind perceived what was going on. He understood that Europe, and particularly Germany, could no longer cling to outworn methods. The same man whom I had heard only a few months ago extolling moral influences to a group of young students, the same man whose true nature was reckless and artistic, perceived that the military uniform had seen its best days. He recognised that Germany could not be saved by the policy of vengeance that certain groups were advocating, but that it could only be rescued by the idea that underlay the League of Nations. When I spoke to him during that fateful period of doubt when Germany was forced to wait in the antechamber of Geneva, like a new club member whose qualifications for membership are still being questioned, he asked me with downcast mien, "What would you do now?" "Go away," I replied. "That would give Berlin a cheap triumph," he said, "but it tempts me not." At such moments as these he revealed himself as the real statesman that he was.

Except for Rathenau, Stresemann is the first German minister since Bulow who had received an advanced education. I have heard him discuss Goethe interestingly and at length, not merely giving quotations but showing that he understood the significance of the man, and I know that he put to productive use that under-estimated political skill of the German nation which no one believed existed in Goethe's time. And he also would lend his aid to rescue the German spirit whenever it was threatened.

In my house in the Swiss forests where I am now dictating these fleeting words, he stood, two years ago, before a picture of Goethe. After keeping silent for a long time, as it was only

proper that he should, he later brought the conversation back to Goethe again. In such small ways one recognized that he was really less interested in immediate results than in far-reaching conclusions. Yet his character also possessed the naiveté of a student, which kept him from being a good judge of men. Thus he had a freshness that made him prone to deliberation and a seriousness that made him a man of action. Stresemann was a thoroughly German character.

Aristide Briand

Poincaré was, and Aristide Briand still is, France's indispensable man. He fell as Premier only to re-enter the arena as Foreign Minister in M. André Tardieu's Cabinet. He has been a member of twenty-one Cabinets and Premier in eleven of them, and is, as M. Jules-Blois points out in *Current History*, one of the most important and picturesque figures in French political life. His importance in foreign politics is acknowledged on all hands. But perhaps not the least interesting side of him is his private life of which we are given charming glimpses in M. Jules-Blois' article:

This man who has made so much French and even European history, remains to-day as simple as when he began his career. Before going into politics he lived in furnished rooms for which he paid \$20 a month, including board. His latest residence is Avenue Kléber, a fashionable part of Paris but the apartment is almost small enough for a doll's house. There, during the war, even when in office, he would betake himself frequently to meditate in dark khaki pajamas over a cup of coffee, watching the smoke spirals of his cigarette. But he also has a rural retreat, the realization of every Frenchman's dream—a country place with cattle, real milk and a little brook, at Cocherel. There, he says, he perfected his diplomatic skill: "You see, I went to a good school. I had the best masters. But for them, I confess, I could not have gone very far. In order to complete my domain of Cocherel I had to buy eighty pieces of ground from peasant owners. I had to discuss, to haggle, to be yielding and hard by turns. I struggled for an entire year; and I declare to-day with a certain pride that the man who has been able, to do business with eighty Norman peasants can easily cope with the Foreign Ministers of the Great Powers."

Fishing is one of his favourite diversions so much so that the story is told that, when informed that President Fallières had selected him to form the Ministry, his first words were: "Now my fishing season is ruined." Nor would he be consoled by the example of the former Premier Waldeck-Rousseau, who remained none the less a great fisherman. "Yes, yes," Briand replied, "but as soon as one is in power, the fish all go over to the opposition."

His detractors claim that he reads little and scarcely ever writes. But he reflects much and never speaks unwittingly. His speciality is working

with living material. Himself silent, he makes others talk. I have often observed him, quiet and vigilant in the uproar of a Parliamentary session, maintaining complete silence for hours, and then mount the tribune with the careless, almost dragging step of the lounge, and begin a speech, his voice groping at first, but before long swelling with sonority, as he dramatically reaches the heights of oratory and carries the vote in a thunder of applause. A lover of humanity, Briand flees from men in order to escape the temptation to hate them. He chooses either solitude or the exclusive company of congenial minds. Among them no one is of greater service to him than Philippe Berthelot, the son of the philosopher and scientist.

Some Reminiscences of Clemenceau

Clemenceau belonged as decidedly to the past as Stresemann belonged, and Briand belongs, to the present. His early experiences made the Tiger what he was. The following reminiscences about him appear in the course of a some notes on him in the *Inquirer and Christian Life* :

Bismarck and 1870 put their mark on Georges Clemenceau, as Clemenceau put his mark on the Peace of 1918. Yet Clemenceau accepted (after a fashion), the League of Nations at the hand of Woodrow Wilson, though America repudiated the work of her own prophet.

"Every morning when I wake I say to myself, 'Georges, you believe in the League of Nations?'" the old sceptic explained. He believed far more in the American alliance—which the Americans denied him after he had paid the price. It was the rôle of Mr. Lloyd George, arch-conciliator, to draw the two together, but Clemenceau, as the more stubborn of two stubborn men, decided where the junction should be effected. If Mr. Lloyd George instead of drawing Wilson, had stood with him immovably for the Fourteen Points, what would Clemenceau have done? What *could* he have done? But we had had the "Hang the Kaiser" election.

In connection with M. Clemenceau's death Dame Henrietta Barnett calls our attention to a passage in her "life" of her husband describing how on one occasion (in 1884) M. Clemenceau, came with M. Waddington and Dr. Bridges (the Comptroller and Poor Law Inspector) and spent a long day with Canon Barnett "seeing the workhouse, the schools, the streets, and looking into many of our neighbours' homes."

As we sat in the drawing-room after tea, he told us much of the sufferings of the French poor unaided by State provision, and this was the summing-up of the three men with their varied experience :

"If I could establish a poor-law system in France I would do it," said M. Clemenceau.

"If I could abolish it with a stroke of my pen. I would do it," said the Inspector.

"If I could reform it I would keep it," said my husband.

Since then reform has come.

The Perils Ahead for Turkey

Turkey has won and established her national independence in the face of tremendous odds. She has put through a colossal programme of educational, legal, and social reform. Her achievement in these fields are admitted on all hands. Yet the difficulties which face her to-day are very great. The elements of future danger for her are enumerated by a writer in *The World To-morrow*. They spring from the following considerations :

The present government is a military dictatorship. The members of the National Assembly were hand-picked and are under the almost complete control of President Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who is everywhere acclaimed as the Gazi or Victor. No opposition party is tolerated. The freedom of the press and assembly are drastically abridged. Most citizens are illiterate and wholly lacking in political experience. A truly representative government cannot be created for many decades to come. Everyone is constantly asking : "What will happen when the Gazi dies?" The answer is a deep mystery. He now wields illimitable power over the people. His prestige equals that of Lenin before the death of the latter. Without the adoration and loyalty of the masses for their victorious leader, the superlative achievements of the past seven years would have been utterly impossible. Only time can tell whether a worthy successor will be found or whether Parliamentary institutions will become sufficiently well established to conserve these marvellous gains or, on the other hand, whether the Gazi's death will usher in a period of chaos and retrogression.

A second cause of apprehension is the scarcity of men of high moral character for positions of leadership. Permanent success depends absolutely upon the securing of a sufficient number of officials with honesty, integrity and devotion to the public good. One hears disquieting stories about the prevalence of graft. Drinking among officials seems to be on the increase. The Gazi himself is notoriously dissolute. Indeed the rumour is persistent that he is drinking himself to death. At present most educated Turks are either agnostics or atheists and lack the disciplines of religion. Whether secularized Turkey can produce men of self-control, integrity, and public spirit in sufficient numbers remains to be seen.

The prevalence of an extreme form of nationalism is also a cause for concern. No one can question the values nationalism has brought to Turkey during the past decade. On the other hand, it is impossible to forget that excessive nationalism has frequently been a terrible curse to mankind. The dogma of national sovereignty has been exalted to such a height that it constitutes a major barrier to international co-operation. Turkish nationalism, like every other brand, is potentially unifying and constructive, but it is also as disruptive and devastating as a keg of dynamite. If ignited by some crisis it may explode with calamitous consequences. The Turks are confronted with a universal problem : how to conserve the values of their new nationalism and at the same time avoid its perils.

Agricultural Education

In 1921 the Third Session of the International Labour Conference adopted a recommendation urging the Governments to develop vocational agricultural education drawing their attention to the justice of ensuring that it should be made available to agricultural wage earners on the same conditions as to other person engaged in agriculture. Subsequently enquiries on this subject were carried on by a committee under the auspices of the International Labour Office. L. E. Matthaëi, Chief of the Agricultural Service of the I. L. O. refers to the report of the Committee and gives a general outline of the broad principles involved in the *International Labour Review*.

The great variety of institutions necessary to cater for the different needs of rural populations is striking, and makes agricultural technical education an expensive business, especially as it has to be backed up by a series of model farms and often most costly experiment stations. The number of teaching institutions is sometimes not sufficient on account of the expense of maintaining them. On the other hand, a good deal of effort is also needed to get candidates to present themselves, and not every course or institution can automatically count on attracting pupils. Indeed, the problem of the willingness of rural populations to be educated on technical lines is a special problem which will call for further remark. Here the voluntary bodies connected with agricultur—farmers' associations, agricultural societies, etc.—play a big role, as they have expressed themselves pretty well without exception in favour of technical training, and often greatly assist Governments in spreading knowledge of courses or, indeed, actually shoulder some of the work themselves, with or without financial assistance from the Government. In general, however, vocational agricultural education is both Government-controlled and publicly financed. An important system of private education exists in France, but this appears to be exceptional. Higher agricultural institutions have often benefited by private benefactions or have been originally founded by private gift, but even these are now practically all public, or semi-public, institutions.

The effort made to train the agricultural population in the pursuit of their occupation is therefore a public effort and should conform to the standards usually laid down for such public arrangements. Such education must be thoroughly inspected and controlled; it must be directed to useful ends; it must be non-sectarian and democratic, i.e., open to all; it must be kept within the limits laid down by parliamentary appropriations. But its opportunities should be adequate and fairly spread so as to serve the different parts of the country equally. Some of these requirements are by no means easy to fulfil and some are a long way from being properly fulfilled; but, on the whole Governments have made great efforts to conform to these principles, and the state of vocational agricultural education may be said to be healthy, though more of it is very much to be desired.

The Expulsion of Bukharin

Leaders of revolutions have a peculiar way devouring their predecessors. Danton sent the Girondist, Robespierre sent Danton, the Thermidorians sent Robespierre, to the guillotine, and so it goes on till the full cycle has come round. Is the Russian Revolution going to have its Thermidor soon? One by the one the more prominent leaders of the October Revolution and the companions of Lenin are being thrown overboard by the present dictator of Russia. The latest victim of the suspicions of Stalin is Nikolai Bukharin, the theoretician of the Communist Party and the President of the Third International. The significance of his expulsion is discussed in a leading article in *The Christian Science Monitor* of Boston.

The expulsion of Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin from the Political Bureau of the Communist Party has profound significance for Russia and the world. From the Communist standpoint his is a distinguished career. In contrast to Trotsky, he has always been considered orthodox—until lately. As far back as 1906, a mere lad of eighteen, he joined the party and became a leader in secret revolutionary student organizations. He also was successful in organizing strikes, both in Moscow and Petrograd. As a result he was chosen to the important Moscow committee of the party at twenty years of age. In 1910 he was arrested and exiled to Siberia, but escaped abroad, where he remained until the revolution of 1917. He lived in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden and America. In the course of his travels he came to know Lenin intimately and was considered one of his most brilliant pupils. Immediately after his return to Russia following the March revolution he became editor of several of the Bolshevik papers. During the same year he was elected a member of the central committee of the party.

No doubt his most important claim to renown is due to his editorship of *Pravda*, the official newspaper of the Communist Party, and to the fact that he succeeded Zinoviev as head of the Communist International. He is author of what to the Bolshevik mentality are notable volumes, ranking him as the chief theoretician of the party. They include "The Crisis of Capitalism and the Communist Movement," "World Economy and Imperialism," "The Proletarian Revolution and Culture," "The Theory of Historical Materialism" and "A B C of Communism."

Bukharin's downfall has its humorous side. He who anathematized Zinoviev and Trotsky is now himself anathema. He who directed world-wide propaganda is himself the victim of it. Then again, what becomes of Communist theory when its chief philosopher is officially declared bankrupt of authority?

Bukharin is now out of *Pravda*, out of the Communist International and out of the Political Bureau—completely shorn of power. His humiliation is a further index of the concentration of power in the hands of the dictator, Stalin, who has

gradually been antagonizing and expelling one after another of the old guard. First it was Trotsky, then Zinoviev, Kameneff, Radek and a host of others. Finally Tomsky and Rykoff fell from grace, although not from office. To-day Bukharin is tossed overboard. Stalin remains in complete control of party and state.

There is nothing remarkable in the methods used; politicians the world over know them. Stalin is an opportunist, a middle-of-the-road man, who plays one revolutionist against another, always to the advancement of Stalin. On any moot point he can rely on winning support from the Central Committee of the party. He is now so powerful that it is doubtful if any group longer dares oppose him.

The expulsion of Bukharin has significance as an indication of the decline of the Communist International. Stalin is a firm believer in rebuilding economic stability, in establishing an industrial nation, in demonstrating Communism in Russia, minimizing for the present its efforts at revolutionizing the world. To this extent the displacement of Bukharin is of importance to other countries:

The Nobel Prize for Literature

The New Republic has some judicious remarks to offer on the Nobel Prize in literature, which we in this country, who are rather too prone to take it a little over-seriously, might well take to heart and ponder over:

The Nobel Prize for literature is the most widely advertised of the five Nobel prizes, cynics would say, because it is the only one which affects the fortunes of an important industry, that of publishing. It is also the largest of the prizes open to men of letters, and the only one that is truly international. The Swedish academicians who award it have not always shown great wisdom. Too often they have allowed their sense of fæws value to outweigh their literary judgment. Too often they have chosen windy philosophers who have achieved a momentary fame, or empty pretensions novelists, or didactic poets, or representatives of the minor European literatures who were giants only among their compatriots. Who reads Maeterlinck to-day, or Rudolf Eucken? Who is Jose Echegaray? Who in any country but France even remembers the name of Sully-Prudhomme? And who, on the other hand, would criticize the awards to Yeats, Shaw or Anatole France? Ideally, the prize should be given not as encouragement to a young writer or as vindication of a popular writer, but rather as tribute to a man of high talent, worthy of international and permanent recognition, who has devoted a lifetime to the art of letters. There are two or three writers in the world to-day who fulfil these qualifications: Thomas Mann in Germany, André Gide in France, and perhaps Maxim Gorky in Russia. By choosing the first of these, the Swedish Academy has added to the prestige of the Nobel Prize, and has atoned for some of the mistaken awards it has made in the past.

Science and Western Civilisation

That Western civilisation rests on science has become a cliché. It is one of those commonplaces whose truth nobody dreams of establishing or denying. Yet Professor J. B. Haldane would vigorously dispute the proposition in an article on "The Place of Science in Western Civilisation" in *The Realist*. He contends that:

Science has furnished the material basis of our civilisation, but its ideas are still pre-scientific, and that is one of the principal reasons for the extraordinary misuse of applied science which is so characteristic of our age. The late war was a very good example of this misuse. I shall attempt to show that the future of Western civilisation depends, to a very large extent, on whether it can incorporate into itself not only scientific inventions, but scientific ideas and a scientific outlook,

So far as Governments and the ruling classes are concerned. Professor Haldane is inclined to doubt whether they can ever accomplish this. He writes:

The general policy, no doubt not stated in so many words, of the present Government, and of Governments in the past, is to prevent, as far as possible, new applications of science, either to life or to industry.....

There are certain exceptional individuals in our governing classes who know a little science, these including some of the men at the head of our more successful industries; for example, Lord Melchett. But the politicians I think are pretty universally ignorant of it. The attitude of the majority of politicians on these matters may, I think, be summed up in the immortal words of Sir Auckland Geddes: "In politics, in the affairs with which Governments have to deal, it is not accurate knowledge that matters—it is emotion!" A minority of politicians, however do possess a certain amount of accurate knowledge, but that accurate knowledge is almost invariably of law or of economics.

According to Professor Haldane, the outlook for European civilisation is dark indeed, if this attitude towards science persists among the ruling classes. The danger is both material and spiritual, but the danger of spiritual decay is more disquieting of the two. As Prof Haldane observes:

To-day it seems to me that transcendental ideals which take men out of the field of ordinary life are only active in the realms of science and art. But most artists do not reach anything but a limited public. The exception, a very important exception, due not to art but to science, is in the case of music. For the first time in history, thanks to broadcasting, millions of people are hearing first-rate intellectual music performed by first-rate artists. That will have, I think very great spiritual consequences, but I do not think that it will be sufficient to stem the general lack of belief in transcendental ideals, such as truth and beauty, which is going on. It is

quite possible I think, that as the ideals of pure science become more and more remote from those of the general public, science will tend to degenerate more and more into medical and engineering technology, just as art may degenerate into illustration and religion into ritual when they lose the vital spark. That tendency in science is going on to-day in many countries. It is very marked. I think, in Italy, where they have to-day great engineers, like Marconi, but no more great physicist like Galileo and Galvani. The result of such a tendency would be that gradually the flow of real invention would dry up. If so, we may hope that the spirit of inquiry will continue in Asia. In India to-day far more first-rate research in pure physics is being done than in the majority of European countries: but if the spirit of inquiry remains in Asia when it has petered out in Europe and North America, the outlook for Western civilisation is not very hopeful.

A German Journalist in Calcutta

India is, and let us hope will, always remain a hospitable country, though it has not been a universal practice among her hurried foreign guests to respect her warm-heartedness and have a word of graceful recognition for the welcome they received. This reproach is certainly not to be brought against Herr C. Z. Klotzel of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, who as it appears, has spent a season in India and is contributing a series of delightful articles to that great German daily. It was from his appreciation of Pandit Motilal Nehru that we quoted a few excerpts in our last month's issue, and it is from one of his articles again (and this time too from the translation given in *The Living Age*) that we are quoting the following passage:

The Calcutta City Hall is a big structure of red brick, but the Conference Chamber of the municipal councillors looks like a little throne room. Its chairs are the kind from which it is almost impossible to raise oneself.

The handsomest of all these chairs belongs to Mr. Jatindra Mohan Sen-Gupta and it stands higher than the rest on a platform of its own. Mr. Sen-Gupta has just been elected mayor of Calcutta for the fourth time. Lord Mayor of the second city of the Empire, the British visitors call him, thinking that they are paying him a compliment. But when he himself is greeting guests in the name of his municipality he speaks of the 'first

city of the East,' for Mr. Sen-Gupta is a nationalist, like the voters in the three biggest cities in India.—Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras—who are at a predominantly nationalist complexion. Further more, his local administration is in continual conflict with the activities of his Excellency, the Governor of Bengal. At the moment, for instance, the municipal engineer of Calcutta is devising great schemes for a subway which he wants to have built even before the city replaces its gas fixtures with electric lights. Until the present time this official has always been an Englishman, but now an Indian has been chosen, a man who received however his technical education in Europe. The Governor has not confirmed the appointment since he believes that only an Englishman can accomplish such a difficult task.

Mr. Sen-Gupta receives me surrounded by his fellow officials, who greet me as as a European authority on municipal politics. The various gentlemen ask me most politely all kinds of questions that I cannot possibly answer and I notice that they keep repeating one observation—that Germany enjoys the highest reputation of any country in all matters pertaining to technique and organization. America formerly held that position, but a certain American lady, the oft-quoted Miss Mayo, wrecked matters completely, for Indians will have nothing to do with people who think themselves superior.....

Mr. Sen-Gupta is also good enough to invite me to his house. He does not live in an official villa, but in a modern rented house which was built in accordance with the latest principles of housing. His wife is an English woman, and the whole atmosphere of the house is English. At first I am afraid that we shall find ourselves talking business, but I have made a mistake. Mr. Sen-Gupta has done me the honour to inviting to meet me the loveliest women he knows—with their husbands, of course.

"I could have introduced you to a group of politicians, says my host, but I think our women will inspire you to write better things about India than anyone else could."

If India is to have foreign ministries like Canada and South Africa, I could ask for nothing better, my dear Mr. Sen-Gupta, than to have you see to it that the charming lady who sat next to me should be sent to Berlin. There is no need for her to understand anything about politics or tariffs. She does not need to learn a word of German. She needs only to show herself to the gentlemen on the Wilhelmstrasse as she reveals herself to me, and we shall do everything, everything that she wishes.

Every man and particularly every woman of Calcutta, we are sure, will return Herr Klotzel's compliment.

An Iconographical Note On Agni

PROF. AMULYA CHARAN VIDYABHUSHAN

THE image of Agni is not commonly met with. Agni is a dikpala presiding over the south-east cardinal point technically known as 'Agni-kona.' He is one of the eight Lokapalas. According to the Mahayana Buddhists ten lokapalas are regents of the ten cardinal points, and Agni is one of them. But the Mahayanists hold that he has been replaced by Varuna. According to *Dharma-sangraha* dikpalas or lokapalas are four, eight, ten or fourteen. Tantras speak of the worship of ten dikpalas, who are Indra, Agni, Yama, Nairrita, Varuna, Vayu, Kubera, Isana, Brahma and Vishnu (Ananta). The images of the dikpalas can also be seen around the big temples of the Jains. Agni is the chief of the regents. Ancient as he is among the gods, he has been represented in iconography as old. Agni is red in colour. He has two heads, six eyes, seven tongues, four horns, and three legs. He has flames all around him. He sits on a lotus. He holds Prokshani, Srik, Sruva, Parnapatra, tamara, vyajani, and ghritapatra in his hands. He wears sacred thread and puts on red costume. He rides on a ram and has a ram as his insignia. He is represented as fat-bellied. Svaha and Svadha are his two wives on either side of him. This is one aspect of the image of Agni.

A detailed account of the image of Agni is given in the *Vishnu-dharmottara* according to which an image to be placed in a temple should have its colour red and its hair matted. Agni should have his dress of the colour of smoke and his body surrounded by flames. He should have three eyes and a beard. His hands are four. He has four teeth representing Vagdanda, Dhana-danda, Dhigdanda and Vadbadanda. His chariot, which bears the insignia of smoke, is drawn by four Suktas (parrots), Vayu being his charioteer. He has on his left thigh Svaha seated exactly as Indra's Sachi. She holds a pot of gem in her hands. Agni has flame and trident in the right hand and rosary in the left. His colour is red.

In the *Vishnu-dharmottara* Vajra, son of Aniruddha, addresses Bhargava thus :

रक्तं जटाधरं वह्निं कुर्याद् वै धूम्रवाससम् ।

ज्वालामालाकुलं सौम्यं त्रिनेत्रं श्मश्रुधारिणम् ॥ १

चतुर्बाहुं चतुर्दंष्ट्रं देवेशं वातसारथिम् ।

चतुर्भिश्च शुकैर्युक्तं धूमचिह्नरथे स्थितम् ॥ २

वामोत्सङ्गता स्वाहा शकल्येव शची भवेत् ।

रत्नपात्रकरा देवी बन्धुर्देक्षिणहस्तयोः ॥ ३

ज्वालात्रिशूलौ, कर्त्तव्यौ चान्नमाला तु वामके ।

रक्तं हि तेजसो रूपं रक्तवर्णं ततः स्मृतम् ॥ ४

वातसारथिता तस्य प्रत्यक्षा धूम्रनेत्रता ।

प्रत्यक्षा च तथा प्रोक्ता यागधूम्राभवस्वता ॥ ५

अन्नमाल्यं त्रिशूलञ्च जटाजूटत्रिनेत्रता ।

सर्वशिरसाधारित्वं व्याख्यातं तस्य शम्भुना ॥ ६

ज्वालाकारं परं धाम हुतं तेन प्रतीच्यते ।

गृहीत्वा सन्व देवेभ्यो ततो नर्यात शत्रून् ॥ ७

वाग्दण्डमथ धिग्दण्डं धनदण्डं तथैव च ।

चतुर्थं दधदण्डञ्च दंष्ट्रास्तस्य प्रकीर्त्तिताः ॥ ८

श्मश्रु तस्य विनिर्दिष्टं दर्भाः परमपावनम् ।

ये वेदास्ते शुकास्तस्य रथयुक्ता महात्मनः ॥ ९

आग्नेयमेतत्तत्त्वरूपमुक्तं पापापहं सिद्धिकरं नराणाम् ।

ध्येयं त्वैतन्नृप होमकाले सर्वाग्निकर्मण्यपराजितेन ॥ १०

The *Visvakarma Silpa* (ch. 7) represents Agni as follows :

ध्वजस्तो महावीर्यं स्ताम्राक्षो धूमसन्निभः ।

ज्वालामालाकुलं दीपं चास्वाशस्तांशुमण्डलम् ।

मेषारूढं च कुण्डस्थं योगपट्टं न वेष्टितम् ।

दक्षिणञ्च स्थितं स्वाहा रत्नकुण्डलमण्डितम् ।

सर्वयागाहितं पूज्यं पिङ्गभूषणभूषितम् ॥

Agni has a flag in his hand. He shines with energy. His eyes are copper-coloured. His colour is that of smoke. He is surrounded by flames, and is full of brightness and lustre. He stands on a kunda, and is surrounded by Yogapatta. Svaha is on his right side. He wears an ear-ornament of gem.

He is beneficent in all sacrifices, is holy and is decorated with ornaments of a grey colour.

According to Hemadri Agni has one face, three eyes and four hands. In all other respects his *dhyana* tallies with the first one except that his wife is Savitri instead of Svaha.

Sri Sankaracharya in the *Prapanchasaratantra* (patala 6, verse 88) gives his *dhyana* to wit :

त्रिनयनमहणासावदमौलिं सुशुक्लं

शुकमहणमनेकाकल्पमम्भोजंस्थम् ।

अभिमतवरशक्तिस्त्वस्तिकाभोतिहस्तं

नमत कनकमालालङ्कृतं कृशाणुम् ॥

According to the *Aditya-purana*, Agni is red in colour, has a protuberant belly, eyebrows, hair and eyes greyish. He holds rosary and Sakti in his hands. He has seven flames. His vehicle is a goat. The *Agni-purana* corroborates his vehicle and Sakti with—

इन्द्रो वज्रो गजारूढश्चागोऽग्निश्च शक्तिमान् । ६

The sage Maya in his *Mayamatam* speaks of Agni as having a golden ram and Sakti. A description of Agni is given in the *Mahabharata* in which Agni has seven red tongues or red horses, seven faces, red throat, grey eyes, bright hair, gold Vijam.

Agni, however, generally has two faces, three legs and seven hands; his colour is red, vehicle ram, in front of him there will be flags and banners with ram as insignia.

IMAGES

The coins of King Agnimitra furnish us with the oldest figure of Agni, the fire god. In these Agni is found in a standing posture.

In Orissa and in South India there are numerous images of Agni in the *mandapas* of temples, but the vehicles are not uniform.

VAHANA

In temples of Orissa there will be found both goat and ram as vehicle. In the temple of Hariharesvara in Mysore his vehicle is a goat. The horse is his vehicle in the temple of Kallesvara at Bagali.

Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, the first Protestant missionary of India, published in 1869 a book on the Malabar gods entitled *Genealogie der Malabarischen Gotter*. He has given the names of the vehicles of all the eight regents of the quarters. Rhea, in his *Chalukyan Architecture* has given a com-

parative table, whereas Ziegenbalg has mentioned only a goat for Agni. Rhea has given both goat and horse as the vehicle of Agni. But an iconographical study shows lotus, goat, ram and horse as his vehicle.

D. A. E. Vollheim da Fonseca of Berlin in his *Mythology of Ancient India* (*Mythologie des alten Indien*, 1856, p. 122) gives an image of Agni on a ram. Agni has two legs, four hands. He has spear in one hand, lotus in another, rosary in the third; the fourth hand is upon the neck of the ram. The crown is like a saw or an ancient *mana-danda*. According to the author the wife of Agni is Agneyi or Agnayi or Svaha.

Generally a goat is the vehicle of Agni. But why is a goat connected with Agni? *Upanishad* has it that Purusa divided himself into a male and a female. He created all beings. Aja or goat first came out of his mouth. Again Agni is his first creation. But 'Brahmano'ssa mukhamasit.' Therefore Agni, Brahmana and goat are supposed to have some mystic relation.

Krishna-Yajuh-Samhita (1. 3. 3) has styled Agni as "Aja ekapad." This *Samhita* also prescribes a goat for Agni and Soma the day before the pressing day (*sutya*) of the soma-sacrifice. Then a "Nirulha pasu" is prescribed in lieu of a goat. There is a big list of sacrificial animals in the *Asvamedha* sacrifice in all the *Samhitas* except the *Rik*. *Rigveda* gives only two names, viz., a goat and a horse. A goat is dragged before a horse in order to carry message to the gods. According to the *Sankhayana* (16. 3. 27-34) two goats are tied to the limbs of the horse. But *Vajasaneyi* (24.1) and *Maitrayani* (3.12) prescribe that one goat should be tied to the forehead of Agni and the other one to the navel of Pusa or Soma and Pusa both. *Taittiriya Brahmana* (3. 8. 23) has prescribed a goat for Agni.

In the courtyard of the Bhogamandapa of the temple of Ramachandi in Orissa, there is an image of Agni sitting on a ram. Formerly this image was mistaken for Bibhandaka muni by some scholars; Vishan Svarup asserted this to be the image of Brihaspati. The late Mr. Manomohan Ganguly for the first time pronounced it to be an Agni image. The image is made of chlorite—2½-10" × 1-5" in measure. The head-dress of the image is excellent. The belly is very fat and the face has beard and moustache on it. According to Mr. Ganguly the beard is after the Muhammadan fashion.

There is a curious bearded image of Agni in the collection of Mr. Puran Chand Nahar, Calcutta. Agni is seated on a *Mahambujapitha* with his right leg upon the back of a ram. The slab has its edges carved with a very prominent representation of flames from the elbow to the crown of Agni's head and upwards. It is flanked on the left by a standing female figure in a *tribhanga* form holding a *kamandalu* in the left hand. A devotee sits in the right corner. The portion projecting from the representation of flames is carved with a flying female figure on either side. The slab contains an inscription.

There is an image of Agni at Doma Gandara on the river Sone. This place is about 5 miles from Ayodhya in Nilgiri. Seventeen years back this image was published by Prachyavidyamaharaja Nagendranath Vasu.

It is an image in standing posture. There is a sacred thread about its person. It has plaited hair, beard and moustache. Front portions of both hands are broken. The cloth on its person is nicely trimmed. There are two *kandas* on each side of it. Two *dvarapalas* with sword and club in their hands stand on either side. In front of the *dvarapala* on the right side there is a ram.

The Russian scholar C. Oldenburg published in 1903 pictures of three hundred gods found in Tibet. No. 286 is the figure of Agni sitting on a goat. Agni is two-handed having rosary in the right hand and the left hand rests on a water jar which he has on his lap. He has a head-dress set with five gems. On his neck he has a necklace of *Vaidurya-mani*. In Tibet Agni is called 'Me-lha' or Me-lha-dmo-po. In Mongolia he is called "Gul-un-tagri."

A marriage scene of Hara-Parvati has been shown on the eastern wall towards the south of the cave-temple of Ellora, called Dumar-Lena or Sitarchavdi. Hara and Parvati have a flower each in their left hands. Lower down to the right sits near the sacrificial fire the three-faced Brahma as *purohita*. To the left are Mena and Himalaya with flowers and cocoa-nut in their hands. Higher up are gods and goddesses; to the left—Vishnu upon Garuda, Yama upon a buffalo, Vayu upon a deer, Agni upon a goat, and probably Varuna; to the right Indra upon Airavata and Nirriti upon Makara.

There is a very attractive image in the *maha-mandapa* of the Kailasa temple, Ellora. There is an image of Mahisa-mardini near the northern wall. She has killed the

Asura, divine beings have come to witness the scene. Indra upon Airavata, Agni upon a ram, Yama upon a buffalo etc. can be recognized.

There is an image of Agni in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The image is 1'-8 1/2" × 11 1/2". Here also Agni rides a ram. He has two hands, rosary in one and *kamandalu* in the other. The figure is of the form of a fat dwarf. Agni has a beard and flames all round his body. Its find spot is Behar. Among the images of the gods Yama, Surya, Agni and Sani are found with beards. Sometimes the image of Siva-guru has beard. There are five Siva-guru images in the Leyden Museum. Besides, images of Rishis may have beards. The image of Agastya is represented with a beard. The Eastern Gopuram of Chidambaram contains a bearded Agastya. Coomaraswamy has given a dancing figure of a bearded Rishi in his *Visvakarma*. It is a wooden image of the 7th or 8th century. There are also bearded Rishis in Havell's *Ideals of Indian Art*, Krishna Sastri's *South Indian Gods and Goddesses*, etc.

An image of Agni among Asta-dikpalas is very prominent in the Sarnath Museum. On page 318 (G. 24) of the catalogue, Dayaram Sahni has wrongly identified the deities. G. 24, contains the images of Asta-dikpalas. Agni here has his head surrounded by flames and has in the right hand Abhaya pose and something not discernible. He has a *kamandalu* in the left hand.

A flat ceiling in the antarala mandapa of the Hariharesvara temple is divided by four cross ribs into nine panels. In the central panel is *Isvara* standing in a niche surrounded by various small images. The remaining eight panels represent the Asta-dikpalas or regents of the eight cardinal points. Each is there mounted on his vehicle.

The maha-mandapa of this place is constructed in the form of a dome. A heavy stone has been let down through the crown or *sikhara*. In front of and behind this stone there are images of gods. In the lower-most spot upon a stone can be seen the figures of the Asta-dikpalas.

In the Venugopala temple there are the images of the Asta-dikpalas. The ceiling of the chamber inside the maha-mandapa is nicely carved. The circular position rests upon four pillars. And in eight corners right under the beams are the eight beautiful images of the dikpalas.

The Badami temple in the Deccan com-

lands a grand view. The topmost part of the second half of this temple contains a four-armed seated figure of Vishnu round whom the dikpalas enhance his beauty. Here Agni with his wife is seated upon a ram.

TWO-FACED AGNI

In the *Mahanirvana-Tantra* (ullasa 9, verse 1) there is the following *dhyana* of Agni known as *Dhananjaya*. Here he is two-faced. The *dhyana* runs thus :—

वालाकं त्र्यसङ्काशं सप्तजिह्वं द्विमस्तकम् ।

अजरुद्धं शक्तिधरं जटामुकुटमण्डितम् ॥

The image of Agni with two faces is rare. Krishna Sastri in his book has given such a



Two-headed Agni

picture, the provenance of which is Chidamparam. The image has two legs and seven hands. A ram stands near it. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil in his *Archeology of South India* (*Archeologie du sud de L'Inde*, pl. xxxix) has also given a good figure of Agni with two faces.

A comparatively old figure of Agni with



Agni

(By courtesy of Mr. Puran Chand Nahar)

two faces has been given by Moor in his *Hindu Pantheon*. Agni rides a ram, has three legs and seven hands. There are two *dvarapalas* one with the ram-insignia in front and the other with *chumara* in the rear.

In another figure given by Moor, Agni sits upon a lotus. Of the seven hands there is a flag in one. I have not been able to discover any image of Agni on a lotus only. *Prapanchasara* (6.88 however calls Agni "Ambhojasamstha."

Images of Agni with two faces though rare have been discovered, but no image with three faces have come to our notice. *Prapanchasara* (16.28) cites the *dhyana* of a three-faced Agni :

शक्तिस्वस्तिकपाशान् साङ्कुशवरदाभयान् दधन्निमुखः

मुकुटादिविविधभूषणोऽवताचिरं पावकः प्रसन्नो वः ॥२८॥

AGNI-PRAHARANA

Some gods have in their hands various *praharanas* along with which we find 'Agni' or

Vahni. Prabarana. *Pancharatragama* states that there is a fierce image of Vishnu in the front portion of the "Sudar ana-chakra." Of the praharanas of Vishnu "Agni" is one. But according to *Silparatna* there is no "Agni" in the hand of Vishnu in the form of chakra.

The image of Ardhanarisvara has eight hands. One of his hands holds "Vahni." *Prapanchasara* (28.3) says for instance :

अहिशशधरगङ्गावद्भुङ्गासमौलि-

खिदशगणनताङ्गि, स्त्रीक्षणस्त्रीविलासः ।

भुजपरशुशूलान् खड्गवद्भी कपाल

शरमपि धनुराशो विभ्रदव्याचिरं वः ॥ ३

Sadasiva has 10 hands. "Agni" is one of his prabaranas. *Prapanchasara* (26.4) says :

शूलाद्दीटङ्कघण्टासिगुणिकुलिसपाशाग्न्यभीतीदधानम्

In the *Hevajra-tantra* there is a description of the form of Hevajra. The tantra belongs to the 13th century. Hevajra has eight heads, sixteen hands, four legs. There is

skull (*nara-kapala*) in all the hands. In the eight hands to the right are—elephant, horse, mule, bull, camel, man, deer and cat ; in the left—

1. Varuna of yellow colour
2. Vayu of green "
3. Agni " red "
4. Chandra " white "
5. Surya " red "
6. Yama " blue "
7. Vasudhara " yellow "
8. ? " yellow "

All this has been accepted as correct by Grunwedel. The image of Hevajra can be seen in Alice Getty's *Gods of Northern Buddhism*.

In the *Silpasastras* "Agni" is used as a technique. Agni there conveys twofold ideas. First, it is used as an instrument of war. And in such cases it is generally in the hands of Siva. Secondly, in sacrifices its uses are very frequent. Both forms of Agni have been illustrated in the late Gopinath Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*.

German Opinion on India*

IN former times the movement of the Indian Nationalists was not quite antagonistic to England. Their opposition was directed not against British rule but only against official autocracy. Till before the war ; it was even possible that no less than five times Englishmen were elected presidents of the Indian National Congress. More radical movements set only in in 1905. For three years the conflict between the new and the old ideas continued and, at last, in 1907, the Moderate party came off victorious, which defined its aim as the attainment of self-government within the British empire but that only as the last and a distant object. Even in december, 1915 the Nationalist leaders declared that India is not yet ripe for self-government though however the ideal of democracy should always be pursued as the final object and ideal. Only the first years after the war brought with them a radical change.

Gandhi gave a religious garb to the national demands of India, and through his appeal the great masses of the Indian people were induced to join hands in the struggle for independence. The Indian National Congress of Ahmedabad nominated Gandhi the sole dictator of India in December, 1921. Within a surprisingly short time the union of the Hindus and the Mohammedans, the Brahmans and the Pariahs was accomplished, the masses were awakened even in the remotest and the most obscure villages in the country—for two years Gandhi's wish was the wish of 300 millions.

This movement broke down, however, partly on account of the insufficient preparation of the masses and partly because of Gandhi's own peculiar ways. But still there remained the one great desire in every Indian, whatever his party, race or creed, to make more rapid progress in the way of national independence. Now it appears to-day that the lull which set in in 1922 has passed away. At the present moment great

* 'Grüne Briefe,' 23 Oct., 1929 (Berlin). Translated by Batakrisna Ghosh.

events are in progress in India; Europe pays too little attention to these coming events which may be of the greatest importance for the final phases of the oriental empire of England and also for the coming settling of accounts between the East and the West. The Indian National Congress has resolved that it will wait till the 31st December, 1929 to see if Great Britain gives Dominion Status to India. If, however, England takes no definite step before the end of this year towards the granting of Dominion Status to India, India will no longer be satisfied with such a position within the world empire of England but will cut off all connections with England and begin the struggle for complete independence. This resolution, moreover, is a compromise which was got through only with the help of the great personality of Gandhi who at first proposed a respite for two years while the radical wing of the Congress wanted immediately to proclaim the war of complete independence. Gandhi has in view nothing else than the battle of non-payment of taxes; younger Indian leaders however—it is significant that the present leaders in India are in the thirties of their youth—in spite of all the reverence they have for Gandhi, believe that the revolutionary movement in India cannot always be confined to the ways pointed out by him. In the coming battle which will break out in January, 1930, if before that time the Labour Government gives no encouraging gesture of coming relief with the same boldness and decision which it should in the case of Egypt and Mesopotamia, much will depend on who will play the rôle of the leader. The man who could have been the leader, a follower of Gandhi, who united in himself European

culture and the love of the masses—C. R. Das, died in the year 1925. Who will it be, Gandhi or some other leader, who can now unite the Hindus and the Mohammedans of India for combined activity?

The coming year will at all events see decisive and important events. The British Government has so far let the movements in India take their own course. It has not even stopped the trial of the 31 persons accused of conspiracy in Meerut. In this case partly communists, partly moderate Indian labour leaders and partly Indian nationalist leaders are involved. The Indian Government has decided that this trial should take place in Meerut and that without a jury, for the Government knows that no Indian jury would give the verdict of guilty of high treason on an Indian. Of course, the communists add strength to the national movement, but the help of the communists does not indicate that the Indian leaders themselves are inclined towards communism. By stopping this trial the British government could have given a friendly gesture which would have immediately relieved the strain that is now going on in India and would have also marked a new turn towards friendly understanding.

The excitement in India is now greater than at any time after 1921. The characteristically deliberative English temperament does not attach much importance to this fact. The Indian youth which has grown up during the last decade, to which the pre-war traditions are quite foreign, is now the decisive element in the public life of India. It has now learnt to believe that every British Cabinet yields only to those demands which are backed by force.

The Problem of the States

By C. Y. CHINTAMANI

OF the many problems by which India is confronted and on the wise solution of which depends her future to a great extent, hardly any one is more difficult than or nearly as delicate as the problem presented by the Indian States. An united, self-governing India presupposes that autonomous States with autonomous provinces shall together make up the future federal

India. There will necessarily be this difference between them, that while the latter will have governors appointed by the Crown from time to time, as at present, the former will still be ruled by their hereditary princes, but as constitutional heads of State and not as absolute monarchs. Such limitation of the rights they now exercise without owning responsibility to their

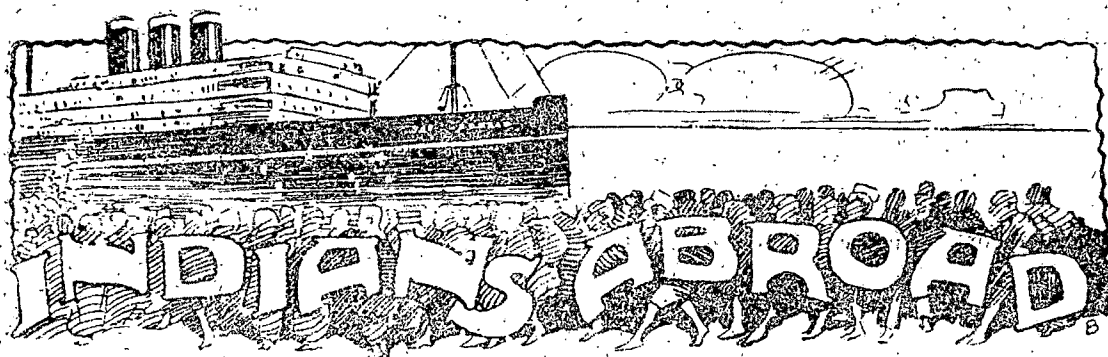
subjects may be distasteful to them, but their study of history should have taught the lesson that therein alone lies the safety and stability of their position. Nor need they think that it compromises their dignity, for what is good enough for their Sovereign, the King of England should be at least equally good for them as well.

The efforts made by the ruling princes who speak through the standing committee of the Chamber of Princes to get an authoritative declaration that their treaties were with the Crown and not the Government of India, and the success that unfortunately attended those uncommendable efforts so far as the Butler Committee went, created just misgivings in the minds of Indian public men as to the purposes and intentions of both those ruling princes and the British Government. Fortunately for India as well as the princes the Viceroy's announcement of Oct. 31 showed that the last word had still to be said on the subject and that it would be considered by the Round Table Conference to be convoked by His Majesty's Government. The plea of the princes has been so demonstrated by competent judges to be untenable that more need not be said on it now and here. The political and administrative relations of the princes and their States must in all circumstances and at all times be with the Government of India, howsoever it may be constituted, and not with a foreign State six thousand miles away across the high seas.

It is of the essence of a self-governing, federal India that there should be no autocratic and irresponsible government in any of the States or provinces comprising it. The ruling princes would probably say that their position *vis a vis* the Government of India must be higher than that of provinces while in the internal government of their territories they should enjoy the same freedom as is now theirs. Neither of these claims will help to bring about a federated India. I do not want to say any word against their rightful claim that treaty rights must be respected. But it should be evident to them that unless they

give timely assent to reasonable proposals urged in the friendliest spirit and devised with the sole motive of Swaraj for the whole of India, they will be retarding the achievement of this dearly cherished object and lose the sympathy alike of their own subjects and of their fellow-countrymen of what is now called British India. And once this happens, of what avail will their own or foreign bayonets be to them? It is not merely desirable but essential that they should propose and agree to terms which, while preserving their position as hereditary rulers of their States, will at the same time make them the trusted and honoured rulers of loyal and contented subjects, and patriotic citizens of India.

There can be no doubt about the views and wishes of the subjects of the princes. They are most eager for responsible government. It may be representative government in the beginning but must develop into responsible government within a reasonable period. They must have and be permitted to exercise in a lawful manner the full rights of citizens. Freedom of speech and of the press, and freedom of association and security of person and property must be theirs. In a word, the rule of law must be substituted for the reign of discretion. And the taxation revenues of the States (including land revenue) must be spent on objects and for purposes and in the manner approved by representative legislatures. It will not do for the ruling princes to say that they are acting for the best and in the interests of their people. This is what all autocracies say. And yet autocracies have ceased to be because the people affected by them were less satisfied than those who wielded autocratic power. Neither should they be excessively self-satisfied that no one complains except a few malcontents professional agitators and "the gutter press." What the intelligentsia think today the masses will think tomorrow and when the former are despised or disregarded the latter will give a rude awakening to autocrats one disturbed morning.



By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Three Letters on Greater India*

I

My dear,—For a long time past I have been thinking of writing a few letters to some of my friends in the colonies giving my ideas of Greater India. I have been feeling an earnest desire to open out my heart to them and to learn from them what they feel on this subject. It may look rather strange and awkward to express one's hopes and expectations, fears and anxieties so publicly and there is a risk of being misunderstood. But I assure you that I have no desire to court any advertisement and I only write these letters in the hope that perchance they may be read by some sympathetic heart and he may be able to accomplish what I have failed to do.

I have interviewed a good number of our councillors on the problems of Greater India but I have found that the miscellaneous nature of their work and their preoccupation in social and party functions does not leave them much time for a real study of questions like those of Greater India, which need a great deal of application, industry and sustained study for a prolonged period. Consequently these people have no vision of Greater India.

If there is any man in India who has got a true perception of this vision and who has worked incessantly for its realization it is Mr. Andrews and perhaps none else. In fact, he has been living in Greater India for the last sixteen years and his mind has wandered from Borobuder, the famous

temple of Java, the Yava Dwip of Greater India of ancient times—to the Khoja Jamat Khana—the great mosque at Nairobi. He realizes that India had her cultural colonies in the distant past and she may have them again in the near future. Mr. Andrews' Greater India will not belong to an Imperial system; it will be definitely cultural. He knows that India has a message to give to the world and this message can be given by Greater India. He has been an uncompromising enemy of British Imperialism and if unfortunately India becomes Imperialistic he will undoubtedly be the greatest enemy of our Imperialism. What Mr. Andrews sees in his imagination and what we cannot see is the Greater India of 2,000 A. D. The fact is that many of our leaders have not been abroad. It is said that some of our Indian *sadhus* in olden times had a sort of miraculous power by which they could fly away to any part of the world. I wish some *sadhu* like that could send a good number of our leaders to the colonies in the twinkling of an eye. Let them be sent to Mombasa or Dar-es-Salaam. Let them see that Mombasa is just like any town of Gujerat. Sir John Kirk, the British Agent at Zanzibar, used to refer to East Africa as India's America. Let some of our leaders see *this* America. A fine walk by the seaside at Dar-es-Salaam or a view of the Indian Ocean from Mr. Yusuf Ali's bungalow on the seaside at Tanga will give them an idea of the infinite possibilities of India—an idea which cannot be given by hundreds of books or articles.

I often wonder why some of our Indian merchant princes in the colonies do not give a portion of their wealth for the proper study of the problems of Greater India by a group of young men in the Motherland. That our compatriots in the colonies believe in giving is clear from the fact that religious and

* These letters were sent to an Indian journalist in Tanganyika and are reproduced here for those readers of notes on Indians abroad, who may like to know something of the aims of the writer. The letters, of course, contain some personal references.

cational workers from India go to these colonies every year and bring an immense amount of money for their institutions in India. What our colonial friends lack is discrimination in charity. The Indian Association in Mombasa has no money to send even important cablegrams to India, but let some religious fanatic go from India and he will get 2000 shillings from these very people who will not give a penny for a letter to be sent to India!

And why should not a few of us in India devote all their time and energies to study the problems of Greater India? Every one of us need not dabble in controversial politics. There is something else to be done. The problems of colonial Indians are vast and varied enough to demand the time and energies of a large number of our people of different tastes and qualifications. Take for example the work of education among our colonial Indians. Mr. Andrews told me that South Africa alone has need of dozens of teachers every year for several years to come. If we can send from India an educational commission of enquiry to the colonies it will do immense good to our cause of Greater India. I know some of our people in East Africa who could have easily spared Rs.20,000 in 1917 or 1918, when they were quite well off. Now they may feel sorry that while they have the desire they have no means to fulfil it. This sort of belated lamentation is in store for a good number of our merchants in the colonies.

Can we imagine the benefits that India will derive from Greater India of 2000 A. D.? Even to day our people in the colonies have been a source of great help to our countrymen at home. Has not the Akali movement received substantial help from the Canadian Sikhs? Did not the Gurukul at Kangri receive about a lakh of rupees from East Africa? Was not the Gurukul at Supa (Gujarat) established with East African money? And do not the Charotar Education Society and the School at Bhavanagar receive an immense amount of money from the East African colonies? And what shall I say of the Congress, which received not less than Rs. 80,000 from Indians overseas in the Tilak Swarajya Fund and which has not spent one-fifth of this sum for their cause?

How many doctors and barristers of India are earning a comfortable living in the colonies? And what is the amount of

money that comes from the colonies to India every year? The sum-total will not be less than a crore per year. And add to this the value of property owned by colonial Indians and it will come to several crores. But I must not attach too much importance to the financial aspect of the question. The gain to India and to the world from a cultural point of view will be very great indeed. Our own movements in India—whether beneficial or harmful—have their echoes in the colonies and if we have any ambition to spread our cultural ideas in the world we cannot find better messengers than Indians overseas who link us up with the world.

II

My dear—

'The apathy of India is contagious—there is hardly any life in our colonising activities.' There you are. You have rightly diagnosed the disease. I am just returning from a short tour in the important towns of my province and I came to the same conclusion. I visited Cawnpore, Lucknow, Benares and Allahabad and interviewed Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and several others on the problems of Greater India. Mahatmaji is ever ready to help the cause of Indians overseas but it is a crime to trouble him again and again. Mahatmaji has told us so often that we must act according to our own convictions but weak as we are we wish to lean on him and other leaders. A friend of mine put the thing quite appropriately. when he told me: 'We get an idea and we expect Mahatmaji to carry it out.' That is the mistake many of us have been making.

I had never thought of the Greater India of the future. I only thought there were thousands of our countrymen living overseas and they had their grievances to be redressed. That is all. It is for the first time that I realize that we have to build a "Greater India." This was the comment of a very intelligent friend of mine after I had spoken to him about my ideas of Greater India. It is a pity that very few of our leaders have an idea of the immense possibilities of Greater India. I wonder if they realize that Mahatma Gandhi is a gift of the Greater India to India. Even our religious organizations like the Arya Samaj have only a faint idea of the vast field which Greater India offers for the spread of Aryan culture. Yesterday I had the privilege of a long talk with

Narayan Swami, President of the Sarvadeshik Arya Sabha. I told him that it is necessary to send the right sort of men to the colonies. One undesirable may do irreparable mischief. We have to see that only those preachers are sent to the colonies who have got a truly nationalist outlook. We must guard against an ugly reproduction of India in our Greater India. At Benares I told Mahatmaji that the problem had become important enough to demand his attention. Every movement in the mother country has its reactions in the colonies. The temperance movement of non-co-operation days had its echo in Kenya and a similar movement was started there. Some years ago discussions—Shastrarthas and Mubahisas between the Arya Samajists, Sanatanists and Moslems were very popular in India. Our countrymen in the colonies also copied this useless wordy warfare. Our Shuddhi and Tabligh also are bound to react on our people in the colonies.

I absolutely disagree with those who say that we cannot do anything for colonial Indians till we attain Swaraj in India. This argument has done greater harm indeed to our cause than anything else. It is only a half-truth, but it has been repeated by so many people and so often that it is considered self-evident. This sort of argument brings about discouragement and consequent relaxation of effort among colonial workers. The public conscience goes to sleep and the people begin to say to themselves: Oh! we are sick and tired of this question and we can easily postpone it till we get Swaraj. We cannot *really* help the cause of our people overseas at present.

Let those who use this argument tell us: Did not Gokhale *really* help the cause of our people in South Africa when he organized that great agitation in India? Did not the Indian public *really* help the cause of the indentured Indians in the colonies by the strong agitation of 1915, 1916, and 1917? Was not the indenture system abolished as a result of the efforts of Mr. Andrews and Mahatma Gandhi? We had no Swaraj at that time and still we could *really* help the cause of our people abroad. A great deal of improvement has been made in the position of our people in Ceylon and Malaya on account of the efforts of Mr. Andrews. Can this be denied?

In fact, we can do a lot of work for our people overseas without waiting for the time when we shall attain Swaraj. Our work for

the liberation of India and the creation of Greater India must be done simultaneously.

III

My dear—In this letter I will tell you what I intend to do for the cause of Indians overseas in my humble way.

'What is the best way to do the work for colonial Indians?' The question has come to my mind many a time during the last fifteen years and it is only now that I am near its solution.

There was a time when I considered the establishment of an association for Indians overseas as absolutely essential, but that time is now gone for ever. More than nine years ago I asked Mahatma Gandhi to establish an organization for Indians overseas. He told me: 'Organizations and associations often hamper work. If you intend to continue your work for Indians overseas for a long time, then gather round yourself a nucleus of workers interested in this cause. These organizations do not work. This is my 35 years' experience.' Mr. Andrews too has often given me the same advice. 'Do not bother yourself about organization and Congress. That will only mean waste of precious energy. Do individual work for Indians abroad as you have been doing.' In spite of this advice from these two great men I continued to hope that an association for Indians overseas was very necessary. It is only now that I have been completely disillusioned of my wrong ideas.

I must tell you briefly what I am aiming at. I want to make my office a place of work for colonial Indians.

I should first of all write a small book of reference in Hindi and English. It is a great necessity. I wrote a history of Indians abroad in Hindi nine years ago. It was a volume of 728 pages but it is out of date now and it ought to be re-written. But a book in English is still more necessary. Then I should like to write a good number of small pamphlets for the colonies. A series of books named the Greater India Series or Vishal Bharat Pustakmala will serve my purpose very well.

The next thing I would do is to make a collection of photographs of Indian workers in the colonies. I would collect pictures of the Satyagraha in South Africa, of Rev. J. J. Doke and Kumari Valiamma, of Harbat Singh and Narayanaswami and Nagappan.

Of course, there will be photographs of Gandhiji and Gokhale, Andrews and Pearson. I shall get some lantern slides made of these pictures and use them in my lectures on Greater India.

I shall interest the students of different universities in the questions of Greater India by speaking to them about the great opportunities that lie before them in Tanganyika, Fiji, Mauritius, British Guiana and other colonies.

I shall collect a large number of reference books on the colonies and shall subscribe to important colonial papers. At present there is only one place in the whole of India where you can get these reference books and that is the Servants of India Society, Poona.

The publicity work will be done in an efficient manner. You will be surprised to learn how hopelessly inefficient we are so far as this publicity work is concerned.

I will prepare a small pamphlet that may give to intending emigrants to the colonies an idea of the political situation in those places, the possibilities of trade and commerce and the field of work for professional men like doctors and barristers. Of late, I have been receiving a large number of letters from educated Indians desirous of going to the colonies. Only yesterday I had a visit from a doctor from Cawnpore who wishes to go abroad. He wanted information on this subject and he had to come all the way from Cawnpore spending about Rs. 8 to get this information.

Then I would equip some young men for this work for Greater India. Unfortunately, many of our young people are not prepared to do some work as apprentices before assuming the role of responsible writers. The subject of Indians overseas is important enough to give them opportunities to serve their countrymen abroad and also to improve their status as writers.

Last of all will come a quarterly magazine in English and Hindi specially devoted to the cause of Indians overseas.

Now is all this quite impracticable? Is it not necessary to do the work outlined

above? Should there be not even half a dozen devoted workers in the cause of Greater India?

I put these ideas before a good number of our leaders, asking them to do something for this cause and to advise me how this work can be done efficiently and the replies they gave were depressing enough, but we need not despair.

Even if we are not able to do all that we intend for the cause of Greater India, surely there will be others who will do it.

Well has the great poet Bhavabhuti said :

‘कालोद्दयं निरवधिर्विपुला च पृथ्वी,’

Natal House, Madras

Recently the Government of India sanctioned the opening of a home in Madras for decrepit repatriates from South Africa. The opening ceremony was performed by Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi, who had gone to Madras to enquire into the condition of returned emigrants. *The Hindu* writes :

“The House is located at No. 89, Brodies Road, in Mylapore and is intended to provide a home for decrepits and cripples among the repatriates who have no relations in India. The House is well-ventilated with a spacious backyard and can accommodate about 12 to 15 persons. A clerk in the office of the special officer who is also a repatriate from South Africa is in charge of it. There are at present four inmates, an old woman and an old man both of about 80 years' age and an old woman of 60 years who lost her husband after her arrival in India, and a man of 45 years who is a cripple.



Natal House, Madras

About six more persons in similar circumstances who are now in the mofussil, are expected shortly.

The scheme is the result of the sympathetic attitude of Mr. Gray, the Commissioner of Labour towards the repatriated Indians and the interest evinced by Rao Saheb M. Kunniraman Nair, the special officer in all matters connected with the South African repatriates.

We thank the Government of India for opening this Natal House and request them to consider the question of opening such a House in Calcutta also. There are a number of returned emigrants in Matlaburz who badly require this sort of assistance.

A Good Suggestion

A friend writes from Malaya :—

"I understand that Rao Saheb Subbayya Naidu, the present Agent of the Government of India in Malaya whose term of office expires in November this year will not retire from that position, and it is likely that he may continue till the end of May next year. This news of his continuance was well received by the Indian people here. The *Pinang Gazette*, a paper of about 100 years standing editorially wrote as follows :—

From the Indian community of Malaya comes a complaint anent the departure next year of Mr. Naidu, the Agent of the Government of India in Malaya. It would appear that he is to go to India on short leave at the end of this month to return again for a short time only. In the comparatively short time he has been in Malaya, Mr. Naidu has done much useful work, especially in establishing goodwill and peaceful relations between labourers and employers. He has also taken great interest in the present Hindu marriages' controversy. Now

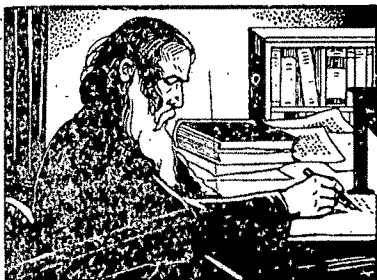
that he knows the country, its people and its labour conditions, it appears a somewhat short-sighted policy not to renew his agreement for a further period of three years. Perhaps Government will think again.

The Agent will, however, proceed to India by the end of this month on three months' leave returning in February, next year. In the meantime Mr. T. G. Natraja Pillai, the Agent's Office Assistant will act for him as the Agent. Mr. Natraja Pillai has been connected with the Indian Agency in Malaya ever since its inception in 1923 and he is acquainted with the country, its people and their problems so well that he could efficiently act for the Agent.

In this connection I would like to mention that the Malayan Agency is deprived of having an officer as the "Assistant Agent." The Indian Agency in Ceylon has an appointment in a like capacity but the Malayan Agency is so ill-treated by the Indian Government that an Assistant Agent could not be appointed in Malaya! It is in the interests of the Agency itself that I have to make this suggestion and I hope the Government will give it a favourable consideration.

It is a pity that there should be this unjust discrimination between the Agency in Ceylon and that in Malaya, although Malaya has a better claim for the Agency to be maintained on an efficient basis."

We draw the attention of the Government of India towards this useful suggestion.



NOTES

Poverty in India

R. Rickards was in service in India more than a century ago. In his work on India published in 1828, referring to India, he wrote :

"It is thus that our revenue systems provide for the 'happiness and prosperity' of the natives of India. Their good is always the avowed object. Professions abound, and good intentions, I admit, are for the most part sincere. But the means adopted are an absolute bar to the accomplishment of our own wishes. The indispensable wants of Government must be supplied. A system, which inseparably links the great mass of the people with pauperism and beggary is, consequently, enforced ; and because human beings so fettered *cannot* improve their condition, we think to relieve our own responsibility by illiberally charging the evil on immutable prejudices, and supposing or pretending to suppose, native Indians to be naturally incapable of *moral* improvement." (Vol. ii. p. 266.)

The author, therefore, expressed the opinion that

"Poverty, therefore, in India, is *universal* ; our revenue system,...the sole cause."

In an earlier portion of the same work he wrote :

"Poverty—hopeless, helpless poverty—with its usual concomitants, apathy and despair is thus the unpitied, unredressed, lot of this most valuable and important race. Yet this is the system—these its principles, and this its operation—which uninformed persons in this country, and even some of the better informed abroad, are in the habit of holding up to admiration, as being peculiarly up to admiration, as being peculiarly well suited to the natives of India" (p. 123.)

According to him, dacoity in Bengal was "due to poverty of the people, pressure of revenue and the exaction of the revenue servants." (*Ibid*, vol. II. pp. 210-211.)

Valentine Ball was employed in the Geological Survey Department of the Government of India. Like many others of his class he was "a bird of prey and passage" in India and had hardly any sympathy with the natives of this country. However, he should be given the credit for saying the truth that the Indian *ryot* was the poorest being on this planet of ours. His book named

"Jungle Life," published just half a century ago, is a well-known book in Anglo-Indian literature. It was published from London in 1880. On page 71 of this work, he wrote : Captain Burton in his work on the lake regions of Central Africa, writes as follows :

"The assertion may startle the reader's preconceived opinions concerning the savage state of Central Africa, and the wretched condition of the slave races, negroid and negro, but it is not less true, that the African is, in these regions, superior in comforts, better dressed, and better fed and lodged, and less worked, than the unhappy *ryot* of British India." (Vol. II. p. 278.)

"In short, there are in India probably many millions of people whose means of subsistence are almost identical with those of the beasts that inhabit the jungles where they also live. The same wild fruits and leaves furnish the staple food of both. Those whose sympathies are often directed towards the Khedive's subjects—the fellaheen of Egypt—would do well to remember these, their fellow British subjects in India." (Valentine Ball's *Jungle Life in India*, London, 1880, p. 71.)

Living authorities, including Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, has borne similar testimony to the poverty of the Indian masses.

The Vitality of the Hindus

Of the vitality of the Hindus Rickards wrote as follows :

"The invasion of the Roman Empire by the Northern barbarians, continued to desolate Europe from the beginning of the fourth century till about the close of the sixth ; at which time the ancient inhabitants were nearly exterminated ; little or no trace being left of their policy, jurisprudence, arts or literature ; new forms of government, new laws, new manners, new dresses, new languages, and new names of men and countries, were everywhere introduced." (Robertson's *History Charles V.*, vol. I, p. 12.) Italy, in particular, in the eighth century, is said to have been overrun with wood, or laid under water, the habitation of wild beasts, and almost destitute of human inhabitants. Although the spirit of rapacity and cruelty was quite as strong in the Eastern as the Western conquerors, its results were very different. The Hindoos of India, though persecuted and

oppressed, from religious as well as avaricious views, were never so completely prostrated as the vanquished people of ancient Europe. The former retained, through ages of devastation and rapine, and still exhibit unimpaired, the manners, the usages, the institutions, the languages, arts, and sciences, of their fathers. Their persons were prostrated by the superior might of the Mussalman sword, but their minds were never so degraded as to make a voluntary abandonment of their natural rights. They did not court slavery as a refuge from other miseries and oppressions. Whatever brute force may have extorted, they never sought to change an independent into a conditional property for the inglorious distinction of becoming vassals to a superior lord."

Here in a foot-note Rickards writes that "Dr. Robertson, in treating of the state of society in Europe from the seventh to the eleventh century observes :

"Such was the spirit of tyranny which prevailed among the great proprietors of land, and so various their opportunities of oppressing those who were settled on their estates, and of rendering their condition intolerable, that many freemen in despair renounced their liberty, and voluntarily *surrendered themselves as slaves to their powerful masters*. This they did, that their masters might become more immediately interested to afford them protection, together with the means of subsisting themselves and their families. Such a surrender was termed *obnoxiation*. The reason given for it is the wretched and indigent condition of the person who gives up his liberty. It was still more common for freemen to surrender their liberty to bishops or abbots, that they might partake of the security which the vassals and slaves of churches and monasteries enjoyed, in consequence of the superstitious veneration paid to the saint under whose immediate protection they were supposed to be taken. That condition must have been miserable indeed, which could induce a freeman voluntarily to renounce his liberty, and to give up himself as a slave to the disposal of another. The number of slaves in every nation of Europe was prodigious. The greater part of the inferior class of people in France were reduced to this state at the commencement of the third race of Kings. The same was the case in England (Rob., *Charles V.*, vol. I, p. 277).

"In those times of anarchy and disorder which became general in Europe after the death of Charlemagne, when there was scarcely any union among the different members of the community, and individuals were exposed, single and undefended, by government, to rapine and oppression, it became necessary for every man to have a powerful protector, under whose banner he might range himself, and obtain securities against enemies whom he could not singly oppose. For this reason he relinquished his allodial independence, and subjected himself to the feudal services, that he might find safety under the patronage of some respectable superior. In some parts of Europe this change from allodial to feudal property became so general, that he who possessed land had no longer any liberty of choice left. He was obliged to recognize some liege lord, and to hold of him."—Rob., *Charles V.*, vol. i, p. 267).

Resuming his observations, Rickards writes

with reference to the 'Hindus' refraining from surrendering their personal freedom :

"In this respect the advocates of Hindoo degeneracy would be forced to admit that a comparison between the inhabitants of the East and West is not favourable to the assumed innate superiority of the latter." (R. Rickards' *India*, vol. II, pp. 286-288)

This author did not believe in the innate inferiority of the Hindus. He truly observed that

"Similar states of society will produce similarity of usages and condition, among nations far removed, and holding no intercourse with each other. Dr. Robertson quotes a profound remark, on this head, by a philosopher 'that the characters of nations depend on the state of society in which they live, and on the political institutions established among them; and that the human mind, whenever it is placed in the same situation, will in ages the most distant, and in countries the most remote, assume the same form, and be distinguished, by the same manners.' (Robertson's *Charles V.*, vol. i, p. 263.) The assertors of Hindu incapacity would do well to reflect on this remark. If the political state, and the social institutions of this people be advisedly weighed—if the darkness and despotism, of which they have been the victims for so many centuries, be fairly estimated, if the facts contained in this treatise, be contrasted with the stationary, and at times retrograde, state of Europe, during the middle ages, and from the same causes—and if it be also considered that human improvement must be rooted in the mind, and that man can neither advance his conditions nor moral qualifications, unless the soul within him be moved to expansion by the circumstances in which he is placed, we shall not only perceive the force of the parallel, but be enabled more satisfactorily, and more rationally, to account for the observed torpor of Indians, than by ascribing it to so vague and undefinable a cause as immutability of caste, or natural imbecility of character." (Vol II, pp. 332-33.)

Rickards makes some other observations on this head in the following passage :

"The constitution of their (Hindus) Society would always have admitted their gratifying their tastes, and the natural bias of their minds, to the same extent as is now perceptible, and to much greater, if the gates of knowledge had been fairly opened—the means of attaining it honestly encouraged—and laws and regulations enacted, really calculated to improve their condition. But in these respects our system, both social and political, has unfortunately been fraught with obstruction and discouragement. In spite of these impediments, however, the light of knowledge, irresistible in its progress, has at length penetrated the barrier of Eastern darkness." (Vol. I, p. 115.)

The observations of Rickards, quoted in this and the previous note will furnish impartial thinkers with some data for ascertaining how much of the intellectual, moral, economic and physical condition of the inhabitants of India is due to their own

character and to the constitution of their society and how much to other causes.

"Notes" in this Issue

The editor writes his "Notes" generally during the last few days of the month. As he will have to start for Lahore on the 22nd of December to preside over two conferences and take part in some other conferences there, he will not be able to write on many important topics for this, the January issue. As far as practicable and necessary, these will be dealt with in the February issue.

"Great Charter of Right for Backward Natives" Arrives Too Late !

The following extracts are taken from a Reuter's telegram, dated London, the 12th December :

In the House of Commons today a resolution which was described as the "great Charter of Right for the backward native population of the Empire," was moved by Mr. Marley, (Labour) demanding, *inter alia* that natives should not be exploited as a source of low-grade labour and also appealing for direct Imperial control of native policy, where natives were not yet fitted for self-government and the establishment of franchise and legal rights without regard to race or colour.

Mr. Roden Buxton, who seconded, urged the need of framing new provisions to safeguard native rights and remove the grievances of natives in all British colonies.

The Duchess of Atholl drew attention to the existence among certain African tribes, particularly in East Africa, of the practice of inflicting a cruel pre-marriage rite on young girls, which was cruelly performed in public, and urged the Government to abolish the practice altogether like *suttee*.

Dr. Drummond Shiels, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, replying to the debate paid a tribute to the 60,000 colonial civil servants in different parts of the Empire and said that the Government fully accepted the trusteeship of natives in the spirit and in the letter of declarations of the past Government.

The Government were already dealing with the matter raised by the Duchess of Atholl, but considerable efforts were required to end the practice. If a satisfactory international convention to limit forced labour were produced at next year's conference, it would be similarly applied in all British colonies.

The Government's policy as regards land was that native land should not be alienated except for public utility purposes and even then only in return for an equivalent amount of land. Education and development of self-governing institutions were most important requirements, and Committees were working out plans for better conditions in the Colonies.

Every right-thinking person will share the Duchess of Atholl's earnest desire for the suppression of the cruel practice referred to by her. But she need not have brought in *suttee*, dead and gone these hundred years.

The relevancy of Dr. Drummond Shiels' compliment to the 60,000 colonial civil servants may well be questioned. Evidently, as will be shown below, the natives have been exploited as a source of low-grade labour and their land has been taken away from them. Otherwise Mr. Marley need not have moved his resolution. The following passage from a review article by Lord Olivier in *The International Review of Missions* for July, 1929, throws some light, but not as much as is necessary, on the actual condition of the natives in South Africa :

What is wrong with South Africa at the present time is that its social conditions are essentially and flagrantly unjust and oppressive to the native population. Where this is in some less degree the case, as in the old Cape Province, the happier conditions are due to the tremendous fight put up by Dr. Phillip and his local associates and those who supported him among the survivors of the slave-emancipation movement in England which was inspired by the same principles. Everywhere else in South Africa the native population has been refused civil equality, and outside of limited and insufficient native reserves, has been deprived of all rights in the land and homes on which it was bred.

Comparing the rural revolution of Europeans and Natives it is the fact there are now 45½ acres of land per head appropriated for Europeans to each acre per head for Natives. Great masses of Natives have nowhere to live except upon the large farms of white men, taken from their fathers and forefathers by conquest; or upon the vast areas of undeveloped estates owned by land companies. The Natives living on farms cannot go elsewhere to seek labour, because they are only allowed to reside there on condition of working for the proprietor either at the wage of six to eight shillings per month or without wages by way of rent for their tenancies. The Natives resident on the lands not occupied but only owned by Europeans, are heavily taxed with a view to driving them into the labour market. All Natives in employment are bound by the provisions of Masters and Servants Laws which make it a criminal offence for them to leave their employment. This is true universally and not merely of Natives employed on farms. Native workers cannot therefore assist themselves by combination to strike work for higher wages. In order to assist the control of them they are bound by Pass Laws forbidding them to move from one place to another without written authority from their employer.

Those resident on the farms are miserably poor and have no means of bettering their condition. Those resident in the reserves, which are overcrowded, are getting poorer because the great majority (in some parts ninety per cent) of the

able-bodied men have to leave home to work in the mines or in the towns, leaving an increasing burden upon the women in the work of food production for the local communities. Upon this impoverished stratum of unskilled labourers the whole structure of South African society has been built.

If in South Africa the social conditions "are essentially and flagrantly unjust and oppressive to the native population," if "the Native population has been refused civil equality, and, outside of limited and insufficient reserves, has been deprived of all rights in the land and homes on which it was bred," one does not know what the heavenly civil servants have done to deserve the tribute paid to them by the colonial Under-Secretary. They must render service to the natives equivalent to their salaries drawn from the wealth produced in the land of and by the natives.

The "Great Charter" appears to have arrived too late. When there is little land left in the possession of the natives, almost all of it having been taken away from them, what is the use of saying that land should not be alienated from them? When a man is dead or has been slain, it is farcical to pass a resolution that apparatus for resuscitation should be provided. As regards laying down that the natives should not be exploited as a source of low-grade labour, the paragraphs reproduced above from Lord Olivier's article shows how they have been practically reduced to the position of landless serfs who must slave for the white man or die. The British Parliament often serves as a stage to enable some Britishers to pose as great philanthropists and display their histrionic talents.

Injured Innocence !

Lord Inchcape and all the other philanthropists who lighten the burden of wealth of the heathens in order that the latter, thus relieved of the encumbrance of worldliness, may be better able to make their journey to heaven, are sorely grieved that there is a proposal which may deprive them of their self-imposed mission of doing good. In the course of his presidential speech at the P. O. Company's last annual meeting, that typical altruist dwelt at length on the situation in India. About Mr. Haji's Coastal Reservation Bill, he observed :

"The Coastal Reservation Bill had been introduced to prevent ships trading between Indian ports

unless they are Indian-owned. If the Bill is passed into law by the Legislative Assembly as well as by the Council of State and receives the Governor-General's assent, it means that no British-owned and no British-registered vessel can trade between Bombay and Karachi and intermediate ports. No British ships will be permitted to trade between the Coromandel Coast and Burmah. British Companies which built, fostered and made this trade by up-to-date fleets will have to close their doors as far as these trades are concerned."

This is true. But this trade is the birth-right, not of British Companies, but the people of India, and the latter are only trying to recover their birthright. Before the British Companies "built, fostered and made this trade," there *was* coastal traffic carried on by Indian ships, and there were a thousand ports, instead of the present half-a-dozen or so. What the British Companies did was done by killing Indian ship-building and coastal traffic. And coastal traffic in Indian waters by Indian ships is being prevented from being revived or maintained, by various iniquitous tricks adopted by British shipowners. Some people should pay the penalty for the wicked destruction of India's mercantile marine. And who should justly pay, except the British shipping Companies who are making enormous profits in Indian waters? If British ships cannot in future ply in Indian waters; they may try to do so in other parts of the ocean. During a century or more, British shipping Companies have made such enormous profits from Indian coastal traffic that, on the whole, any possible future loss must have been already more than made up for by those profits. Every nation, people or group of people has the inalienable right to protect itself by every legitimate means. Indians would be wrong, if they sought to oust Britishers from their own seas. But as Indians have been unrighteously ousted from their own waters by the Britishers, the former have every right to act in self-defence to get back what they have lost. It cannot be helped, if the usurping Britishers are hit hard in the process. The ghosts of the countless Indians, with their families, who while on earth were supported by India's coastal traffic even so late as the East India Company's days, must be grimly amused at Lord Inchcape's very righteous indignation.

The marine lord proceeded next to echo some words spoken by Lord Birkenhead. So the Birkenhead tone still reverberates, as the following words of the shipping magnate show :



MAHARAJAH RANJIT SINGH

Supposed to have been a page from the horoscope of
Naunihal Singh

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

"When the proposal was originally put forward, it was pronounced by the then Secretary of State for India as monstrous. If the Bill becomes law, it will be made a precedent and will doubtless be followed by measures affecting tea and coffee plantations, coal-mines, cotton, jute, paper factories, stone quarries, inland steamers, one hundred and one other industries, banks, insurances, newspapers, etc. It would mean that industries established by British capital will have to be closed down and will probably be followed by a bill under which no clothing is to be worn unless made in Indian factories belonging to Indians. In fact, the present Bill is the thin end of a wedge to drive the British mercantile community out of the country."

If the mirror of justice were held up to the exploiters, they would be able to recognize real monstrosities elsewhere.

The speaker anticipated a whole series of disasters to British business in India following in the wake of the Haji Bill. At present Indian legislators have no intention to proceed in the way apprehended by him; but his fears no doubt may very well provide them with suggestions as to the directions in which legislation may be necessary to enable Indians to get back their birthright. If in course of time there be no industries and business concerns in India except those owned by Indians, or if there be only a few, not owned by them, that is what ought to be and similar is the case in all really free countries. If that results in some loss to British capitalists, that would be but entirely just nemesis; for they had no moral right to make India their milch cow. Moreover, they have already made such enormous profits, that the loss would perhaps not be loss but only a deduction from or diminution of profits. And perhaps, observing the trend of things, they would be able to transfer their investments and activities elsewhere before any possible crash.

Lord Inchcape went on to say:

"British Viceroy, British Governors, British capital and British enterprise have developed India. The British army has protected its millions. These factors made India great as she is to-day. You may have noticed that two Indian merchants have recently been elected to the Baltic Exchange. We do not discriminate in this country against the King's subjects. I earnestly trust that this Coastal Reservation Legislation would not be sanctioned as it is discriminating against Great Britain and its mercantile community. There should be fair field for all. I may be wrong but I feel assured that it would be a death-blow to India's progress, prosperity and credit which is mostly provided by Britain if discrimination is adopted against British enterprise."

It is true - British Viceroy, British Governors, and British enterprise have developed *modern* India. But for whose benefit mainly? They have done so in British interests, and in the process some Indians also have made some money. As for British capital developing India, the historical truth is, as we have shown in this Review repeatedly, Britishers did not originally bring any capital to India. They made money here, and transferred some of it to Britain and invested the balance in India. These sums masqueraded as British capital. At present British capitalists invest their own money here. But as originally "the Bengal plunder" helped to develop Britain, there is probably not much British capital invested in India of which at least the nucleus was not derived from India.

"The British Army has protected its millions." Not the British army entirely, but the Indian sepoys also. And the British and Indian fighters and officers are all paid by India. The protection is not an act of altruism. If India were not protected, Britain would have to cease to draw her crores upon crores of annual income from here.

The speaker talks of making India "great." Why, this "great" India contains the poorest of all populations in any civilized country.

"We do not discriminate in *this* country against the King's subjects," because you do not need to. You discriminate *here* in India against Indians in every way necessary for your power, prestige and profit. Only *two* Indians have been *recently* admitted to the Baltic Exchange. Why not more, and why not long ere this?

Lord Inchcape speaks of a fair field for all. When Indians have been crippled and handicapped in so many ways, the talk of a fair field sounds like mockery. If Britain and India had equal political and economic freedom and power, then there could be sincere and honest talk about a fair field for all and no favour to anybody. As there has been discrimination against and ousting of Indians, there must be practically some discrimination against Britishers in India and ousting of them in order that Indians may be restored to their birthright and the two peoples may be quits.

Calcutta Congress Accounts, 1928

There has been much wrangling about the last Calcutta Congress accounts. We do not wish to take part in them. But one thing has struck us as rather odd. One item in the accounts shows that the Imperial Restaurant's bill for food and drink supplied to "the leaders" amounted to Rs. 6,880-8-0. This was only for "European" food and drink. The "camp" expenses of "the leaders" has again been shown as Rs. 17,954-1-6. What items are comprised in this? Who were "the leaders"? Evidently they were leaders both in politics and gastronomy, and real servants of *daridra narayan* to boot!

St. Andrews' Dinner

"Like master, like man," they say. Similarly one may say, "Like *guru*, like *chela*." And if its converse be true, St. Andrews, the patron saint of the Scots, must have been rather fond of conviviality, instead of being a shrunken, sour-faced saint. For Scots celebrate his day every year by eating and drinking to their fill—not by fasting in the Hindu fashion. And these dinners are marked by postprandial eloquence also. Out of the fulness of the stomach the mouth speaketh.

At the last St. Andrews' dinner in Calcutta, Mr. Fraser Blair, the journalist, was a principal speaker. Let us sample his speech. Here is a gem:

"It is, as Lord Reading has pointed out, a partnership; and the terms of a partnership cannot be varied by either party at will and without reference to the other; nor is it feasible for the junior to dictate to the senior, or to grab the entire assets of the firm. These facts are apt to be neglected in the turmoil of controversy and in the impatient quest after an ideal which has never yet been realized anywhere on land or sea. But they govern the situation and they cannot be safely ignored."

The British came to India as traders, and even now their Empire is run for profit. It is, therefore, quite appropriate for any of them to speak of the governance of India as a partnership. But we do not at all admit that anybody has any right to India except those who have been living here or propose to live here as permanent inhabitants from generation to generation. India is not the only country which has been conquered and occupied by outsiders

for some generations or centuries. And when subject countries become free, liquidators are not appointed to divide the assets between the outsiders and the permanent dwellers.

But supposing the administration of India is a partnership, who is the senior and who the junior partner? It is a fact of history that India was a civilized country long before the peoples by whose mingling the British nation was born, and ages before the British came here. It is also a fact that Indians, who have been in possession all along except for about two centuries, are much larger in number than Britishers. There is also no question about the fact that, whoever may enjoy the fruits of labour, it is the people of India who do most of the work. Hence, unless "might is right" outweighs every other consideration, it is the Indians who ought to be styled the senior partner. But, as we have said before, we do not admit the fact of the partnership at all.

So long as Englishmen could, they did not want to part with any power. When they perceived that Indians had become politically conscious and come to realize that the country was theirs, they tried to keep them quiet with lollipops. Finding that these would not now do, they talk of partnership and their being the senior partner. If things do not take altogether a different turn in the near future, Englishmen may yet talk of their being the junior partner. The next step would perhaps be for them to plead that they were salaried assistants and ought not to be turned adrift without a pension!

But there would not have been any such talk if Indians had been sufficiently united and organized. More unexpected things have, however, happened than Indians becoming united and organized. So, whether you call them junior or senior partner, it is not utterly impossible that they may yet be in a position to dictate terms. But we hate to bluff.

As for grabbing the entire assets of the firm, we do not want a pie of what really belongs to Englishmen, though it would be quite equitable to ask them to refund what they have taken from India over and above their remuneration for services rendered. We want only what in every country belongs to the children of the soil. We want what does not belong to Englishmen and what they did not create, namely, the soil of India and

what grows there, its rivers and their use, its mountains and forests, its mineral wealth, the seas which encompass it and traffic on their waters, and India's sky and ether. The factories built here by Englishmen with their own money we do not want, nor the machinery there and their products. But whatever has been built up with the revenues of India, we certainly want.

Mr. Blair says that Indians are impatiently running after an ideal which has never yet been realized anywhere on land or sea. Indeed! The facts of history are entirely the other way. No "birds of passage" have ever succeeded in remaining masters of a country permanently. And that Britishers are birds of passage, has been admitted by Mr. Blair himself in the following passage:

"We have been called 'birds of passage.' Let us examine the accusation and see where it takes us. Putting aside Government officials—who, of course, have always been altruists to a man—what is the aim and object of the average Britisher who comes out to India to engage in trade, in commerce, or in one of the professions? Isn't it generally to make as much money as he can in the shortest time possible, and then to make tracks for home at such a pace that you can't see him for the dust?"

British Government officials in India "altruists to man"? Shades of the Lee loot! But Mr. Blair was perhaps pulling some fellows' legs. Scots *can* be pawky, you know.

Bengal Governor at St. Andrews' Dinner

In the course of his speech at the Calcutta St. Andrews' dinner, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal referred to "methods of agitation, based upon suspicion, mistrust and racial hatred." To take the last item first. He is mistaken in thinking that the leading agitators at any rate agitate against the present form of Government, because Englishmen as such are hated. Englishmen in general we do not hate. On the contrary, we have a genuine love and respect for their great poets (not Kipling of course) and other great authors, their fighters for liberty like Hampden, Milton, Pym, etc., their Wilberforces, Byron as a champion of Greece, and so on. English literature has made many of us love British scenery in imagination. Many of our boys and girls look back with pleasure on the days they spent in British universities, if they had not received bad treatment. No, Englishmen as Englishmen we do

not hate. But we do not like those of them who are oppressors, exploiters, ousters, bullies, bounders, promise-breakers and cads.

His Excellency was quite right in speaking of agitation based on suspicion and mistrust. Englishmen in general are suspected. But those whose profession and practice tally are respected, loved and trusted. But such men are rare, particularly among those who run the Empire. The Governor of Bengal should not blame Indians for suspecting and mistrusting Englishmen. Has he read what Lord Lytton, who was a Viceroy in India in the last century, wrote confidentially? Dealing with official promises in an official despatch to the Secretary of State for India he wrote on 2nd May 1878:

"We all know that these expectations never can, or will, be fulfilled. We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them: we have chosen the least straightforward course."

"Since I am writing confidentially, I do not hesitate to say that both the Governments of England and of India appear to me, up to the present moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear."

That owing to such "cheating" and promise-breaking "suspicion and mistrust" still quite naturally persist will be clear from the following reply given by Mahatma Gandhi to a cable from Mr. Fenner Brockway, M. P., urging co-operation in view of the Round Table Conference and the Viceroy's declaration with regard to Dominion Status:

"He would want some absolute guarantee that things are not what they seem. The two Parliamentary debates on the subject of the Viceroy's declaration contain nothing to enable him to approach the conference with confidence and safety."

He would far rather wait, watch and pray than run into what may after all be a dangerous trap, though it may be quite unintended.

The Montagu reforms (he proceeds) have proved illusory and have increased the burdens on the poor. The price paid for them is too heavy and he does not wish to pay a price for Dominion Status or by whatever name the reality is called.

Why should a creditor have to pay anything for repayment of debts due to him? asks Mahatma Gandhi.

He adds that he will follow the methods he has adopted throughout his life. For example, "in South Africa," he proceeds, "immediately I found that General Smuts meant well. I capitulated; but I did so after taking a written assurance from him."

No declarations, fresh promises, or sweet words can remove this suspicion and

mistrust. Only straightforward and adequate action in fulfilment of promises can do so. Least of all can threats like that contained in the following extract from the Bengal Governor's speech produce the desired result:

"Whilst ready to regard generously any orderly and legitimate expression of political feeling, they (the Government) must also be prepared to meet any emergency which in any way threatens to disturb or interfere with the performance of the peaceful avocations of the inhabitants of this Presidency."

We do not like that word "generously." However mighty the British Government and its representatives may be, India does not crave any generosity from them but only justice. The words "orderly and legitimate expression of political feeling" coming from British bureaucrats excite the risibility of politically-minded Indians. Such expressions are practically meaningless. For, it is not a third, impartial and neutral, party which decides what is orderly and legitimate, but Britishers and their servants, and that according to laws made by themselves.

The Governor's threat is also superfluous. For the executive authorities do not usually show any forbearance and refrain from setting the penal machinery in motion whenever British interests of any kind require it. The threat is also bound to be futile. For, as soon as a feasible plan of civil disobedience has been worked out and when such non-violent direct action is required, men will not be wanting to come forward to suffer the consequence. Threats will not deter them.

His Excellency does not stand alone in his desire, that the inhabitants of Bengal should go on performing their peaceful avocations. We, the people of Bengal, particularly want it. But the pity is, there are not enough such avocations to go round. There is extensive unemployment, both among the literate few and the illiterate many. Agriculture alone and that of a rather primitive type, cannot feed so many mouths. The indigenous industries of Bengal are moribund or dead. New ones have not taken their place. Bengal's trade and industries, such as there are, are in the hands mainly of outsiders. The education given in schools, colleges, and universities to only a fraction of the population mainly produces quill-drivers and tongue-waggers and increases the acuteness of the problem of unemploy-

ment. A radical change is required in the governance of the province and its educational and economic arrangements. If the Government does not itself make this change, it is no use threatening those who want to do so themselves.

Initiative of Conference with Viceroy

The Statesman (Dec. 21) writes with respect to the Viceroy's conference with five leaders, that "the initiative for the conference, it is understood, emanated not from the Viceroy but from the leaders, and it is noteworthy that these leaders were prominently connected with the boycott of the Simon Commission." If this is true, the leaders or those among them who solicited an interview with the Viceroy have lowered themselves and India in world-public opinion. It was given out in the papers some time ago that Mahatma Gandhi was unwilling to meet the Viceroy and had to be persuaded to do so. From whom did the initiative then come?

Debate on Mr. Brockway's Motion

The debate on Mr. Fenner Brockway's motion in the House of Commons was conducted with decorum and the tone of the speeches was polite and friendly—different from the Birkenhead tone. But we do not think it is convincing and wholly satisfactory. If anybody says that Mr. Fenner Brockway and Mr. Wedgwood Benn meant well and were sincere, we have no quarrel with him. But good intentions are of no use to us until they bear fruit in appropriate and adequate action and sincerity is proved beyond doubt by exactly the same thing.

Mr. Fenner Brockway's motion was in these terms:

The House welcomes the evidence of co-operation of the Indian representatives in the settlement of the constitutional question and relies on the Government of India to encourage goodwill by sympathetic conduct of its administrative and executive functions, particularly in relation to expressions of political opinion.

The terms of the motion do not contain any "evidence of co-operation of the [British] representatives in the settlement of the Constitutional question" along the lines desired by Indians. It merely says in effect:

"You Indian representatives are very good boys in that you want to co-operate with us." But it does not say: "We British representatives want to co-operate with you." There is a good deal of difference between the two attitudes. British bureaucrats in India have always wanted our co-operation in carrying out *their* policy. But what we want is that Parliament should co-operate with *us* in giving effect to the unanimous desire of all Indian parties except the Independence-wallas, for Dominion Status as the minimum. We use the word 'unanimous' advisedly. The differences among Indians are about details. But all parties want a Dominion form of Government. Of course, we exclude the Independentists as above, not because they are an unimportant factor—that they are not—but because they do not want anything from the British Parliament; they want to work out their own salvation.

The motion does not contain any indication that the House of Commons will co-operate with India in framing a Dominion constitution for it.

In the next place, the motion says that the House relies on the Government of India to do a thing which that Government has hitherto shown itself unwilling or incompetent to perform. There has been, in fact, great persecution of political opinion under Lord Irwin's Government, and it is that Government which is to be *relied upon* to reverse its action.

Mr. Brockway was of opinion that the three essentials of whole-hearted co-operation were:

(1) Indian representation at the round table conference should be really reflective of Indian opinion.

(2) The Bill to be discussed at the conference should embody the principle of Dominion status though he did not suggest that transition to it would be possible in a few months or a year but it should be a progressive and automatic advance rendering further commissions of enquiry unnecessary, and

(3) The political persecution carried on during the last two years should be definitely ended.

Mr. Brockway urged the limitation of prosecution to cases of violence, or incitement to violence and a review of cases now imprisoned.

The first "essential" is too vaguely worded to give satisfaction. It would be quite easy for Government to make "Indian representation" such that the prevailing Indian opinion at the round table conference would not at all reflect the predominant and prevailing Indian opinion.

As regards the second point, Mr. Wedg-

wood Benn said in his speech that there would be no Bill before the Conference. Here is the passage:

"Someone asked whether they would consider the Bill. They will not consider it. They will not even consider the draft proposals. They will meet absolutely free. The Conference will permit every section of opinion to come forward and express itself and support its views with whatever argument may appear to the speaker to be most impressive."

That is to say, the immediate outcome of the conference may not impossibly be a Bill *not* embodying the principle of Dominion status.

Mr. Fenner Brockway's second demand gives away the whole case for full Dominion status as the next constitutional development wanted by Indian nationalists. He in effect substitutes the words, "progressive realization of Dominion status," for the well-worn words, "progressive realization of responsible government." Only the progress is to be automatic. But the automatic process may occupy an indefinitely long period of time.

The third 'essential' is good, but it is to be left to the law-and-order men on the spot to see that it is carried out.

The principle laid down for the limitation of prosecution is good. It has been hitherto flagrantly violated. We support the principle of releasing political prisoners. But as those who were merely fined were not guilty of more heinous offences than those who were imprisoned, the fines inflicted on political offenders and paid by them, should be returned, if the prisoners obtain amnesty.

When Major Graham Pole, who is an active friend of India, declared that "there had been a complete change of feeling in India following the Viceroy's statement," he made an exaggerated and inaccurate statement. It is not suggested that the misrepresentation was intentional.

Sir Samuel Hoare said that when he heard that there was going to be a debate on India he was afraid that they would have a second debate of the type that took place in the House some weeks ago. It left an unpleasant impression upon him that for the first time for several years the unity of Party front towards Indian questions had been momentarily broken up. He hoped and believed that the debate of that evening was going to show to India that unity of Party front towards Indian questions was reconstituted and he hoped also that it was going to send to India a unanimous message of goodwill at a very critical moment in the history of both Great Britain and India itself.

"The unity of Party front towards Indian questions" has always meant that all British

parties are agreed that British interests are to be promoted in India—by the sacrifice of Indian interests, if need be. Is that sort of unity going to continue?

As for messages of goodwill, we have had a surfeit of them. Good actions are now wanted.

Speech of Mr. Wedgwood Benn

In the course of his long speech Mr. Benn, the Secretary of State, said:

The honourable member for East Leyton and the honourable member who seconded the motion made reference to cases of political prosecution in India and to cases in general.

In the case on which he laid stress—the case of Mr. Chatterjee who was proceeded against in connexion with a book called 'India in Bondage'—the character of the book is the subject of inquiry by the High Court and therefore he will forgive me if I make no comment upon it or upon the Meerut proceedings. As regards the other cases he mentioned, and the recommendation of the Bengal Gaol Committee and two other cases, I would say, as I am bound in any case to do, that I will go most carefully into the matter if he will give me precise details of what he has in mind.

We also had much to say on the "India in Bondage" cases and the Meerut proceedings, but cannot, because they are *sub judice*.

Regarding the Trade Union movement in India Mr. Benn made a very just observation:

"It is no good attributing, as some people do, the riots and disorders in Bombay entirely to the wickedness of the Communists. Those who know sufficient, those who know the conditions under which labour lives and works in India, know that one has to go a good deal deeper even than the unwholesome activity of Communists to find the real causes and the real cure."

Eagerness to establish profitable trade relations with Russia might or might not have something to do with the Labour Ministry's awaking to the fact that the communists are not the authors of all mischief.

Mr. Benn must have said the following both to reassure the die-hards and to moderate the enthusiasm of 'agitators' in India:

My honourable friend and I are in agreement, and also in agreement with Indian opinion on two things at least. First of all we are working for one definite, ascertained and advertised goal; that is to say that the difficult task of government is not merely a harsh and barren negative. We have the comfort of an active and responsive policy.

The second point is this—neither he nor I, nor thoughtful Indian opinion desires this

Government or any Government to weaken in the maintenance of peace. Especially at a time like the present, when Constitutional changes of the greatest magnitude are being considered, it is essential that public order should be maintained. I believe that that statement will find a welcome and widespread agreement among Indians as well as ourselves.

Of course! So long as Britain has or wishes to have her grip on India, no Indian thinks any British political party will lose "the tiger qualities of the race" so necessary to maintain "law and order." What Mr. Benn said as to the real basis of order is quite true, though too often ignored by British bureaucrats in India:

The real basis of order is not police. The real basis of order is public goodwill. It is not the uniformed constable who keeps order but every citizen in mufti who keeps order and Government is maintained on a basis of co-operation and goodwill of the people. I believe that we are moving towards this state of affairs in India also.

The "moving" is not perceptible to us yet.

It is good news that the Viceroy is not going to re-enact the Public Safety Ordinance.

"Freedom of Expression of Opinion"

On the subject of the freedom of expression of opinion Mr. Benn delivered himself as follows:

As regards the freedom of expression of opinion, my friend is very jealous of the principle and so am I. It is not only desirable that we should have the freest expression of opinion in India but at the present time it is a most helpful thing. We need it for our assistance in the task which we have before us, but we will look at these political campaigns as they would appear to realists and to realists I would say this today—the winning card is argument and the losing card is non-cooperation.

Mr. Benn may be in favour of the freest expression of opinion in India, but there is no such thing here. Opinion, when unpalatable to the Government, though demonstrably true and without the remotest suggestion of violence, is persecuted and suppressed in India.

Mr. Benn may hold that the winning card is argument; but we will make a present of the fact to him that for decades and generations Indians have been arguing but have not won. Moreover, for us to argue with the British Government and people is not possible. Britishers can blacken us, our country, our religion, our social systems,

our customs, our ancestors, our women, our mothers, our public and private characters—in fact, everything relating to India—with lies and half-truths; but we cannot say even perfectly true things relating only to those Britishers who are connected with the administration and exploitation of India to the extent that it is necessary to say to them to make our argument convincing: nay, we cannot even reproduce true indictments of British rule from the speeches and writings of responsible British members of parliament, cabinet ministers, historians and others.

It may be that personally Mr. Benn is willing to listen to our arguments. But if private letters are intercepted and pamphlets and books are suppressed, how are our arguments going to reach the British public?

Mr. Benn may be a realist, but he does not know the reality of the situation in India. So far as India is concerned, we are greater realists, as we know where really the shoe pinches.

As India's case cannot be stated plainly and fully, non-co-operation may begin when argument fails, as it did previously.

Mr. Benn may say, there is free speech in England, and he may ask all who want to place their argument before him to proceed to England. But the journey is expensive. Government will meet the expenses of only their nominees. If others are financially in a position to go, some of them may not get passports. And there are others who hate to be suppliants.

"Dominion Status in Action"

It would seem from a section of Mr. Benn's speech that we had been enjoying Dominion status for a decade without knowing it. "Where ignorance is bliss, it is folly to be wise."

So, British statesmen have been for these ten long years "doing good by stealth," but have not yet had the good fortune to "blush to find it fame," for not only Indians but even Britishers like Lord Reading did not know that India had been the possessor of Dominion status, in many things though not in name.

Some of his illustrations to prove Dominion status in action may be disposed of by the following passage from *The Statesman*:

In the concept of Dominion status within the Empire there are two parts: the first concerns the relations of a Dominion with foreign countries; the second concerns its relationship to the Government of Great Britain. As regards the first, India has already attained Dominion status. For the signing and ratification of treaties and of international instruments, it has its own representatives—a High Commissioner and a Trade Commissioner—in London, and its own agent in South Africa. We freely admit that even this first aspect of Dominion status is superficial, because it is London and not India that controls the choice of these representatives, and it is the Secretary of State or his nominee who signs international instruments, and had Mr. Benn called attention to this important limitation he would have escaped some of the irritation which the Indian Press manifests at any suggestion that this country has got Dominion status already.

It is unnecessary to examine all his illustrations one by one. None of them would wholly stand the test if examined in detail. But one or two may be briefly noticed.

Now let us pass for a moment from these domestic and economic questions to try and answer the question put by my hon. and gallant friend as to whether we can show Dominion status in action. India, as everyone knows, has in London, as have the other Dominions, an Indian acting as High Commissioner.

India has Indians in every part of the world finding the Government of India a valiant champion of their interests as British citizens, and recently the Government of India sent out to South Africa to negotiate in regard to Indians in South Africa one of the most distinguished members of their Government, Sir Muhammed Habibullah.

It is common knowledge that the Indian High Commissioner has been treated differently from other High Commissioners in the past. And he is a servant of Britain, not of India.

The Government of India is so valiant a champion of Indians in every part of the world that, not to speak of non-British territory, they are sought to be hounded out of all British Colonies without receiving adequate help from the British Government. In America the representative of the British Government does not move a finger to help Indians.

"India will be represented by her own delegation" at "the Five-Power Naval Conference." It would not be India's delegation, but her British master's delegation. Moreover, for a country without a navy to send a delegation to a Naval Conference is like a headless man having headache, as the Bengali adage goes.

Mr. Fenner Brockway's interposition at this stage, may also be noted.

Mr. Fenner Brockway said that these representatives of India were at present all appointed by the Viceroy in Council. Could the Secretary of State for India try to secure more adequate representation of India itself by giving the Indian Legislative Assembly some power in the appointment of these representatives?

Mr. Benn: That is a suggestion that I will certainly note, and I am much obliged to my hon. friend for raising it.

Mr. Benn has not shown the other side of the medal of Dominion status in action which he ought to have done. This side has such minor and insignificant items as martial law in the Punjab, the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre, the Guruka Bagh incidents, the 25,000 thousand non-co-operators in prison, and the like.

Custom and Tradition as Builder of Status

"In the meantime do not let us miss the moral of what I am saying, that just as in the history of every Dominion it has not been a matter of legislative change but of the use of custom and tradition which have built up these powers. The same procedure is proceeding rapidly in the case of India to-day, and, therefore, I think I can say—and I am not speaking of our own administration but of other administrations as well—that in deeds as well as in words we have tried to prove the sincerity of our faith when we say we desire to see India reach Dominion status."

The first sentence in the above extract is not historically true. Did Canada and South Africa, for example, get their status without legislation? Legislation must build up the substantial frame-work. Other things may come afterwards by means of custom and tradition. In the case of India, some Dominion rights may be or have been exercised in her name, but it is not *her* men who have done it freely, but British men and their Indian servants have done so using India's name.

About the Round Table Conference

Mr. Wedgwood Benn said much about the functions of the Round Table Conference. We shall reproduce here a few of his paragraphs.

"We desire to see the Conference called at the earliest possible moment. There is much matter to be received and to be considered. There is the report of the Rt. Hon. gentleman the member for Spen Valley, Sir John Simon and his Commission. There are the opinions of the Government of India. There are the views of the Provincial Governments. All these matters must be duly considered, and the Conference must meet clothed with full knowledge.

"Let me make one thing clear about the Conference. It is partly in reply to the same question put by the Rt. Hon. gentleman opposite. The Conference is to be fully and fairly representative not of one section but of all sections so that we may have there a real representation of political opinion as it finds itself in India which the Government will meet with free hands.

"There is one concluding word. There are many difficulties to be faced, and there are great differences of opinion, wide gulfs and divergences not here but in India.

"We regret these. They are obstacles on the path which we wish to pursue. We cannot solve them, and I express the devout hope that when the time comes for the Conference it may have been found possible amongst Indians themselves to compose their differences so that we may have gentlemen coming here speaking with authority and speaking with unity. It is only in that way that we may get the maximum assistance and guidance for this House in its difficult task.

After all is said and done, India is not to have self-determination, nor is the voice of the Legislative Assembly created by Government itself to be respected. The Assembly carried motions embodying the national demand long ago. The Government constituted that body as representing India. Why has not its opinion been accepted as Indian opinion?

It has been said repeatedly that the Conference is to be representative of all sections. What are these sections? May not they and their representatives be so chosen as to make it impossible for them to arrive at a unanimous conclusion?

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report argued at length excellently against communal representation and ended by providing for it in India's constitution. The recognition of sectional interests has strengthened sectionalism, and now it is thrown in our teeth that there are great differences, wide gulfs and divergences among us. The British authorities recognize them and encourage them in various ways and then call upon us to speak with unity. Fine statesmanship!

Never did Hindus and Muslims burn and persecute one another and legislate against one another as Roman Catholics and Protestants did against one another in Britain and as both did against the Jews. Yet in England there was never any recognition of separate sectional interests of these three communities and legislation to safeguard the same by communal representation.

In India the existence of the different political interests of different religious

communities is almost a myth, if not entirely so.

Bombay "Untouchables" Bill

It is gratifying to find that Dr. Ambedkar, M. L. C., of Bombay, has drafted the following bill for the removal of "untouchability," which he intends to introduce in the next session of the Bombay Legislative Council :

Whereas it is known that by usage and custom prevalent in the Hindu community certain castes of Hindus are held to be, by reason of such usage and custom, untouchables and unfit for association and whereas this imputed impurity imposes serious disabilities on these castes of Hindus and deprives them of their right, *i. e.*, the benefit of institutions, services and foundations dedicated to or maintained for public use : whereas many Hindus believe that this imputation of impurity, although it is in accordance with established custom, is not in accordance with a true interpretation of the precepts of their religion and desire that the disabilities of these castes should be removed, and whereas it is just to relieve all such Hindus from such incapacity of which they complain : and whereas the removal of this invidious discrimination among persons of the same faith intend to the promotion of good morals and to the public welfare in general and of the Hindus in particular it is enacted as follows :—

"This Act may be called the Hindu Untouchable Castes (Removal of Disabilities Act, 193—). It extends to the whole of British India, including British Baluchistan and Santhal Parganas. No person shall be deemed to be unfit or incapable by reason of his caste of sharing the benefit of a religious or charitable trust created for persons of his or her faith or of sharing the benefit of a utility or convenience dedicated to or maintained or licensed for the use of the general public, any custom and any interpretation of law to the contrary notwithstanding.

All-India "Untouchables" Bill

It is still more satisfactory that Mr. M. R. Jayakar, M. L. A., has a bill ready for the whole of British India for the removal of the disabilities affecting the untouchable castes of the Hindu community. He will introduce it at the next session of the Legislative Assembly. Its text is printed below.

Whereas by usage and custom prevalent in the Hindu community, certain castes of Hindus are regarded as untouchables and unfit for association : and whereas this imputed impurity imposes serious disabilities on such castes, injures their self-respect and general well-being and deprives them of the benefit of institutions, foundations, conveniences and

services dedicated to or maintained for public use ; and whereas many Hindus believe that such imputed impurity is not in accordance with the true interpretation of the precepts of Hinduism and desire that the said disabilities should be removed ; and whereas it is just and proper to relieve all such castes from the said disabilities, in order that such relief may tend to the promotion of the public welfare and the solidarity of the Hindu community it is enacted as follows :

1. This Act may be called the Hindu Untouchable Castes (Removal of Disabilities Act of 193—)
2. It extends to the whole of British India.
3. It should come into force on the first day of—
193—

4. No person belonging to the Hindu community shall be deemed to be incapable, by reason of his caste, of sharing the benefit of a religious or charitable trust created for the general benefit of persons professing the Hindu religion, or of sharing the benefit of a convenience, utility or service, dedicated to or maintained or licensed for the use of the general public, any custom or interpretation of the law to the contrary notwithstanding.

The following is the statement of objects and reasons of Mr. Jayakar's Bill :

This bill is intended to remove the disabilities, too various to be detailed here, from which castes known as "untouchable" in Hindu society suffer. These disabilities mostly arise from custom. The preamble of the bill states the grounds which have made its provisions necessary. To these grounds may be added the significant circumstances that the British Indian education, respectful as it often is of Hindu usages, has tended to confirm the customs, which have had the effect of excluding the untouchable classes from participation in the benefits of endowments in which it is but just that they, as members of the Hindu community, should participate. One ruling of the Privy Council, Sankarlinga Nadan and others (appellants) and Raja Rajeswari Dorai and others (Respondents) reported in 35, Indian Appeals, page 176, has gone the length of laying down, with all the authority of that august tribunal, and the eminent Judges, who formed the bench on that occasion, a rule, which in effect provides that the duty of the Trustees of a Hindu religious endowment is to follow the ancient custom ; it is not for them to vary it, however unreasonable or antiquated it may be. If they endeavour to alter it, they may be guilty of a breach of trust.

The result of these rulings consequently is that it is difficult to obtain, through the medium of adjudication, a variation of the customs which prejudicially affect the untouchable classes, injure their self-respect, and deprive them of the benefits of association with other sections of the Hindu community. This has resulted in a disruption of the Hindu society, the extent of which tends to increase causing irritation and embitterment. It is, therefore, thought desirable to have recourse to legislation and with its aid to abolish all such objectionable customs to the extent mentioned in the Bill. The bill affects only those cases in which the bar against the untouchable classes arises by reason of custom and the endowment is a public one. The bill will not affect private endowment nor those where by the express terms of their

constitution the benefits are confined to particular sections of the Hindu community or of the general public.

Both these bills ought to receive a full measure of support.

Mr. Whitley on the Ahmedabad Mill Industry

In the course of an interview

Comparing the Ahmedabad textile industry with that of Bombay, Mr. Whitley said that there existed good relationship between the owners and the workers in the former place. Whenever there was a dispute, the matter was referred to arbitration. Gandhiji was a piece of fortune to the Ahmedabad textile industry. He wielded an immense influence with both the workers and the owners. Gandhiji's interference was welcomed by both the parties and his decisions were accepted by the contending parties. Hence, there were few strikes and the industry was prospering.

This is a well-deserved tribute to Mahatma Gandhi and the mill-owners and mill-workers of Ahmedabad alike.

Mrs. Whitley on Mass Education

Mrs. Whitley also was interviewed.

"Send your young men, who have had the benefit of Cambridge and Oxford education to the villages," repeated Mrs. Whitley a number of times, in the course of the interview. "Mass education is the only remedy to make your villagers and workers read the morning paper as young men in England are doing. In England every worker reads the morning paper and that is why they are earning more. When every one of India's vast population learns to read and write there can be no nation in the world so much advanced as she will be," observed Mrs. Whitley.

The illiteracy of the Indian workers pained Mrs. Whitley much. She opined that mass education was India's salvation.

We have undoubtedly to do our part, but nobody seems to have told Mrs. Whitley that there is a party called Government who can do most.

Mrs. Whitley was very much impressed with India's hospitality. "India is a very wonderful country and her people are wonderfully patient and good-tempered," she stated.

Is that why Britishers do not get off our backs, as Mahatma Gandhi told them to?

Mrs. Whitley paid a glorious tribute to Indian womanhood, who in her opinion, were adorable. Indian women were very gentle, sweet and capable. Comparatively Indian women were unselfish and clean in their habits. The labouring classes, though

they lived in dingy chawls, had their floors well-swept and things well-arranged, whereas in the English worker's house, everything was in confusion.

It is a pleasure to read this, as it has been said that our people do not know how to keep things in their proper places.

Mrs. Whitley, summing up her impressions of India, said that the country's prospects would improve, if efforts were taken to educate the masses.

Mrs. Whitley paid a tribute to Gandhi for having awakened the consciousness of the masses.

The All-India Trade Union Congress

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, president of the last Nagpur session of the All-India Trade Union Congress, has issued a statement to the Press as to the split among Unionists there. In the course of it he says:

On one side there was the youthful enthusiasm of some members of the left wing who wanted to go ahead regardless of consequences, on the other hand, there was deliberate attempt to push them on so as to widen the breach and thus get additional reasons for seceding.

As for the strength of the two parties, the following is Mr. Nehru's statement:

Credentials were accepted at the Congress on behalf of 51 Unions, representing 1,89,436 organized workers. According to the constitution, in a division voting takes place by unions, and each delegate represents 200 members of a union. There was thus a total voting strength of 938. One union with memberships of 1,000 was ultimately not represented. This reduced the voting strength to 933. The seceders from the Congress represented 30 unions with memberships of 96,639 and a voting strength of 478. Those that attended the Congress represented 20 unions with memberships of 91,797 and a voting strength of 455. Thus it is clear that the seceders had a majority and could, if they so chose, vote down any and every resolution. But they preferred to keep away.

Mr. B. Shiva Rao has given his impressions of this Congress in *New India*. He begins his article thus

Seldom has a session of the All-India Trade Union Congress been as well attended or proved as lively as did the last one at Nagpur. After the Jharia session in December, 1928, it was apparent to every one that the left wing elements would make a determined attempt to capture the organization. A message from Moscow, issued in June this year, outlined the plan for the left wing Trade Unions in India with elaborate care and precision. The Congress was to be a pliant tool in the hands of those who advocated the "dictatorship of the

proletariat." The mistake of settling industrial disputes by means of conciliation and arbitration, particularly in co-operation with "reformists" of the type of Mr. Joshi, was not to be repeated. The Trade Union Congress was to be affiliated not only to the League against Imperialism, but also to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. The scheme of an Asiatic Labour Congress was to be thwarted on the ground (this was tactlessly admitted in one of the speeches at Nagpur) that the new organization would prove "a rival to the Red International." The Congress was to demand the establishment of a Socialist Independent Republic. All might have gone on well had not the origin of the message, which was broadcasted through the official magazine of the G.I.P. Railway Union, been disclosed on the eye of the Congress.

For our part we have never liked any of our organizations to be affiliated—which in the case of a subject and unorganized country like India means subordinated—to any foreign organizations. Let the country win freedom first and then we can think of foreign connections—we mean of course those of a political or quasi-political character. We are trying to get away from the leading strings of the British people, whom we know to some extent. Why should we seek to be in the leading strings of other foreigners whom we do not know even as much?

"Remember"

The following is the first editorial in the Congress number of *Prohibition*:

Leaders sitting to draw up the new Constitution should remember that at the All-Parties Convention held at Calcutta, the following was adopted as a fundamental article declaring the right of the people of India to freedom from state-organized temptations:—

Art. IV Clause 18.

It shall be the duty of the Commonwealth to save its citizens from the evils and temptations of alcoholic liquors and intoxicating drugs, and to this end it shall, as soon as possible after the establishment of the Commonwealth Government, make laws for the total prohibition of the manufacture, import, possession or sale of alcoholic liquors and intoxicating drugs except for medicinal or industrial purposes.

India's Drink Bill

Prohibition Congress number has a diagrammatic representation of India's drink bill compared with other items, of which the following is a rendering in plain language:

INDIA'S DRINK BILL JUST COMPARED.

	Rs.
Liquor and drugs bill	100 crores
Expenditure for Army	55 "
Land Revenue	37 "
Cost of General Administration	
all provinces	23 "
Income tax	17 "
Education	13 "
Police	12 "
Justice	5½ "

Alleged Attempt on Viceroy's Life

Arriving at Lahore this morning I find a long report on an alleged attempt to blow up the train which carried the Viceroy to New Delhi. I must await further and fuller details before commenting on this event.

The *Civil and Military Gazette's* news columns contain the sentence:—"Nothing less than full statement from the leaders dissociating themselves from the outrage will remove the harmful effects." This is an insult to the leaders. No one but a fool and an enemy of the Indian people can make any such demand. As if any man worthy of the name of leader can have anything to do with such things. Such things are done either by or at the instigation of *agents provocateurs* or by brainless terrorists.

The following sentence from the *C. M. Gazette's* leader on the subject gives an indication that the outrage may be the work of those who do not want that political prisoners should have amnesty:

"This outrage might well be regarded as an adequate answer to those who would urge the grant of an amnesty for the political prisoners on the eve of the publication of the Simon Commission report."

Lahore, 24 Dec., 1929.

Report of Indian Central Committee.

The Report of the Indian Central Committee has been published. I have not yet seen it, nor have I had the time to go through even any elaborate summary. The retention of dyarchy in the Central Government is unjustifiable. The report discriminates against Bengal in some particulars. This means creating trouble for Bengal and the Bengal Government, which would undoubtedly have repercussions elsewhere.

The Committee recommend the separation of Sind from Bombay, though they admit

that some of the members think that the financial question is a definite bar to making it a separate province. Under the circumstances, the recommendation loses its force.

The Committee do not recommend the separation of Burma. This is right.

The abolition of communal representation, so far as it goes, is satisfactory.

There are several notes of dissent and a memorandum signed by the chairman and two other members lengthier than the main report itself.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Presidential Address

By the courtesy of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, I have been able to read the typescript of his presidential address in the English version in the Panjab mail train on the 23rd December. If I get a printed copy early enough I may be able to present the reader with extracts with brief comments.

It is a noble and courageous utterance, possessing high literary quality. It is statesmanlike and free from any bluff. It is pre-eminently the pronouncement of a man who means what he says. It is worthy of the free man that Mr. Nehru is. He does not indulge in any circumlocution but speaks straight from the heart. I felt on going through it that it *should* make all Indians reading it feel proud that they are the countrymen of Jawaharlal Nehru. I differ in some minor particulars which I may indicate hereafter.

I like his opening paragraph in which he pays tributes with mingled dignity and modesty to his predecessors and other past workers, and the young martyrs to the causes of freedom, and his last paragraph in which he says that the days of secret conspiracies are over and calls upon all to join the Open Conspiracy of the Congress to win freedom for India.

The Address

As I am writing this note on the evening of the 25th December I have to use the future tense. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will deliver his presidential address in Hindustani, and an English version has been supplied to the Press. My extracts are made from a typewritten copy.

There is a story of a child who, getting on the shoulders of his father, declared, "How taller I am than papa." The talk of many among us about previous political workers may have reminded Mr. Nehru of this child when he wrote the opening paragraph of his address in which he says:

For four and forty years this National Congress has laboured for the freedom of India. During this period it has somewhat slowly, but surely, awakened national consciousness from its long stupor and built up the national movement. If today we are gathered here at a crisis of our destiny, conscious of our strength as well as of our weakness, and looking with hope and apprehension to the future, it is well that we give first thought to those who have gone before us, who spent out their lives with little hope of reward so that those that followed them may have the joy of achievement. Many of the giants of old are not with us and we of a later day, standing on an eminence of their creation, may often decry their efforts. That is the way of the world. But none of you can forget them or the great work they did in laying the foundations of a free India.

He then goes on to pay a well-deserved tribute to our political sufferers and martyrs.

And none of us can ever forget that glorious band of men and women who, without recking the consequences, have laid down their young lives or spent their bright youth in suffering and torment in utter protest against a foreign domination. Many of their names even are not known to us. They laboured and suffered in silence without any expectation of public applause, and by their heart's blood they nursed the tender plant of India's freedom. While many of us temporized and compromised, they stood up and proclaimed a people's right to freedom and declared to the world that India, even in her degradation, had the spark of life in her, because she refused to submit to tyranny and serfdom. Brick by brick has our national movement been built up, and often on the prostrate bodies of her martyred sons has India advanced. The giants of old may not be with us but the courage of old is with us still and India can yet produce martyrs like Jatin Das and Wazaya.

Mr. Nehru says, the age of faith is past, but he himself declares:

We appear to be in a dissolving period of history when the world is in labour and out of her travail will give birth to a new order.

When he says, "out of her travail, the world will give birth to a new order," is that not faith? So faith persists, though its form may change.

Speaking of the past, present and future relations of Europe and Asia, Mr. Nehru observes:

Europe has ceased to be the centre of activity and interest. The future lies with America and

Asia. Owing to false and incomplete history many of us have been led to think that Europe has always dominated over the rest of the world, and Asia has always let the legions of the West thunder past and has plunged in thought again. We have forgotten that for millennia the legions of Asia overran Europe and modern Europe itself largely consists of the descendants of these invaders from Asia. We have forgotten that it was India that finally broke the military power of Alexander. Thought has undoubtedly been the glory of Asia and specially of India, but in the field of action the record of Asia has been equally great. But none of us desires that the legions of Asia or Europe should overrun the continents again. We have all had enough of them.

He goes on to state and explain the wonderful stability of India's social structure, and observes that India's downfall and loss of freedom is due to her having built her social structure on inequality. Therefore, "the most vital question is that of social and economic equality."

THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM

Mr. Nehru then deals with the problems of minorities and communal fear and suspicion. He exhorts the Hindus to be generous. That is no doubt an all-India generosity. But in Moslem majority provinces, must not the Moslems also be generous? Mr. Nehru is silent on that point. He has also not dealt with the causes of distrust of Moslems, in Bengal for example. They are not wholly or mainly political. As we understand the matter, they are at present mainly due to the Moslem attitude towards Hindu women. In Mr. Nehru's observations on a few more or less seats in legislatures, etc., and in his conclusion that in a free India Hindus cannot be powerless, I agree.

He is right in observing:

I find it difficult to appreciate why political or economic rights should depend on the membership of a religious group or community.

He expects that our future struggles will be not communal, but economic. That is probable.

THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM

Pandit Jawaharlal's discussion of the Viceroy's announcement, the leaders' manifesto, the first debate in the House of Commons and the later and recent debate on Mr. Fenner Brockway's motion, is very fair and sensible and his conclusion that the Congress will have to declare in favour of independence

and devise sanctions to achieve it follows quite logically.

In his opinion, much importance need not be attached to the words Dominion status and independence. The real thing is conquest of power, and that we must achieve.

He subjects Mr. Wedgwood Benn's analysis and presentation of Dominion status in action to scathing and well-deserved criticism.

"Dominion status in action, to which he has drawn attention has been a snare for us and has certainly not reduced the exploitation of India. The burdens on the Indian masses are even greater to-day because of this 'Dominion Status in action' and the so-called constitutional reforms of ten years ago. High Commissioners in London, and representatives on the League of Nations, and the purchase of stores, and Indian Governors and high officials are no parts of our demand. We want to put an end to the exploitation of India's poor and to get the reality of power and not merely the livery of office.

As to what the Congress will do, he asks:

What will this Congress do? The conditions for co-operation remain unfulfilled. Can we co-operate so long as there is no guarantee that real freedom will come to us? Can we co-operate when our comrades lie in prison and repression continues? Can we co-operate until we are assured that real peace is sought after and not merely a tactical advantage over us? Peace cannot come at the point of the bayonet, and if we are to continue to be dominated over by an alien people, let us at least be no consenting parties to it.

He is not enamoured of the word independence. But the thing is necessary in order that India may afterwards freely enter a world federation as an equal member; and then she may voluntarily part with some of her independence. The British Empire is not such a group and Dominion status in it cannot mean equality so long as that Empire is based on imperialism and the exploitation of the weak.

"We shall declare, I hope, that India submits no longer to any foreign domination."

He confesses that he is a Socialist, a republican, and does not believe in the order which produces the modern kings of industry. The many must not be sacrificed to the few either in industry or in agriculture. We agree. But neither must the few be sacrificed to the many.

Regarding the Indian States he makes just and sensible observations.

THE LABOURER AND THE PEASANT

As for the problem of labour and the peasantry he says :

We can only gain them to our side by our espousing their cause, which is really the country's cause. The Congress has often expressed its good will towards them but beyond that it has not gone. The Congress, it is said, must hold the balance fairly between capital and labour and zamindar and tenant. But the balance has been and is terribly weighted on one side and to maintain the *status quo* is to maintain injustice and exploitation. The only way to right it is to do away with the domination of any one class over another.

I hope it is understood that "the dictatorship of the proletariat" is also the domination of one class over another.

Mr. Nehru admits that

It is not possible for this Congress at its annual session to draw up any detailed economic programme. It can only lay down some general principles and call upon the All-India Congress Committee to fill in the details in co-operation with the representatives of the Trade Union Congress and other organizations which are vitally interested in this matter. Indeed I hope that the co-operation between this Congress and the Trade Union Congress will grow and the two organizations will fight side by side in future struggles.

All these are pious hopes till we gain power, and the real problem therefore before us is the conquest of power.

The words italicized above represent our contention all along. We cannot effect any radical reform till we are masters in our own household, and we cannot gain power if we engage in class war in the meantime. So in the meantime we should try to effect only such reforms as would enable our labourers and peasantry to lead healthy lives.

THE METHOD

As regards methods of violence and peaceful and legitimate methods, Mr. Nehru is on moral and practical grounds for the avoidance of violence. He adds :

The great majority of us, I take it, judge the issue not on moral but on practical grounds, and if we reject the way of violence it is because it promises no substantial results. But if this Congress or the nation at any future time comes to the conclusion that methods of violence will rid us of slavery then I have no doubt that it will adopt them. Violence is bad but slavery is far worse.

Contemporaneous attempts at sporadic violence can only distract attention and weaken it.

We have to choose and strictly to abide by our choice. What the choice of the Congress is likely

to be I have no doubt. It can only choose a peaceful mass movement.

As for the triple boycott, the President thinks it will be unwise to declare a boycott of the courts and schools at this stage. He is in favour of the boycott of legislative councils. As regards the constructive programme, he advocates the boycott of foreign cloth and of British goods.

He concludes his address with the following words :

We play for high stakes ; and if we seek to achieve great things it can only be through great dangers. Whether we succeed soon or late, none but ourselves can stop us from high endeavour and from writing a noble page in our country's long and splendid history.

We have conspiracy cases going on in various parts of the country. They are ever with us. But the time has gone for secret conspiracy. We have now an open conspiracy to free this country from foreign rule and you, comrades, and all our countrymen and countrywomen are invited to join it. But the rewards that are in store for you are suffering and prison and it may be death. But you shall also have the satisfaction that you have done your little bit for India, the ancient, but ever young, and have helped a little in the liberation of humanity from its present bondage.

Viceroy's Conference with the Leaders

The following is a brief official report of the Conference :

The Viceroy met Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. Patel, Sir T. B. Sapru and Mr. Jinnah at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi, this afternoon. The discussion was limited to the function of the proposed Conference in London. It was pointed out that any member of the Conference would be free to advocate any proposals and that any measure of unanimity at the Conference would necessarily carry weight with British opinion.

On behalf of the Congress Party the view was expressed that unless previous assurances were given by His Majesty's Government that the purpose of the Conference was to draft a scheme for Dominion status which His Majesty's Government would undertake to support, there would be grave difficulty about the Congress participation.

His Excellency made it plain that the Conference was designed to elicit the greatest possible measure of agreement for final proposals which it would be the duty of His Majesty's Government to submit to Parliament and that it was impossible for him or for His Majesty's Government in any way to prejudge the action of the Conference or to restrict the liberty of Parliament.

The conversation then concluded. (A.P.I.)

It is also said :

Mahatma Gandhi told Lord Irwin that he had made a pledge to the Indian nation that if Dominion

status was granted by the 31st December he would accept it, otherwise he would join the ranks of Independence-wallahs. The immediate grant of full Dominion status must be conceded fully and the Viceroy should give a guarantee that whatever form of constitution was prepared by India whenever that be, it should be accepted by the British Government and ratified into law without any alteration. Pandit Motilal is reported to have urged that if any difficulties were found in achieving full Dominion status at once, these could be solved by granting Dominion status and not by withholding or postponing it.

The Viceroy said he could not agree to what he regarded as an extreme and unacceptable demand of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru.

Under the circumstances it seems very probable that the Congress will declare in favour of independence as the political goal of India. Lahore, Dec. 25, 1929.

Arabs and Jews in Palestine

The *Times* of Nov. 28, 1929 published the following report from Haifu, dated Nov. 27th :

"Nine Arabs were sentenced to death and two to 15 years' imprisonment here to-day on the charge of having murdered a Jewish family at Safed during the disturbances."

On the same day the *Times* published the following interesting report of a lecture by Col. Wedgwood, the foremost advocate of the "Seventh Dominion" in Palestine.

Colonel Wedgwood, M.P., speaking at the Anglo-Palestine Club last night, referred to the recent rising in Palestine and said that the first thing was to prevent the murders from happening again. This required a trustworthy Police Force, and that the settlers should be allowed arms, as settlers did in other dangerous lands amid unfriendly natives. To secure a trustworthy Police Force there must evidently be in the Administration the will and determination to protect the Jews and to help peaceful settlers. From the evidence the present Administration would seem to have been neutral as between murdered and murderers, and even to take a pride in this neutrality. When they disarmed the Jews in face of murder they went rather beyond neutrality. The defence of this official attitude seemed to be that if it were not for the Government the Jews would oppress the Arabs. For the Arab workers at least the advent of Jewish capital, Jewish methods of agriculture, and Jewish or Western civilization had been an unmixed blessing. The state of the Egyptian fellaheen close by was a contrast. The Arab landlords were getting very high prices for land, and the Jews were turning it into fertile farms. *Real hostility came from the Arab intelligentsia who hated us and the Jews, and wanted to get rid of the West so that they might retain an Oriental rule over a helpless Arab proletariat.* (Italics are ours)

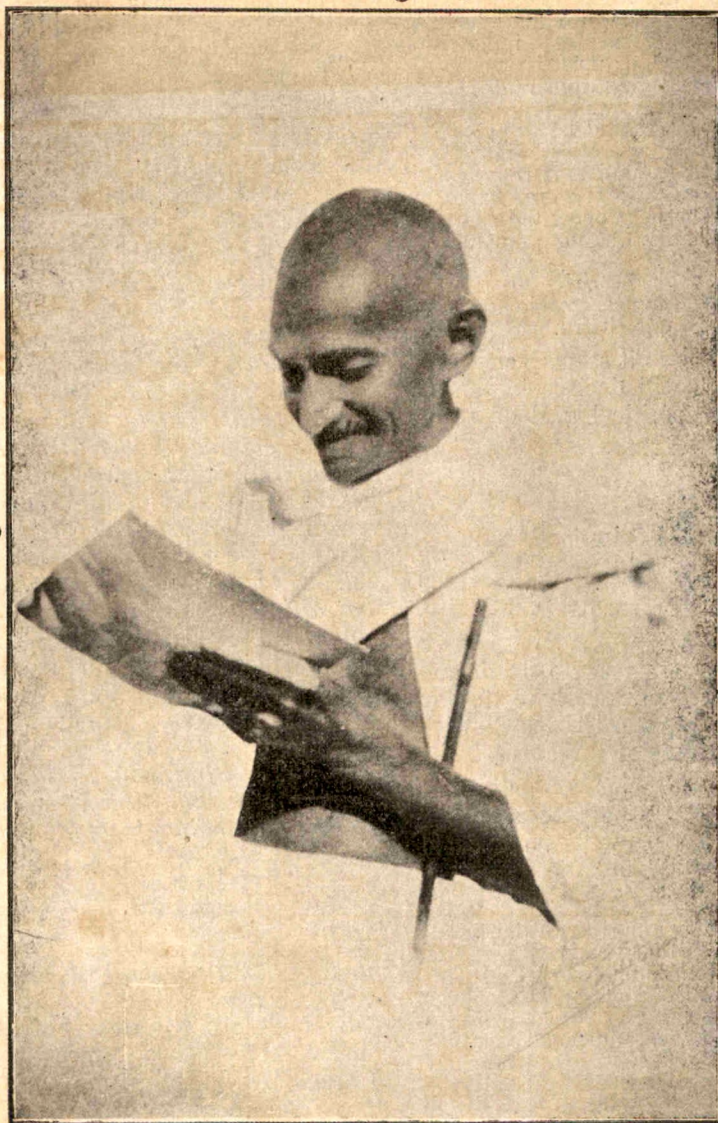
The Colonel may be right in his assertion that the Arab intelligentsia hated the British. The same thing has been told about the Indian and Chinese intelligentsia. It seems that the intelligent people in all countries in the Orient feel that they have the right to be free from foreign rule, and this new attitude is a source of trouble for the British imperialists of all brands.

Regarding the "Oriental rule over a helpless Arab proletariat," one may say that British Socialists and Labour leaders should not forget that the British nation perpetuated human slavery for centuries and imported the abominable practice of slave trade in America. Lady Simon tells us that there is slavery under the British rule in Africa and other parts of the world. In "Merry England" the condition of the workers under the rule of the intelligentsia of the West has not been so wonderful. Col. Wedgwood and others should know that although we are opposed to religious fanaticism and murderous acts, we cannot agree with the assertion that Arab workers are not hostile to the Jews because they have a better condition under their foreign masters—be they Jews or British. *Handful of Arab intelligentsia could not have started the opposition and revolt against the Jews, in Palestine without popular support.*

T. D.

"The Labour Magazine"

Through the courtesy of Major Graham Pole, M. P., we have received some copies of the December number of the *Labour Magazine*. Among other interesting features, this issue contains an article by Major Pole on "India and Dominion Status," some passages from which have been quoted elsewhere on these pages. The *Labour Magazine* being the official organ of the Labour Party, gives authoritative expression to the point of view of the Labour Party and Labour Government. Those of our readers who may be interested in Major Pole's article or in the magazine, may have copies of the December number from the Manager, *The Modern Review*. The price is six annas a copy.



Mahatma Gandhi

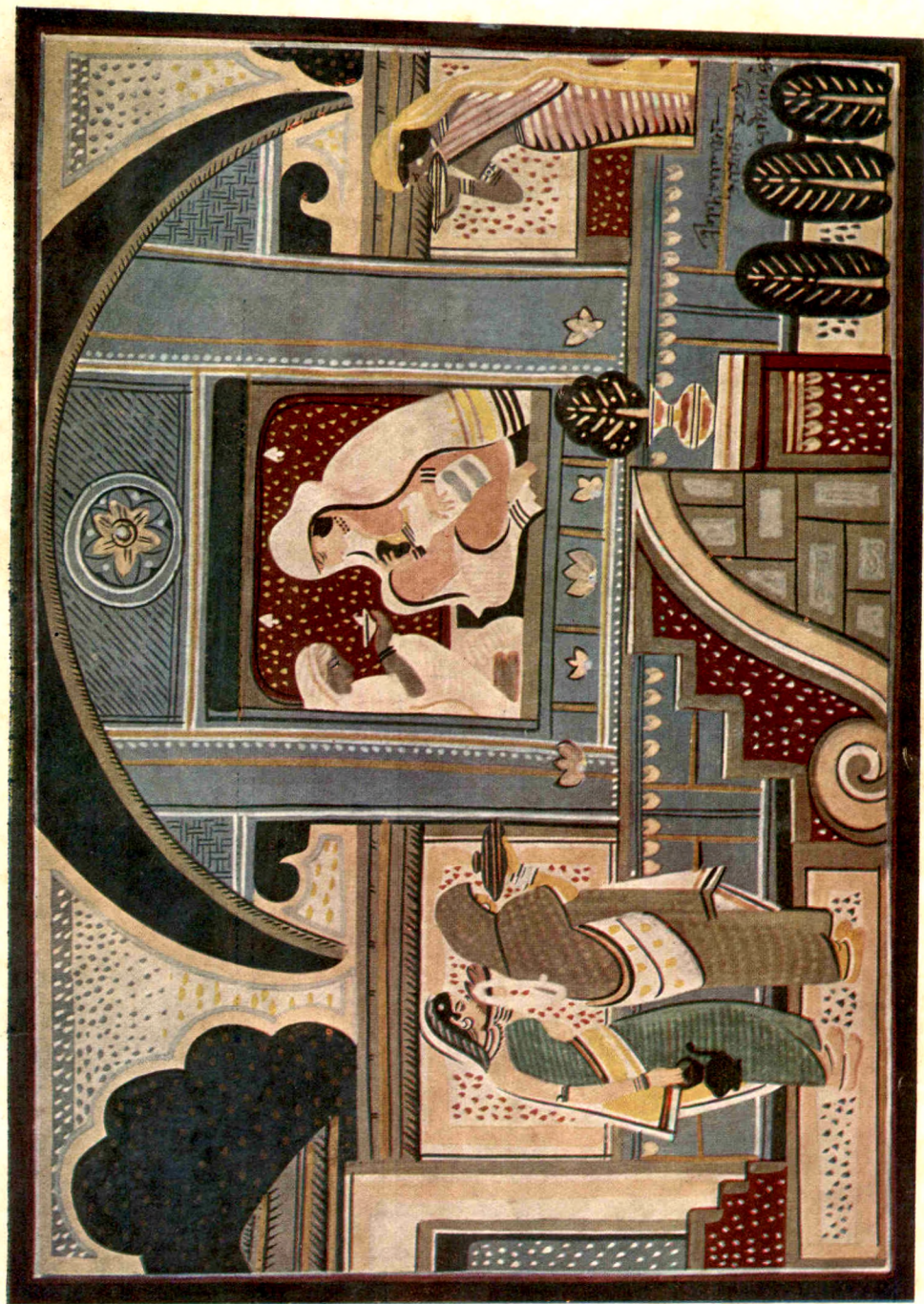
A CORRECTION

Since writing the note on the sandstone head on page 26 above, I have been to the Indian Museum in the Christmas week.

The head is now mounted at the gate

leading into the Eastern gallery and bears a label stating that it was found at the famous site of *Samkisa* (U. P.) The date is given as 1st century A.D. which is, of course, tentative.

K. P. JAYASWAL



BIRTH OF CHAITANYA

By Nandalal Bose

By the Courtesy of Mr. Mukul Dey, Principal, Government School of Art, Calcutta



VOL. XLVII
NO. 2

FEBRUARY, 1930

WHOLE NO.
278

Wealth and Welfare

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THE standard of living in modern times has been raised far higher than the average level of our necessity. Where the temptation of high living, normally confined to a negligible small section of the community, becomes widespread, its ever-growing burden is sure to prove fatal to civilization. It forces society not only to make provision for the filling of the vessel to the brim, which has its own limit, but also for the overflow. This excess, if it is for creative purposes, is a gain, and the expenditure is made true by the profit. But when it is for display and unproductive self-enjoyment then it is an absolute loss which can be suffered with impunity only within certain bounds.

The tendency towards extravagance is natural to man, it is to make manifest his power, his magnanimity. There was a time when it found its play mostly in the surroundings of a king, in the expression of a communal spirit in religion and other collective sentiments. The poorest and the meanest among the citizens found his dignity represented in the public buildings and the pomp and ceremonies of public life. This could never give rise to the personal feeling of envy or fury of insane emulation. Most of the expressions of any great surplus of life

and wealth was dedicated to the community. The dark planets merely represent themselves, the radiant star, in its excess of light, represents the constellation; and the wealth reaching that degree of radiance which exceeds the obscure limits of personal necessity once did belong to the illumination of a whole society. This prevented the universal competition in wastefulness which to-day is exhausting human energy and the material resources of the earth.

In former days, in India, public opinion levied heavy taxes upon wealth and most of the public works of the country were voluntarily supported by the rich. Water-supply, medical help, education and amusement were naturally maintained by men of property through a spontaneous adjustment of mutual obligation. This was made possible, because the limits set to the individual right of self-indulgence were narrow, and the surplus wealth easily followed the channel of social responsibility. In such a society, property was the pillar that supported its civilization, and wealth gave opportunity to the fortunate for self-sacrifice.

There are some who believe that the eradication of the idea of property will give the communal spirit its full freedom. But we must know that the urge which has given

rise to property, is something fundamental in human nature. If you have the power you may tyrannically do violence to all that constitutes property; but you cannot change the constitution of mind itself.

Property is medium for the expression of our personality. If we look at the negative aspect of this personality, we see in it the limits which separate one person from another. And when, in some men, this sense of separateness takes on an intense emphasis, we call them selfish. But its positive aspect reveals the truth, that it is the only medium through which men can communicate with one another. Most often and for most men, property is the only frame that can give a foundation for the creation of a personal world. It is not merely money, not merely furniture; it does not represent merely acquisitiveness, but is an objective manifestation of our taste, our imagination, our constructive faculties, our desire for self-sacrifice.

Through this creativelimitation which is our personality, we receive, we give, we express. Our highest social training is to make our property the richest expression of the best in us, of that which is universal, of our individuality whose greatest illumination is love. As individuals are the units that build the community, so property is the unit of wealth that makes for communal prosperity, when it is alive to its function. Our wisdom lies not in destroying separateness of units, but in maintaining the spirit of unity in its full strength.

When life is simple, wealth does not become too exclusive, and individual property finds no great difficulty in acknowledging its communal responsibility, rather, it becomes its vehicle.

But with the rise of the standard of living, property changes its aspect. It shuts the gate of hospitality, which is the best means of social intercommunication. It displays its wealth in an extravagance which is self-centred. It begets envy and irreconcilable class division. In short, property becomes anti-social. Because, with what is called material progress, property has become intensely individualistic, the method of gaining it has become a matter of science and not of social ethics. It breaks social bonds; it drains the life sap of the community.

There are always insects in our harvest field which, in spite of their robbery, leave a sufficient surplus for the tillers of the soil,

and it does not pay to try to exterminate them. But when some pest that has enormous powers of self-multiplication, attacks our food crop, it has to be dealt with as a calamity. In human society, in normal circumstances, there are a number of causes that make for wastage, yet it does not cost us too much to ignore them. But to-day the blight that has fallen on our social life and its resources is disastrous, because it is not restricted to limited regions. It is an epidemic of voracity that has infected the total area of civilization.

We all now-a-days claim our right of freedom to be extravagant in our enjoyment. Not to be able to waste as much upon individual gratification as my rich neighbour does, merely proves a poverty of which I am ashamed, and against which my women-folk and my parasites are permitted to cherish their grievance. Thus, society, which should be our field of co-operation, has become that of competition, in which, through its tyrannical standard of respectability, all the members are goading one another to spoil themselves to the uttermost limit.

Civilization to-day has turned into a vast catering establishment. It maintains constant feasts for a whole population of gluttons. The intemperance which could safely have been tolerated in a few has spread its contagion to the multitude. The universal greed, produced as a consequence, is the cause of the meanness, cruelty and lies, in politics and commerce, that vitiate the whole human atmosphere.

A civilization with such an unnatural appetite must depend for its existence upon numberless victims, and these are being sought in those parts of the world where human flesh is cheap. In Asia and Africa a bartering goes on, whereby the future hope and happiness of entire peoples are sold for the sake of providing fastidious fashion with an endless train of rubbish.

The consequence of such material and moral drain is more evident when one studies the conditions manifested in the fatness of the cities and the physical and mental anæmia of the villages, almost everywhere in the world. For cities have become inevitably important. They represent energy and materials concentrated for the satisfaction of that exaggerated appetite, which is the characteristic symptom of modern civilization. Such an abnormal devouring process cannot be carried on, unless certain parts of the social body conspire and organize

to feed upon the whole. This is suicidal; but before its progressive degeneracy ends in death, the disproportionate enlargement of the particular section looks formidably great, and conceals the starved pallor of the entire body,—the sacrifice of the large maintaining the small in its enormity, and creating for the time being an illusion of wealth.

The capital needed for the commerce of life accumulates in villages; the city draws upon that for its various functions of civilization. So long as these are productive and

creative, it is no loss. But when a disproportionate part of it goes to supply fuel to the fire of an extravagant self-indulgence, precious materials of life are reduced to ash heaps. In a fire-play of recklessness the spendthrift exhausts his future in making a burning rocket of his immediate present, sending it up to the void in a dazzling speed of progress. But it is a brilliant process of dissolution, because by its erratic excesses the food is consumed not for feeding life but for pampering a flame of passion.

Old Times in the Punjab

PRINCES AND OTHERS

BY NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

MEDIEVAL Rajasthan, now called Rajputana, Kathiawar and the Punjab are the three centres where the princes of India most congregate, though there are princes to be found in every part of the country. Some of the Punjab Hill States are of fairly ancient origin. The Rajas of Sukhet and Mundi are said to be descended from Raja Lakshmana Sen of Bengal, and the surname of both these princes is Sen. The Phulkian States of Patiala, Jhinda and Nava as well as Faridkot are Sikh principalities. The Nawab of Bahawalpur has a fairly long ancestry. There are numerous states nestling in the hills while the number in the plains is also considerable. Kashmir is territorially out of the Punjab but Jammu is part of that province and the Maharaja of Kashmir is a resident of Jammu. Maharaja Gulab Singh, the founder of the present family, was one of the three brothers who flourished under the Sikh rule, and it was really Gulab Singh who turned over Lahore and the Punjab to the British. Jammu already belonged to him and in return for the part he played at Lahore the British Government made over Kashmir to him for a sum of seventy-five lakhs of rupees. It was a very strange transaction. Kashmir did not belong to the British nor had they any rights over that territory. They sold to Raja Gulab Singh what may be called the constructive right of

conquest and annexation. After annexing the Punjab the British might have proceeded to occupy Kashmir, but at that time they had no *locus standi* in the Happy Valley and they really sold what they had never acquired.

MAHARAJA PRATAP SINGH OF KASHMIR

I have seen Maharaja Ranbir Singh, the son of Gulab Singh, Maharaja Pratap Singh and his nephew Hari Singh the present Maharaja of Kashmir. The first I saw in Calcutta when I was a young boy. It was when King Edward came out to India as Prince of Wales. I saw the Maharaja with Nilambar Mukherji at a Bengali theatre and had some conversation with the latter. Maharaja Pratap Singh I met several times. I was twice his guest, once in Jammu and the next time in Srinagar, and I was also present as a guest in Jammu on the occasion of the first marriage of Raja Hari Singh, the present Maharaja. Shortly after his succession to the *gaddi* Maharaja Pratap Singh fell under suspicion on a ridiculous charge of intriguing with the Russian Government against the British Government in India. Some letters said to be in the Maharaja's handwriting were discovered, he was disgraced and deprived of his powers and his life was made miserable.

His youngest brother, Raja Sir Amar Singh, was appointed President of the Council appointed to administer the affairs of the State of Kashmir. Maharaja Pratap Singh felt his humiliation so keenly that life became almost intolerable to him. What did he stand to gain by plotting with Russia? The only overland way from Russia to India is through Afghanistan and the Khyber Pass and the route over the steppes of Central Asia, through Ladak and Kashmir is almost impracticable. It requires a certain amount of ability to be a conspirator and Maharaja Pratap Singh was not an able man. It was rumoured at the time that the misfortune of the Maharaja was due to his having fallen into disfavour with the Foreign Office of the Government of India. The Maharaja backed by his Minister Nilambar Mukherji, wanted the status during the lifetime of his father to be maintained. So long as Maharaja Ranbir Singh was the ruler of Kashmir there was no British Resident stationed at Jammu or Kashmir. The Resident stayed at Sialkot in the Punjab and occasionally visited Kashmir territory. After the death of Maharaja Ranbir Singh it was proposed that the Resident should stay permanently at Jammu and Srinagar. This was opposed by Nilambar Mukherji and Maharaja Pratap Singh with the result that Nilambar Mukherji was summarily expelled from Kashmir by the orders of the Government of India and the pension granted by the Maharaja was vetoed. I cannot vouch for the story but it was stated that the Maharaja incurred the personal displeasure of the Foreign Secretary by an act of indiscretion. However, when Lord Lansdowne was Viceroy the ban against the Maharaja was removed. He was appointed President of the Council and later on became popular with the Government.

As I have said, Maharaja Pratap Singh was not a very capable ruler but he was extremely pleasant and likable as a man. His manners were perfect, he was always accessible, he dressed always with the greatest simplicity and was always frank and modest in conversation. I heard him reciting verses from the *Bhagavadgita* from memory and speaking with great humility of himself. At the first marriage of his nephew, the present Maharaja, he invited no Europeans, but the leading Indians from the Punjab and elsewhere were invited. I remember his telling me that he had invited Rashbehari

Ghose and Surendra Nath Banerjee and was greatly disappointed because they could not come. Another noticeable feature of the marriage was that no dancing-girls were engaged as the Maharaja would not have any *nautches* or singing by women. The functions at Jammu were very simple and would not have offended any social reformer. Maharaja Pratap Singh was a devout and orthodox Hindu and went on pilgrimages many times. He had no use for chairs unless he had to meet some high European official and invariably squatted on a plain carpet on the floor just like the other people sitting around him.

PICTURESQUE PERSONALITIES

Everything passes with time but one of the most regrettable changes is the passing of the picturesque figures of the old princes of India. To see an Indian prince wearing an English coat and an English hat is a great shock, nor has the change improved them as rulers. It is undeniable that the princes of India are generally a decadent type, physically, intellectually and morally, but so long as they followed the old methods they retained at least their individuality. The old-world courtesy, the elaborate ceremonies and conventions, and even the trivialities of the courts of these princes were reminiscent of the ancient days when the Aryan kings held sway in northern India. I remember when Maharaja Pratap Singh of Kashmir used to come in, putting off his Indian shoes at the door and walking bare-footed over the carpet, the people awaiting him used to rise and say, *jai, jai!* the same words being repeated when he left. As I heard this word of greeting my imagination used to go back to the dramas of Kalidasa—kings were then hailed with greetings of victory and there is something undoubtedly fascinating and compelling in the continuity of a tradition. One of the finest princes of the Punjab was Raja Hira Singh of Nava, whose son and successor is now a prisoner at Kodaikanal. Raja Hira Singh was a Sikh of the old type, extremely simple and exceedingly wise, and all differences between the Phulkian princes used to be referred to him for settlement. Among the hill princes there was a curious custom of the court bards chanting while the princes were taking their meals. These singers used to recite the gastric feats of the ancestors of the princes by way of an

appetiser. Then there were the courtiers and flatterers known as *sutbachanis*. Whenever the prince made a remark or said anything these men repeated in chorus *sut bachan; sut bachan*, that is, your words are true, your words are true! A remarkable occupation was that of the *hazirbashis*. These men were in constant attendance upon the prince to watch all his moods or variations of temper. Long hours were spent in idle gossip and the surroundings were often as unreal as the dreams of the lotus-eaters.

THE CRAVING FOR TITLES

Among the *sufedposh* (people wearing clean white clothes) and the gentry owning money or land the craving for titles was and is still overpowering, and the Government has taken good care to minister to this weakness to the full. This hankering is to be found in every part of India. When I was at Karachi a certain Parsi was made a Khan Bahadur and when people went to congratulate him he said with becoming humility that God had favoured him! A salesman who was pushing a certain make of motor cars interviewed a Bengali who had been made a Rai Saheb and urged him to buy a new motor car because he (the agent) had reliable information that the Rai Saheb would soon be made a Rai Bahadur. Whereupon the Rai Saheb ecstatically declared, "Will God be so good to me? Since you are the first to bring me this happy news I will place an order for a new car with you at once." There are titled noodles who are actually offended if they are not designated Rai Bahadur or Khan Bahadur whenever they are addressed. At Lahore I knew a man who was transported with such delight when the title of Rai Saheb was conferred upon him that he wanted a big party to be given in his honour, but since no one could be found to subscribe even a rupee for this purpose he gave a party to himself in the name of some friends and spent some thousands of rupees upon it. Paper balloons labelled with huge letters bearing the legend "Rai Saheb—" were sent off by the hundred and one of them actually fell on my house. One can conceive nothing more pitiful or humiliating than this scramble for petty titles, which are cheapened still further by the manner in which they are distributed. But what seems to me most objectionable is the use made of these titles in conversation and correspon-

dence. Servants speak of their masters as Rai Saheb and in Bombay a tram conductor will address a passenger as Rao Saheb. Even a Private Secretary to a Viceroy will address a title-holder as "My dear Rai Bahadur" without mentioning the Rai Bahadur's name. The title is looked upon as the essential thing and the name of no consequence. And yet the men so addressed seem to like it. If a man who has been created a knight were to be addressed as "My dear Knight" or a nobleman as "My dear Lord" neither the knight nor the nobleman would be pleased, but the Rai Bahadur or the Khan Bahadur takes it as a compliment if his name is suppressed and he is addressed only by his title.

THE PUNJAB PATRIOT

During my stay at Lahore a paper called *The Punjab Patriot* came into existence. If there was room for more Indian papers conducted in English there was no reason why the field should be held by the *Tribune* alone. I am not sure whether the new paper was started as a rival to the older paper, but it professed from the beginning to be a loyal paper. The *Tribune* was a consistent critic of the Government and it carried some weight, but it could not be called disloyal as it was never prosecuted for sedition. I believe a certain department of the Punjab Government subscribed for a certain number of copies of the *Punjab Patriot*. The patriotism of that paper took the form of praising the officials and attacking the *Tribune* almost in every issue. To these attacks I never replied and left the paper severely alone. It was all the easier to do so as the attacks of the *Punjab Patriot* did no harm to the *Tribune*. During my fairly long connection with journalism I made it a point to take no notice of merely spiteful attacks that had no bearing upon any question of policy or fact. I also refrained from criticizing any one between whom and myself there was any bitterness, real or fancied. At the same time, in matters of public policy, I did not allow personal acquaintance to stand in the way of public criticism. Newspaper writing is a ticklish job and one never knows when one loses a friend. I can, however, look back upon the years that have passed with thankfulness for I have been fortunate in having many friends and very few enemies. Many of my

friends in various parts of the country have passed over to the majority but I count their names among my friends. The *Punjab Patriot* did not live very long as it received no support from the public and died of inanition within a short period.

PLAGUE REGULATIONS

The appearance of the plague in India in 1895 led to an unprecedented outburst of administrative unwisdom and series of plunges by executive officers. The plague first appeared in Bombay where, it was surmised, it was brought from China. Then it rapidly spread to Karachi and penetrated inland. In view of the terrible history of the Black or Bubonic Plague it was not surprising that it created a panic among the people and the officials of India. But no state of panic could justify the measures that were taken to combat the plague epidemic in India. These measures involved an amount of harassment and inquisition which produced widespread discontent and even led to crime. The aetiology of plague was unknown, the theory of the rat flea, subsequently advanced, is an insufficient explanation of the causation and spread of plague. Ignorance and panic combined to initiate a policy of harshness and oppression without any appreciable effect on the epidemic itself. Work that should have been done by the Health Department of municipalities was entrusted to British soldiers who, in their ignorance, sometimes offended the religious susceptibilities of the people by forcing their way into the room in which the family idol was kept. Anglo-European papers wrote exultingly of the drastic measures taken to stamp out the plague, just as if the plague were an enemy to be stamped out by a Zulu impi. In Poona two British officers were assassinated. The plague regulations terrified people far more than the malady itself. In Calcutta an unfounded rumour about the introduction of plague regulations caused a rapid and panic-stricken evacuation of the city. Marwaris and upcountrymen thronged the railway station at Howrah and every railway train leaving that station was densely packed. Similarly, there was a heavy exodus of Bengalis by the Eastern Bengal Railway.

Quarantine camps were established on the different railways in India. In the Punjab there was one on the bank of the river Beas near Jullunder. The trains were pulled up near the camp and the passengers were ordered

to leave their compartments and range themselves on the platform. A medical man in attendance made a hurried and perfunctory examination of the passengers. He merely felt the pulse and whenever a passenger showed a temperature he or she was at once hurried away to the isolation camp. This was supposed to be a measure of precaution since there is no likelihood of every case of fever turning out to be plague even when there is an epidemic. The camp was a collection of primitive huts without any arrangements for comforts and in the winter there was danger of the persons confined in these camps catching some serious disease like pneumonia or pleurisy. Yet these measures, ineffective, vexatious and oppressive, were followed for a number of years and no one took any note of their political danger.

A rumour that plague regulations would be introduced in Lahore created an extraordinary excitement in that city. Hindus and Mahomedans swore eternal friendship and brotherhood, and took solemn oaths that they would die on the threshold of their houses before they allowed a soldier to enter them. The attitude of the people suddenly became distinctly hostile. One or two cases of stray assaults on Europeans were reported but care was taken to give them no publicity. People were warned not to venture very far from the city in the evenings. Sir P. C. Chatterjee, who was then a Judge of the Chief Court, and myself were driving one evening on the Upper Mall and as soon as we passed the Lawrence Gardens towards Mean Mir we were stopped by a European sergeant of police, who said no carriage was allowed to proceed further after sunset. On P. C. Chatterji inquiring the reason he said the road was unsafe after dusk and some persons in carriages had been waylaid and assaulted.

Plague broke out in an out-of-the-way village called Garhshankar in the Hoshiarpur district in the Punjab. A military cordon was at once drawn round the village and no news of any kind was permitted to leak out. It seems the village people wanted to perform some ceremony for which they had to go out of the village. The exact truth could never be ascertained for not a word was ever given out, but it was certain that the troops surrounding the village opened fire and killed and injured a number of villagers. It was never found out whether a magistrate

was present or whether the firing was justifiable. After some time a few of the villagers evaded the vigilance of the military cordon, which was subsequently withdrawn and came to me at Lahore. They had hardly any papers, but I examined every one of them carefully and separately, compared their statements, took notes, and then wrote a series of articles in the *Tribune* pressing for an enquiry. The Lieutenant-Governor at that time was Sir Mackworth Young, who so far as I was aware, took no steps in the matter. No *communiqué* was issued, no official version of the tragedy was ever published. I sent copies of the paper containing the articles to Sir William Wedderburn, who was then a member of Parliament, and who wrote to me in reply that instead of putting a question which would have elicited only a vague reply he had taken up the matter with the Secretary of State who had promised a full inquiry. If there was an inquiry no one even heard anything about it and I am certain that nothing whatever was done. Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick was no longer Lieutenant-Governor and the *Tribune's* was a voice in the wilderness.

LALA LAJPAT RAI

When I first went to Lahore Lala Lajpat Rai was a pleader practising at Hissar, a district in South Punjab. Shortly afterwards he came to Lahore as a pleader of the Chief Court. For some years we were very close neighbours and became intimate friends. He was for some years Honorary Secretary to the D. A. V. College committee and gave

large donations to that institution. He was a frequent contributor to the *Tribune*. As an orator he became widely known throughout the Punjab and on the Congress platform. He was a fearless and staunch patriot, but all his activities were above suspicion and at no time in his life had he any connection with any revolutionary movement. His popularity and his outspokenness made him an eyesore to the officials in the Punjab. When he was deported to Mandalay I was at Allahabad. There was absolutely no charge against him which was ever substantiated, and after his deportation he became a national leader. At Allahabad Lala Lajpat Rai showed me in manuscript the account he had written of his life at Mandalay. When I went to Lahore for the second time in 1910 we used to meet frequently. Up to nearly the end of his life he was constantly persecuted, and always without cause. When he went to America he was not permitted to return to India for several years, and on his return he was imprisoned when the organization of Congress volunteers was declared unlawful. The more he suffered at the hands of the Government the stronger became his hold over the country and the higher became his position as a popular leader. In the Indian Legislative Assembly he was recognized as the ablest speaker. Early in 1928 I was in Lahore and had a long conversation with him on the political situation in the country. A few days before his death in November, 1928 he was assaulted by the police at Lahore on the occasion of the arrival of the Simon Commission in that city.



The Man Behind the Machine

The Effect of Rest Pauses

By D. M. SEN, Ph.D.

THE practical necessity of rest pauses is indicated by the fact that no worker, however perfect the organization of the workshop, can continue uninterruptedly at work throughout the whole spell. Rests are invariably taken, whether authorized or not. Not even the most rigid discipline can eliminate fatigue or suppress its effects. Vernon and Jones made a number of investigations on munition workers, in order to obtain an accurate numerical measure of these unofficial resting periods. Rests were not counted if under three minutes in duration. The workers were aware that their output was being counted. It was observed, on an average men rested for about eight minutes per hour, the periods varying from 7'1 to 9'4 minutes. The best workman, whose output was 34 per cent. above that of the worst, took frequent rests at fairly regular intervals in the morning and not so frequently in the afternoon. The next best, more or less did the same. "There can be little doubt," observes Vernon, "that as workmen of considerable experience they were unconsciously trying to follow the law of 'maximum production with minimum effort,' but they fell far short of the ideal, which could in truth be attained only by obedience to a definite and ordered scheme of work spells and rest pauses." Workers engaged on light or medium repetition work rested on an average of three minutes per hour.* The amount of such spontaneous rest varies with the severity of work. Where the work is very severe, as in rolling mills, Vernon found that men on an eight-hour shift took from eleven to fourteen minutes' rest per hour and at pitch loading from twenty-two to twenty-six minutes per hour. Miners rested from seven to twenty-two minutes, including the time of a number of involuntary stoppages, such as waiting for tools and other accessories.

The contention is confirmed by the

following study of a group of workers employed in filling and emptying a series of presses. Each press, after being filled, had to be left under hydraulic pressure for thirty-five minutes, while the other presses in the series had to be emptied and filled. The management calculated the number of presses to each series, which would allow the work to be done in thirty-five minutes at a reasonable pace, but the workers on their own initiative adopted another method. They worked at a pace so organized that the series of presses was emptied and filled in less than twenty-five minutes, after which they rested for ten to twelve minutes until it was time to begin again.* Evidently the operatives preferred work at a very high speed for short periods followed by rest pauses, rather than at a slower but continuous rate throughout the spell. By taking rest which amounted approximately to three hours per day, they were able to do the same amount of work, presumably with greater ease, as that supposed as suitable in spells without any break. Unorganized pauses, taken surreptitiously or due to involuntary waits for material, are of little avail or are even harmful. Experience has shown that regular rest periods organized by the management have a far greater recuperative effect than those taken spontaneously without official sanction. The former may be five times more effective than the latter. † A worker looks forward to a period which is set aside for rest; and he rests better and works better when others are doing likewise. *Practice*, in its technical sense of acquired skill as a disposition, is not lost in pauses of a few minutes' duration.

An excellent illustration of the effect of rest pauses is recorded by the Health of Munition Workers Committee:—Two officers of the fort recently, for a friendly wager, competed in making equal lengths of a

* I. F. R. B. No. 25. The Influences of Rest Pauses on Light Industrial Work.

* Interim Report on Health of Munition Workers Committee on Industrial Health and Efficiency, 1917. Cd. 8511, p. 16.

† I. F. R. B. No. 41 Rest Pauses in Heavy and Moderately Heavy Industrial Work.

certain trench, each with an equal number of men. One let his men work as they pleased, but as hard as possible. The other divided his men into three sets, to work in rotation, each set digging their hardest for five minutes and then resting for ten, till their spell of labour came again. The latter won easily. *

The most striking and oft-quoted instance is the experiment of Taylor on Schmidt.† The investigation was carried out in the handling of pig-iron at the Bethlehem Steel Works. Seventy-five men were engaged in this particularly heavy work and the average amount of pig-iron loaded per head was 12½ tons per day. Determined to find out the effect of rest pauses, Taylor picked out the man Schmidt for the experiment. A man was set over Schmidt with a stop watch who told him when to move and when to rest. He was made to load ten to twenty pigs and rest for a short time, then load another ten to twenty pigs and followed by another and by the end of the day it was found that Schmidt had moved 47½ tons; that is to say, the actual work done was almost quadrupled. He was able to keep up this rate of working for the three years during which he was under observation.

This tremendous improvement, however, cannot be attributed entirely to the introduction of rest pauses. Taylor himself tells us that Schmidt was promised an increase of 60 per cent on his wages provided he followed the given instructions. Obviously this incentive must have had a very important share in the production of this result. Again perhaps too much importance has been attached to this experiment with reference to the scientific nature of the result obtained. The method followed is certainly not suitable in an average industrial workshop. In his physical capacity Schmidt was far above the average workman. So severe was Taylor's standard that out of the original gang of seventy-five men, who are admitted to be "good, average pig-iron handlers," only about one man in eight was physically capable of handling 47½ tons per day. With the very best of intentions, the other seven out of eight men were physically unable to work at the pace. It will be extravagant to claim that Taylor's prodigious success with Schmidt was due to the systematic insertion of rest pauses in the work-spell alone. It can be granted, however,

that Schmidt would never have reached the record had he not been made to rest systematically and that Taylor was one of the pioneer investigators to give us an insight into the fundamental principles underlying the adjustment of work and rest.

In a British munition factory men engaged in heavy moulding work were asked by the authorities to rest fifteen minutes after every forty-five minutes' work. As the workers were on piece-rate they refused to waste so much time fearing a loss in their wages and it was necessary to enforce the rest pauses by keeping a foreman over them. In spite of the unwillingness of the operatives, which might have produced an emotional state prejudicial to their efficiency, the output increased. Another war time instance is that of a boot and shoe factory which desired an increased output facing the increasing demand of the time. The workers were doing forty-one hours in a five-day week. Each double press, which was usually worked by two girls working continuously, was now attended by a group of three girls each working for forty minutes in each hour and resting twenty. There was an increase of output for the six presses worked, of 45, 34, 57, 37, 43 and 75 per cent respectively, the average increase on the whole being 44 per cent. The presses showing the highest improvement were those worked by the least skilled hands, who doubtless were the most fatigued. The operatives welcomed the change and there was a fall in 'lost time' and sickness in the workshop.*

In more recent years several investigations on rest pauses have been carried out in Great Britain and in other countries.† We quote here results obtained from girls engaged in sweet-packing—a light physical work demanding close attention and requiring a high standard in quality throughout. The girls were engaged from 8-30 A.M. to 6 P.M. with an hour's break at 1 o'clock making a total of forty-six hours in a five-and-half-day week and were paid good wages on time basis. Rest pauses of seven minutes were introduced at 11 A.M. and 4 P.M., tea being provided during the

* I. F. R. B. Report 10, pp. 28-32.

† For further reference—see I. F. R. B. Reports No. 25, 26, 29, 32, 41, 50; J. N. I. I. P. Vol. 11, No. 3, and Report No. 13 of the National Industrial Conference—(Rest periods) for Industrial Work Board.

* Memo. 7 (1916), p. 5.

† The Principles of Scientific Management: Taylor, F. W. 1915, p. 42.

afternoon pause. As a result the total amount of work done rose from 83.4 per week to 88 units, an increase of 5.47 per cent.*

Observations by Vernon and Bedford in light medium industrial work record that the insertion of a rest pause of ten minutes' duration in a work spell of 8 A.M. to 12-30 P.M. (in a 48 hour week) brought about an improvement of 13 per cent in the average hourly rate of production, in spite of the daily loss of 2 per cent of working hours; and in another case there was an increase of 11 per cent. Again in an investigation connected with the assembling of bicycle chains, in which the workers were allowed a rest of five minutes every hour, Vernon found that, although the rests absorbed 7 per cent of the working time, the output began to rise immediately after the introduction of the rests, and finally settled down to a level which was 13 per cent greater than in the pre-rest period. Rest pauses have been observed to be particularly valuable in monotonous work.† The introduction of a pause of ten minutes about the middle of the spell of work involving folding and ironing handkerchiefs, and stamping out cigarette tin lids produced an increase in the rate of production varying from 1.5 to 8 per cent. Vernon recorded increases in output of 13, 5, 8, and 11 per cent in four characteristic repetitive processes after the introduction of a rest of ten minutes about the middle of the morning spell of work. In long-continued monotonous activities, inhibiting processes diminish the capacity for work, which is neutralized by suitable rest pauses and the relief obtained is indicated by the rise in the work curve. Since the present tendency in industrial developments is towards standardization and an increase in the amount of repetitive work, the value of rests as a means of alleviating the effects of monotony will become increasingly important. Further, occupations demanding constant attention and higher mental processes, such as telephone work, and inspection, etc. also benefit from rest periods. The work is not necessarily monotonous, but tiring on account of the constant mental strain involved. In 1907 an investigation into the conditions of telephone operatives

in Toronto ended in the interpolation of much appreciated rest pauses at every two-hours' interval.*

It may not be taken for granted that the introduction of rest pauses will immediately be followed by an increase in output. Here the workers' response to the pauses is similar to their response to changes in the length of the working day. The process of adaptation likewise, is probably largely unconscious and physiological in nature, and appears to be due to a gradual modification in the accumulation and utilization of energy within the individual. As Vernon points out, it is essential that employers should realize the slow nature of the adaptation process and not be discouraged by the absence of an immediate response. Before arriving at a definite decision, a trial period of at least three months should be allowed.† In the assembling of bicycle chains quoted above, it was only after a lapse of six months that the girls became *completely* adapted to the altered spells of work so that the full effects of the pause were made manifest. The process was likewise similar in the boot and shoe factory as well. Similar observations have been recorded in various industrial investigations in Great Britain and American metal-working establishments, though the period of adaptation was often shorter.

It must not be imagined, however, that the introduction of the rest periods will be invariably followed by an increased output. Observations do exist which show little or no improvement.

Expert knowledge of the factory condition is essential for insertion of rest pauses with success. From what has been said before about the nature of the work curve, it is evident that the most suitable way of breaking up a work spell can only be determined by careful expert analysis of the work curve. The objective is a better shape of the curve. Hence the rest pause should be introduced at about the time when the output has just reached its maximum. Working capacity is then on the decline and the restorative effects of the pause will tend to maintain working activity at a high level. In this way the greater part of the decrease in output could be avoided and a relatively

* An Experiment in the Introduction of Rest Pauses N. I. I. P.

† I. F. R. B. Report 42.

* Report 13 of the National Industrial Conferences, p. 10.

† I. F. R. B. Report 42, p. 18.

high efficiency maintained throughout the spell. The importance of a suitable distribution is illustrated in the following cases. "In an investigation it was found that two rests of five minutes each, introduced after each fifty minutes in a spell of 2½ hours, gave an increase in output, which was almost twice the increase obtained when only one rest of ten minutes was allowed in the middle of the spell."* A similar variation in output with the variation of the arrangement of rest pauses was observed by Bennett in a laboratory experiment.† The divergence of opinion held by industrial authorities only point to the fact that the problem needs further scientific investigation. "In most work," maintains Gilbreth, "more output can be achieved by applying oneself steadily for short periods and then resting, than by applying oneself less steadily and having no rest period," while Ernest Bernhard of Leipzig holds, "A shorter working day with more intensive work secures a greater output than a longer day with rest pauses." Each of these statements may be true for particular kinds of work, but investigations are needed before either can be accepted generally.‡

The optimum duration of the rest pauses is again a complicated question. It must vary according to the intensity of the work. In general, it must not be too long, since in such a pause *incitement* and *settlement* may be lost. Neither must it be too short, because the organism must be allowed to restore itself sufficiently; *incitement* may be preserved when the break is very short, but fatigue may not be dispelled satisfactorily. The optimum rest aims at reduction of fatigue, boredom and other detrimental factors, while at the same time preservation of *incitement*, (warming-up state of activity) and, *settlement* and interest. There may be working conditions where an effective rest pause must necessarily be long. During such a pause *incitement* and *settlement* are lost, but so are fatigue and monotony, while the tendency to spurt is increased. The post-rest output may start at a relatively lower level, but its steady rise more than makes up for what has been lost during the rest. *Practice* in its technical sense of acquired skill as a disposition, is not lost during such a break.

The question naturally arises how should the rest be taken? The problem has received little attention from the investigators in the industrial sphere. It is customary in many industrial establishments to let the workers have a cup of tea or perhaps a little food during the pause. In the majority of factories, extra arrangements for the utilization of rest periods may be out of the question. But a mere change of position is often a valuable method of rest. Those who work seated in more or less trying positions, can probably rest to best advantage by moving around. On the other hand, men engaged in strenuous physical work need more complete relaxation and will appreciate a reclining posture. It has been experimentally proved that fatigue is dispelled by a change of posture following any continuous work.* Vernon maintains even if it be only a minute's rest a change of posture is desirable. "That is to say, operatives who have to stand at their work should sit down on as comfortable a seat as possible, whilst those who sit at their work should stand up, and still better, if it can be achieved without inconvenience, should walk about." The favourable effects attained by the change in bodily posture are attributed by Vernon to a better circulation,† with the result that the fatigue products are removed more freely due to the increased supply of oxygen, and efficiency in consequence increased. In some American factories, regular provision for recreation exercise, and ventilation has been made and much appreciated by the workers.‡

There is no best way of spending a rest pause. Each factory and each class of work requires a method of its own which can only be achieved on a thorough examination of the existing conditions. To be fully effective a rest pause needs comprehensive and sympathetic management besides the mere stopping of work.

An interesting organization of work and rest exists in a Yorkshire Worsteds Weaving Factory where the manager is firmly convinced that it is undesirable and uneconomical for the operatives to work for more than two hours without a break. He has accordingly introduced the following distribution of hours of work, which has been in vogue for several years.

* I. F. R. B. Report 32, p. 34.

† I. F. R. B. Report 30, p. 10

‡ I. F. R. B. Report 42.

* N. I. I. P. J. Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 90.

† I. F. R. B. Report 29, pp. 43, 46.

‡ Public Health Bulletin No. 106, p. 176.

7.0-8.30	First spell
8.30-9.0	Breakfast interval
9.0-10.45	Second spell
10.45-11.0	Rest
11.0-12.45	Third spell
12.45-1.30	Dinner interval
1.30-3.15	Fourth spell
3.15-3.30	Rest
3.30-5.0	Fifth spell.

During the rest pauses the engine is stopped and the operatives are free to do as they like. Most of them spend the time in the picturesque grounds surrounding the factory, and the pauses are much appreciated and never abused. From the standpoint of production the manager maintains that the results are superior to those obtained before the rests were introduced.*

The influence of rest pauses on the general health of workers is also of great economic importance. The records of an American chain-manufacturing plant showed that the general health of the worker having rest-periods, during which they took physical exercise under an instructor, had been greatly improved.† Similar phenomena were observed in a tapestry factory. Here rest pauses were introduced in the embroidery department in July, 1927. "During the five months, August to December, the time lost through sickness was 25 per cent less than during the same months of 1926. These figures are rendered particularly striking by the fact that a similar comparison made for the rest of the factory show that in all other departments absence through sickness was 73 per cent more frequent during August to December, 1927 than during August—December 1926."‡

The value of rest pauses, apparently varies, to some extent, with the individual and with the relative position it occupies in the length of the working spell. It was

found that it acted most advantageously in the case of slow workers and least in the case of quick ones. Thus a ten minutes' pause brought about an increase of 8 per cent. in the quickest group of girls engaged in labelling, of 13 per cent. in the intermediate group, and 17 per cent. in the slowest group. Thus, although theoretically the optimum rest will be different for different individuals, but in practice it is necessary to determine the conditions which will give the best average results. The particular good of the individual must be sunk in the general advantage for all. And "there is reason to believe that the rate of restoration of working capacity during rest is greatest in the early stages of the pause, but progressively decreases as the pause proceeds.* If this is so, each unit of time during the pause is economically less valuable than the one preceding it, and the extension of the pause beyond a certain point becomes productively undesirable."† If the same recuperative effect is desired, the length of the pause must be proportionately increased as work is prolonged.

On the whole, to find out the right poise between work and rest it is essential to examine the following phenomena, namely the initial supply of energy, the rate at which it is being consumed, the rate at which it is being replenished and the length of the period of consumption. When a man is engaged in industrial work throughout the day, most of his energy is spent by the evening. On the following morning he has a fresh supply at his disposal and another day is pulled through. But the process of recovery during the interval of two shifts is hardly ever complete and "an increasing debit balance is carried forward from day to day to be liquidated at the week-end." The hope of industry in the future lies in a right understanding of the nature, the causes, the results and the prevention of 'industrial fatigue.'§

* I. F. R. B. Report No. 42.

† "Rest Periods for Industrial Workers," Report No. 13 of the National Conference Board, p. 7.

‡ An Investigation in a Tapestry Factory. N. I. I. P. J. Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 165.

* Mental Fatigue: Phillips-Sydney 1920, p. 93.

† I. F. R. B. Report-42.

§ Industrial Fatigue.—Stanley Kent, p. 187.

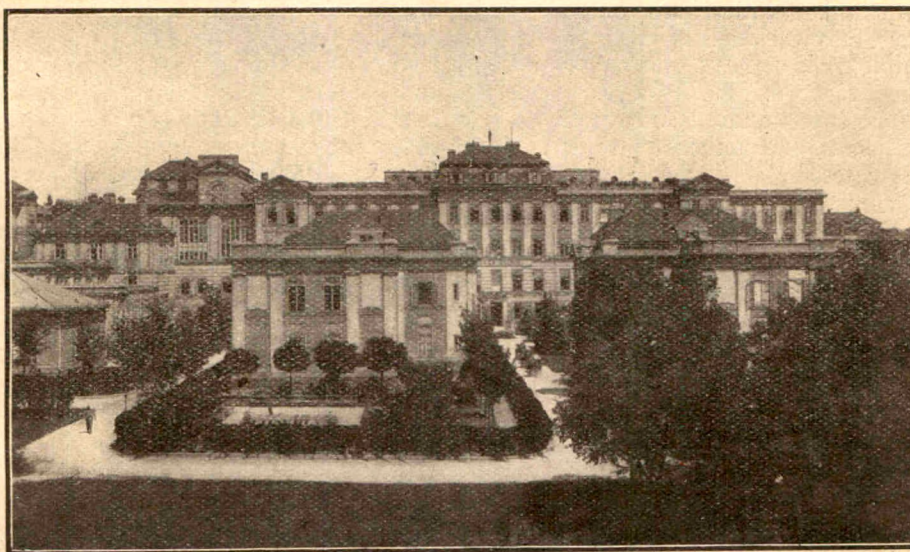
The University Children's Clinic In Vienna*

By K. C. CHAUDHURI, M.B.

THE University Children's Clinic in Vienna, as is well known, is one of the finest institutions of its kind in the whole world. This new clinic was opened in 1911 by the celebrated Professor Pirquet who has recently died. The design was conceived and worked out by his predecessor, the late Professor Eschereich, whose zeal and enthusiasm made possible an understanding between the Government then existing and St. Anna Kinderspital, which had been serving the purpose of University Clinic since 1851, and to bring the new institution really into being.

sick children's public institute in Vienna), and in 1828 was constructed the St. Anna Kinderspital, the second special children's hospital in the world, the first being the "Hopital des Enfant Malades" in Paris (Hospital of sick children in Paris). Among the directors of this clinic are to be found the names of many prominent pediatricians like Mauthner von Mauthstein, Wiederhofer, Eschereich and Pirquet.

The special features of this clinic are that this is not run, like many others, as mere asylums for sick children, where physicians take notice only of their bodily



General view of the Children's Clinic

It is a matter of no small pride to the Viennese people that they were among the very first to realize the necessity of having special children's clinics. So far back as 1787 Mastalier opened the first children's out-patient department called the "Erste Öffentliche Kinderkrankeninstitut in Wien" (first

afflictions without any regard to physical and mental development. The aim of this clinic is not only to improve and promote health but also to guarantee proper mental and moral welfare of the young patients. With this end in view the clinic is provided with a school, and a department for the training of mentally abnormal children. The children, suffering from latent tuberculosis or any such chronic illness which necessitates a long stay in the hospital, receive regular instructions

* From the University Children's Clinic, Vienna. Officiating Director:—Professor E. Nobel. The photographs with this article, except one, are published by the courtesy of the Clinic.



Roof Garden for Tuberculosis Patients

in the school. The other department, as has been already said, takes care of the children of abnormal mentality. These two features of this clinic are unique, and seldom found anywhere else.

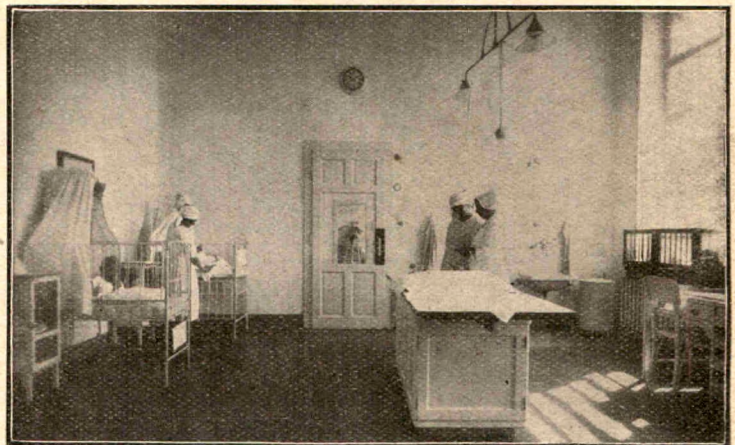
The clinic consists of one big building and two small ones. It has a bed accommodation of two hundred and twenty, of which about half the number are reserved for tuberculosis cases.

The out-patients departments, both general and infectious, are situated on the ground floor, one on either side of the entrance hall and waiting-room. The general out-patients' department consists of several rooms, one for big children, one for babies and so on. There is also arrangement and rooms for special diseases, such as those of eye, ear, skin, heart, etc. The infectious out-patients' department also consists of several rooms, separated from each other, as also from the others by glass doors and partitions. It leads immediately through a corridor to the infectious ward. So that if admission is decided on, the isolation of the patient is effective. The ground floor also accommodates the X-ray department, the chemical, metabolic and other laboratories, two seminar rooms, the dining saloon of the assistants and others. The work in the

out-patients' department starts at 11 o'clock. An average of hundred children visits the clinic every day. Normal children are observed twice a week. Accurate records of all observations and findings are kept on card index system, and numbered tickets are given to the patients, thus making it possible to have a "follow-up", when necessary.

On the first floor are the ward for children with positive Pirquet reaction for tuberculo-

sis and three single cabins for patients with active tuberculous disease. In this floor are also found the chiefs' office, assistants' rooms, lecture-theatre, museum and library. The theatre is used for lectures and demonstration to the physicians and students as well as for the sittings of the "Gesellschaft für Kinderheilkunde." (Association of children's specialists). The entrances are so arranged, one on either



Babies' Station

side, that one leads to the general wards, and the other to the infectious wards, so that when infectious cases are brought for demonstration, there is no communication whatsoever with other cases.

On the second floor are wards far non-

tuberculous patients and babies. The first ward is divided into small cubicles by glass partitions, sufficiently high to prevent any transference by contact or coughing or sneezing. Each bed has three sides surrounded by partitions and one side open. There are fourteen beds in this ward. The babies' ward, where babies under one year are admitted, consists of several rooms, no one containing more than four beds. The total bed-accommodation is twenty-four. One of the rooms is worked on the

box-system. The beds are surrounded on all sides by glass partitions, one side of which serves the purpose of a door and slides on a pulley. Ventilation is made possible by the openings above and below. The mattresses and sides are removable and can be easily cleaned. It has been found that premature babies and others suffering from respiratory diseases may be kept in these boxes without any transference of the infection. They also protect against possible infection of these susceptible cases through physicians or visitors.



General Station (C).

and during school-hours, which altogether amount to about four hours. They are heavily clad during winter months, and little ones sometimes require hot-water bottles. In the treatment of these cases, emphasis is placed on fresh air and quantitative simple feeding on Pirquet system, and the results are wonderful. It should be mentioned here that the whole arrangement is cheap.

The two smaller buildings, which are called Weiderhofer and Eschereich pavilions, house three wards and the school. Eschereich pavilion has the diabetic and diphtheria wards and the Wiederhofer the school and the ward for abnormal children.

The infectious ward is an annexe to the main building and is constructed on the model of the "Hopital Pasteur" in Paris, with the only difference that it has a passage running between the two rows of boxes. It consists of ten boxes, five on each side, separated from each other by glass partitions from the roof to the floor. The entrances to the boxes are on opposite sides of each other. This ward has twenty beds, and is contiguous with an observation station for infectious and suspicious cases. The separate pavilion system for each kind of infectious disease which is too expensive, is not followed here. It has been found that isolation and protection against cross-infection is quite effective except for measles and chicken-pox. In the basement are the kitchen, and machine-rooms, etc. The instruction to the physicians and students is given by the Chief of the clinic in a series of lectures and demonstrations, held three times a week during the winter semester and five times during the summer. The number of cases demonstrated during the

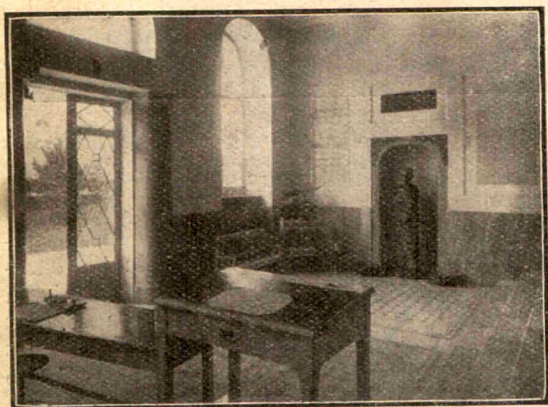


Infectious Station

On the roof are wards for tuberculous patients, open on all sides except for a shed above. There are two more wards with twenty beds each for severer cases with good future outlook. Children are kept both winter and summer outside. They go in only for meals,

winter semester of 1924-25 was 428, and lectures 47, while in the summer semester 244 cases were demonstrated and 40 lectures delivered. The curriculum is divided into (1) diseases of older children and infectious diseases in one semester and (2) diseases of the new-born and feeding of sick and healthy children in the other. Assistants in twenty repetition lectures cover the whole subject of pediatrics. The Chief of the clinic, with all his assistants and interns, both native and

care of patients, but also for advancement of knowledge, and they all contribute materially to the progress of science. This is always kept in view, and it is a matter of sincere pleasure that a number of important papers are being published every now and then from this clinic.



Out-patient's Department (Entrance Hall)

foreign, makes ward-rounds thrice a week, and discusses and demonstrates all the newly admitted cases, or any other important subject. Students are not admitted in these ward-rounds.

The work of the clinic is done by the chief, 7 assistants and 12 interns, who are taken for one year. Apart from this there are special part-time physicians for Orthopaedics, Dentistry, Dermatology, Cardiology. The assistants and interns are not permitted any private practice. The admission of foreign post-graduate students is restricted to a limited number about 24 and is conditional on their agreement to work here at least three months, and paying a small fee to the laboratory fund of the clinic.

This clinic, as also the other university clinics in Vienna, places not only for the



The Writer with a Group of Happy Patients

Connected with this clinic, and about eight miles away from it, there is a convalescent home for tuberculous patients. It is planned on the same lines as the roof-garden of the clinic, and is also run on the same principles.

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The Afghan Civil War (1928-1929)

By PROF. N. N. GHOSH, M. A.

I

TRAGIC EXIT OF KING AMANULLAH

THE recent Afghan civil war furnishes a theme for a drama in three acts, in which the chief actors are ex-King Amanullah, the brigand chief Bachha-i-Sakau and General Nadir Khan.

A second son of the late Amir Habibullah, Amanullah Khan came to the throne by a *coup d'état* which was as sudden as it was dramatic. Young, energetic, full of ardent patriotism and reforming zeal, possessed of a fine army, a modern arsenal and a united Afghanistan which the tact and statesmanship of Amir Habibullah had left for his successor, Amanullah appeared on the stage with all the brilliance of past greatness, and the promise of still greater glory ahead. He began well. He won from the British Government in India, as a result of the Third Afghan War, independence in foreign matters. The newly acquired liberty, which is fitly celebrated every year in Afghanistan on the National Independence Day, Amanullah utilized in making a tour of the European countries, and establishing independent diplomatic relations with Afghanistan. The flattering reception which Amanullah received in Europe and in England was unique for an Asiatic prince of newly found independence. But Amanullah did not go there to be flattered, fêted and toasted—he went there to study and work. He was conscious of the strategic importance of his country, the desire of the European powers to keep on friendly terms with Afghanistan for diplomatic reasons, the immense potentiality of Afghanistan, where every man from sixteen to sixty could be turned into a fine soldier, to play an important part in Asiatic diplomacy if only he could be modernized. It was not a pleasure trip that he took to Europe but a pilgrimage of an earnest student to study the modern conditions of the great countries of Europe with a view to apply them to the best advantage of his country. His diplomacy with the European countries was aimed not at secret treaties or

compacts but open understandings for exchange of students and experts. Hence he was the reformer. But, unfortunately, he was misunderstood by his country. He did not pull down old institutions and old customs and beliefs of Afghanistan for the mere



King Amanullah and Queen Souriya

pleasure of destroying them; and to pain orthodox Afghanistan. He was naturally incapable of giving unnecessary pain to any person, least of all, the Afghan people, whom he loved and cherished as the dearest

objects of his life. He destroyed only to construct upon a solid basis. The negative side of his reformation was preliminary to constructive work. With a genuine love for his country, a robust optimism and indefatigable energy, the young king began his work of reconstruction which almost transformed Afghanistan within a short space of two years. But as ill luck would have it, (Afghanistan appears to remain doomed for some years yet), the career of that great man, who was indeed greater than any other Afghan, was cut short by ignorant, obstinate and factious opposition which is the curse of Afghanistan, in common with the most of the Eastern countries. Modern parliamentary government, freedom of women, mass education, technical and higher education, sending out Afghan girl students to Europe to train as teachers, nurses, midwives and doctors, and Afghan boys to train as engineers, mechanics, pilots etc. was the programme which received his immediate attention. Given a longer lease of power, he could have turned Afghanistan into a civilized and modern country, and a first class power. Was it an empty dream incapable of fulfilment? Did not a Peter the Great or a Mustafa Kemal transform an eastern country steeped in mediaeval darkness, into a powerful modern state? What is the wrong there? Was it a blind apish copy of the West with which Amanullah was unjustly accused by his enemies? The writer does not hold that view. Civilization, whether of the Western or Eastern type, is not the monopoly of that quarter of the globe where it first grew. Amanullah, following in the footsteps of his illustrious prototypes—Peter the Great and Mustafa Kemal, attempted to utilize only that much of Western civilization which would contribute to make Afghanistan a united, national, independent and powerful State, and Afghans respected as citizens of a free country. Even admitting that there is much that is evil in Western civilization, there is an excellent aspect of Western civilization which counterbalances all the evils that might be there. This is freedom. The spirit of freedom permeates the civilization of the West—national freedom, individual freedom, and spiritual freedom. The Westerner loves freedom and worships freedom. He knows how to defend his individual freedom and knows how to sacrifice himself for his country's freedom. He has, therefore, been able to build an effective guard for the

freedom of his country. Western peoples, big or small, thus enjoy the blessings of freedom which is denied to many countries of the East. Western civilization has thus this supreme message to give to the East—the message of freedom and the education which brings that freedom and guards that freedom effectively. What is culture without freedom? What message has a slave country to give to a free country? Who will hear that? Eastern culture and philosophy have lost its backbone because of the loss of freedom. National freedom is the first love of the Westerner. Modern arsenals, aeroplanes, bombs, shells, gas and guns are watchmen of national freedom, and education in all its aspects—general, scientific, technical, mechanical, engineering and medical—sustains that freedom and keeps it lively. Freedom then becomes a blessing not only for the country which enjoys it but for the world at large. This is the supreme message, the message of freedom—grown not in isolation as of old but in contact with the world at large and sustained by an all-comprehensive scheme of education and reforms which Amanullah felt the need of imbibing from the West and giving it to his country. It is only the stuporous ignorance and blind orthodoxy of the *mullahs* which dubbed him as *Kafir*. The Afghan people do not know what harm they have done to their country by driving out such a friend. Posterity when it will receive the light of knowledge and understand the real interest of the country, will curse the causes which brought about the fall of King Amanullah. The noble Afghan Amanullah was great in foresight, great in imagination and great in action. His appearance on the stage was brilliant, stay attractive and exit tragic. Will he ever come back to the Afghan throne is the question which still agitates with hopeful and eager expectations the minds of the friends and well-wishers of that unfortunate country. The Afghans have once more proved the adage that a people gets the kind of government it deserves.

II

ADVENT OF THE BRIGAND CHIEF BACHHA-I-SAKAU

The man who led the Afghan opposition is Bachha-i-Sakau. Son of a *bhistiwalla* in Kabul, and himself formerly a tea shop-

keeper in Peshawar, the career of this remarkable man is romantic. Leaving the tea shop at Peshawar he became a soldier in the King Amanullah's army. Disgusted with what he, like many others of the orthodox school in Afghanistan, considered ridiculous innovations regarding clothes, beard, veil and head-dress, and the reforms of much more serious type calculated to injure the sanctity of Islam, Bachha-i-Sakau left the king's service, took a vow "to serve the cause of God and the *Kalima* by opposing the irreligious Amir and helping the cause of the *Ulema* and *Shariat* and of the Holy Prophet." He turned a brigand, became a leader of fourteen men and very much after the style of Robin Hood began to hold up and loot convoys on the main road north of Kabul. His polite robberies, sometimes accompanied by killing in case of motor drivers trying to make a bolt instead of pulling up at the point of the rifle, created a panic in Kabul but won for him more recruits. Immediately before the Shinwari revolt he had under him three hundred men well equipped with rifles. Many attempts to capture or kill him by Amanullah's troops failed and his depredations increased. In a short time the name of the rebel leader was spoken throughout Afghanistan with respect and dread as a man possessed of a charmed life. At this time troubles clustered thick around Amanullah. The conservative Tajik community, of which Bachha-i-Sakau was a member, now openly criticized the activities of Amanullah and their loyalty was shaken. The *mullahs* throughout the country roused the tribes—even the tribes on the Indian side of the Durand line to take action against the infidel, unworthy king who went against the *Shariat*. The Shinwaris, a powerful and warlike tribe in the eastern Afghanistan, south of Kabul, actually revolted; the Ghilzais, a rich and populous tribe, west of the Kabul province, notorious for their traditional enmity for the reigning house of Kabul ever since the Durrani were established on the throne by Ahmed Shah Durrani, had their factious spirit roused, and waited for an opportune moment to rise. Amanullah knew that he could never rely on the loyalty of the Ghilzais.

Bachha-i-Sakau studied the political situation and was in secret communication with the traitors in Kabul, who, apparently the king's trusted officers and loyal friends,

were really his enemies. He understood the plight to which the king was reduced by his failure to crush the Shinwari revolt which was surprisingly obstinate in character. And ambitious to play a bigger part than the rôle of a robber he planned a *coup* which succeeded beyond his fondest expectations. He suddenly surrendered to the king with all his men, three hundred strong, equipped with modern rifles; swore on the Koran



Bachha-i-Sakau

eternal loyalty to Amanullah who with his characteristic generosity and credulity received him with open arms and made him a colonel in his army, and supplying him with men, rifles, ammunition and 80,000 rupees sent him to fight the Shinwaris. Having his force thus augmented and his purse filled up Bachha-i-Sakau made straight for Kohidaman, his home, and briskly recruited more soldiers from among his own tribesmen apparently for the King's service. Imagine the consternation,

dismay and despair of Amanullah when Bachha-i-Sakau instead of going to fight the Shinwaris attacked Kabul. At this point Amanullah showed a lack of firmness and military dash and skill in proportion as Bachha-i-Sakau gave a demonstration of his military genius. Although the king was in possession of artillery, air force and armoured cars, Bachha-i-Sakau with his two thousand men hung round Kabul for twelve days winning skirmishes and occupying forts round the capital. But feeling that it would not be possible to take Kabul unless he had artillery, he silently left Kabul and retreated into the fastness of hills, closely pursued by the king's troops as he had inwardly wished. There, in the open, he lured the king's troops into a trap and captured them all, bag and baggage and then armed with the captured guns he again attacked Kabul and began to bombard it. Amanullah was nonplussed. At this psychological moment Pir Sahib of Shor Bazar, a powerful *mullah* who commands the largest following in Afghanistan, appeared on the scene. He appealed to the King to save unnecessary bloodshed and loss of life in a civil war by abdicating in favour of his brother Inayetullah. The apparent sincerity of the Pir Sahib who was at heart against Amanullah deceived the king. The deception was easy because the argument of the Pir Sahib coincided with the king's own wish. He hated to shed more blood and kill more lives of his beloved Afghans for the sake of the throne. He never looked upon the throne as gift or a privilege to be used for personal comfort, luxury or ambition. He looked upon it as an office and as a trust full of obligations and responsibilities. As an office-holder and trustee he drew up a programme of work which the Pir argued brought about civil war. Amanullah thought he would better abdicate in favour of his brother if that would bring peace to the country. He also felt that his programme of work would be safer in the hands of his brother than on Bachha-i-Sakau's, and hoping that the opposition would now rally round his brother against the rebel, he abdicated and retired with his family to Kandahar. But the reign of Inayetullah was surprisingly short. Bachha made it too hot for the new king to keep the throne for more than a few days. Following the old saying 'better a live prince than a dead king', Inayetullah Khan, described as "a fat,

clean-shaven, sport-loving man, very fond of tennis but not as active and intelligent as his brother Amanullah," took safety in flight and later joined his brother at Kandahar *via* Chaman.

Thus the fondest dreams of the brigand chief was realized. The robber king entered Kabul and sat on the throne which had hitherto been graced by the scions of one of the highest and proudest Afghan tribes—the Durrani. The robber king took the proud name of Habibullah Ghazi. But did the name cover his plebeian blood, plebeian appearance and lack of mental equipment? What a contrast to the late king—Amanullah, the greatest of Afghans who ever sat on the Afghan throne, but whom the ill-fated Afghans, worked on by blind fanaticism and woeful ignorance hounded out from that throne and gave it to a man whose fittest place was the gallows or the prison house!

Of middle height, his face pock-marked to a horrible degree and far darker than the average Afghan, the robber king was completely illiterate and his orders were signed by the thumb imprint. And although the new king began his rule with a pious manifesto full of righteous indignation against the irreligious reforms of the late king, promising a 'golden reign' for the deluded people of Afghanistan, the real man was soon out of the mask! His plebeian mind, ungovernable passion, the bitter spirit of revenge and a taste for loot soon made his enemies great or small, and even those who were suspected of sympathy for the late king, victims of untold suffering. The Afghans had a bitter taste of the robber king's rule for a little over nine months. With what relief do we turn to the picture of the late King Amanullah drawn by Aga Ahmed Khan, who was on the personal staff of Amanullah Khan for seven years. Interviewed by an Associated Press representative at Peshawar on February 19, 1929, he said Amanullah was an ideal ruler. He regularly prayed for the amelioration of Afghanistan after every *Nimax*. He was a noble-hearted and patriotic king, the like of which the Afghans had never seen. The ex-King's love for his nation overpowered him so much that all the reforms were introduced in rapid succession though his councillors were in favour of introducing them by instalments. "If Amanullah is not successful in regaining his lost throne which catastrophe every well-wisher of Afghanistan heartily wishes

to be avoided, the time will come when the Afghan people will remember a benefactor like Amanullah and curse themselves and those *mullahs* and priests who have been instrumental in depriving Afghanistan of the services of such a well-meaning, energetic and patriotic ruler."

III

THE APPEARANCE OF GENERAL NADIR KHAN, THE PEACE-MAKER

General Nadir Khan with his brothers appeared on the scene as a peace-maker. He is connected by blood with ex-royal family and held a high position under Amanullah. For some reason or other a coolness sprang up between the two men and Nadir Khan retired to France. But at this hour of crisis in Afghanistan, requested by both Amanullah and Bachha-i-Sakau, the general appeared on the scene to bring peace to his mother country, torn by civil war. Tall but leaner than the average Afghan of good family, the melancholy cast of his face with a pair of broad-rimmed spectacles covering two clear eyes, his protruded chin and compressed lips shows seriousness, intelligence and determination.

The general had a wonderful reception in India. Indians of all ranks and communities were sincerely sorry for Amanullah and they wished him back on the throne. General Nadir Khan was, therefore, welcomed with joy and enthusiasm as the man who would do the job. From Bombay to Peshawar Nadir Khan's journey was a triumphant procession such as falls to the lot of the most revered of Indian leaders. But the general was wonderfully discreet in all his replies to welcome addresses or the interviewers' queries. He had his own reason for not committing himself absolutely one way or the other. He would first see how far Amanullah had alienated the sympathies of the tribes before he chalked out his line of action. Only at Lahore station, perhaps moved by the unprecedented enthusiasm of thousands of Moslems, Hindus and Sikhs, assembled to accord him a reception, did the general in an unguarded moment declare that "he would not rest until he had seen Amanullah back on the throne of his ancestors." This remark was taken exception to by some acute international lawyers and anti-Amanullahites who raised a question whether

it would be right for Indian Government to allow a belligerent against the *de facto* Kabul Government free passage. But they seemed to forget that although Bachha-i-Sakau was the actual ruler he was not yet recognized as the *de jure* ruler of Afghanistan, and that King Amanullah, having rescinded his abdication after the flight of his brother from Kabul, set up his flag in Kandahar, and that Nadir Khan was not yet a belligerent. He had no army with him and recruited no army in India, nor possessed any arms and ammunition. His mission was to reach Afghanistan and then decide what he would do. As such he and his brothers had every right to pass through India as free Afghans as they had passed through France and the high seas.

At Peshawar Nadir Khan was met by Sirdar Ali Ahmed Jan. The Sirdar was the Governor of Kabul during Amanullah's reign. But after the latter's abdication he made Jalalabad his headquarters, and declared himself Amir of Western Afghanistan, but defeated by Bachha-i-Sakau in battle was forced to flee for his life from there and reached Peshawar on his way to Kandahar to join his former master and ask for forgiveness. There at Peshawar the two men met in conference but the conversation failed to bring about any definite results. Ali Ahmed Jan was strongly of opinion that the election of a ruler was not practical politics in Afghanistan, for the country had not yet reached the stage to appreciate the democratic principles of a republic. But Nadir Khan was against forcing a king upon the people of Afghanistan against their will even though he personally liked him. He would do or say nothing for Amanullah until he had received a verdict of the tribes in a *Jirgah*. He then finally declined the invitations of Amanullah to go to Kandahar and left Peshawar on March 6 for Khost. He had of course treated the invitations of Bachha-i-Sakau with the contempt they deserved. In a letter to Bachha-i-Sakau Nadir Khan rebuked him for making himself king since he was clearly without the qualifications for the kingship of Afghanistan. In the same letter he invited Bachha-i-Sakau in a conference for the purpose of selecting a ruler. In reply Bachha-i-Sakau imprisoned all the members of Nadir Khan's family, confiscated his property in Kabul and distributed leaflets by aeroplanes in South

Afghanistan offering a big price for Nadir Khan's head. The anger of Bachha-i-Sakau against Nadir Khan for the refusal to join him against Amanullah was great, indeed! The indictment against the general in the proclamation which Bachha-i-Sakau issued and distributed by aeroplanes among the eastern and western tribes about the end of April is interesting reading, as it reminds one of the old saying, "grapes are sour."

The proclamation reads:

Whereas we have received intimation that Muhammad Nadir Khan has set on the path which borders on to treason against the paramount Muslim State and whereas he wishes to sow the seeds of discord and disunion among Moslems, I hereby make it known to you that he is the same Nadir who was Commander-in-chief of the late Amir and whose brothers and relatives were the Amir's assistant commanders and advisers.

It was his party which was responsible for the murder of the late Amir (Habibullah), an established fact to which the whole of Afghanistan bears witness. Having done with the Amir the general and his men turned their kind attention to Amanullah, and because their machinations against him did not fructify them against the commandments of Islam and the rules of Hijrat migrated from a Moslem kingdom to the infidel land (France). Now, wherefore I being Amir of the Moslems and Defender of the Faith took mercy upon them and being unaware of their evil intentions allowed them to come back to their country.

The brothers were summoned with honour from Europe. But because during their stay in Europe they had been partaking of ham and bacon which has permeated their blood vessels and blackened all their fibre and veins they on arrival in Afghanistan rose up against me and instigated the people to rebel.

For the above reasons I consider it lawful to take their blood. Be it known, therefore, to all and sundry that any one capturing Nadir Khan alive will get a reward of Rs. 40,000 and one gun and any one bringing his head will get Rs. 30,000 and one gun. For the capture of each of his brothers I promise a reward of Rs. 10,000 and a gun.

Amir Habibullah*

Nothing daunted Nadir Khan pursued his plan of work. He would join neither party. He was there in Afghanistan not as a partisan but as a peace-maker. He would avoid fight if possible; but if fighting became necessary he would fight independently. His first objective was Kabul which he must occupy and drive Bachha-i-Sakau from the throne. Then he would hold a representative *Jirgah* of all the tribes in Afghanistan for the selection of a king.

About this time Amanullah was making a final bid for the throne. Having recruited

an army of 30,000 at Kandahar he left for Kabul. Nadir Khan was marking his time at Gardez when Amanullah reached Ghazni. Against heavy temptations did Nadir Khan restrain himself from joining his forces with Amanullah's at this psychological moment even though he knew that victory would be certain in case of a joint attack. Why did he not join Amanullah? Because he had had no opportunity yet to feel the pulse of the entire Afghan nation by holding a representative *Jirgah* of all the tribes of the four quarters of Afghanistan. Such a *Jirgah* could not be held until he had captured and disarmed Bachha and established his power in Kabul. Could he at this time commit himself irrevocably to support Amanullah in his bid for the throne and keep the flames of civil war alive? What if the anti-Amanullah tribes whom he had not yet found time and opportunity to sound properly still nursed their grievances against Amanullah? What influence would he have with those tribes if they knew that he had come there as a partisan of King Amanullah and not as an impartial peace-maker? Let Amanullah regain his throne if he can and have it out with the people. He would not oppose him. But if he failed then it would be his task to oust Bachha-i-Sakau from power, occupy Kabul and there to ask for the verdict of the nation, who is to be their king? If the representative *Jirgah* wanted to have Amanullah back on the throne he would like nothing better. But if they wanted a different man he would bow down to the decision and thus put an end to the civil war.

That was the train of thought which apparently worked in his mind when he was marking his time at Gardez, when Amanullah was at the gate of Ghazni, after an arduous march of two months and another detachment of his forces had reached within sixteen miles from Kabul by a different route.

The sudden defection of the treacherous Ghilzais who had promised neutrality to Amanullah made his position precarious. He failed to take Ghazni and his force which advanced on Arghandi and Baghala, sixteen miles south-east of Kabul, was cut off from their base at Kandahar and subsequently defeated. Thus Amanullah's final bid for the throne which he was within an ace of recapturing ended in failure. He fled the country and reached Bombay *en route* for Italy.

Nadir was now free to act. Two forces

* *Pioneer*, 24th April, 1929.

advanced on Kabul, one under the General himself from the direction of Gardez over the Ultimur Pass and the other from the direction of Mirza Kai Pass under Nadir's brother Shah Muhammad. Nadir's force succeeded in penetrating some miles down the Logar valley. But before he had the opportunity to engage Habibullah's forces which were advancing to meet him, he had to retreat with his force to Mirzakai owing to the defection of a body of Ghilzais under Ghusudin.

Shah Muhammad also succeeded in penetrating the valley and met with some success in the first engagement. Perhaps things would have taken a favourable turn if he had been able to come and establish his contact with his brother's forces earlier, before the defection of the Ghilzais compelled Nadir Khan to retreat. Shah Muhammad alone found the position difficult. He could not take advantage of his recent victory over Habibullah's army at Mohand Aga (May 1). He was within 30 miles of Kabul—but his advance was impossible. Habibullah's troops were reinforced by the Ghilzais who captured and burnt a large portion of Kushi village and pressed hard on Shah Muhammad who was therefore compelled to retreat to Mirzakai where he joined his brother. Thus the first attempt of Nadir Khan to advance on Kabul with an armed force through the Logar valley ended in failure. The defeat in the Logar valley was most unfortunate. It ensured the brigand's rule for another six months in Afghanistan and deferred Nadir Khan's objective and kept the civil war aflame, which apart from adding to the distress of the law-abiding, peace-loving citizens of Kabul and other places, even tired the turbulent and war-loving tribes of the country. A detailed account of the events which marked alternately the reverses and successes of Nadir Khan for six months (May-October) ultimately leading to victory cannot have a place in this short paper. They will form a fitter theme for a bigger book. Suffice it to say that those six months have been the most trying time of Nadir Khan's life testing his mental powers to the utmost. The prospect before Nadir Khan after his reverse at Logar valley was very gloomy indeed. Bachha-i-Sakau flushed with recent victory became more tyrannical, his proclamations more pompous, his recruitment brisker. Nadir Khan's lashkars fell away and his purse ran short. Discouraged on all

sides at the turn of events a gloom overcast his mind and he fell ill. Rumours leaked out in India that he was killed or taken prisoner or had died of illness.

But as a matter of fact Nadir Khan neither died of illness nor was taken prisoner nor killed. He was able to shake off his illness and gloom. A timely gift of a handsome purse from Amanullah's Trade Agent at Peshawar, Sardar Abdul Hakim Khan, turned the tide. The Sardar deserves an important place in a future history of Afghanistan for his unswerving loyalty to Amanullah, that is almost heroic. Nadir Khan again launched into the field of action with still greater vigour and hopefulness. Briskly moving about among the friendly tribes, recruiting lashkars and gathering contributions of money, sending emissaries and carrying on a propaganda through his newspaper *Islah*, he was able to rally back many a wavering tribe. In his final attempt the steadfast loyalty of the Wazirs and their excellent fighting quality were a pillar of strength to him. All the different sections of Wazirs were eager to fight for Nadir Khan. Wazirs on our side of the Durand line were with difficulty stopped from joining their brethren by the timely action and tact of the British Resident in Waziristan, supported by responsible *Maliks* who were well aware of the danger involved in participation in the fighting.

By the middle of September Nadir was ready for action. A triple attack on Kabul was planned. His two brothers, Shah Wali and Hashim led two separate forces, and he led a third. The forces under Shah Wali, the hero of Kabul capture, consisted of Waziri and Jaji lashkars and were to operate from Dabendi, which is six miles from the Kohistani outpost at Khushi. He had thus a double duty to do. He was to defend the Logar valley against the attack of the Kohistani by this route, and also to attack Kabul from that direction. The plan succeeded admirably. Shah Wali's brilliant dash for Kabul which caps Bachha-i-Sakau's own dramatic appearance at its gates by the same route last winter, resulted in the capture of the city on October 13. The effect of the fall of Kabul was the fall of Jalalabad to Nadir Khan. The Mohands and anti-Habibullah Shinwaris led by Mohammad Afzal definitely routed the pro-Bachha Shinwari leader. Thus holding Jalalabad which is the key to Peshawar-Kabul road Nadir Khan entered Kabul on October 15.

His dogged perseverance amidst overwhelming odds, his zeal for the cause, his tact and military skill, backed by the brilliant achievements of his loyal brothers, the timely monetary help of Amanullah's Trade Agent at Peshawar, the goodwill of Indians and the active co-operation of the friendly tribes, were finally rewarded. Shortly after he entered the capital Nadir Khan held a *Jirgah* of the tribes present in Kabul to select their King. And the choice unanimously fell on Nadir Khan "for his great devotion and brilliant services rendered for the establishment of peace in country." Nadir Khan accepted the choice as unavoidable and assumed the power of Government. Bachha-i-Sakau who had taken refuge in the Arc after the fall of the city and then fled to Jabal-u-Suraj surrendered, and was executed, not, however, before he was made to disgorge the treasure he had hidden in the Arc. The third act of the drama of the Afghan civil war closed with the assumption of royal power by Nadir Khan and the execution of Bachha-i-Sakau. It is hoped that Nadir Khan will be able to give the much-needed peace to the unhappy country and thus fulfil the mission with which he came.

NADIR KHAN'S *Volte Face*

In conclusion I propose to consider a question which I am afraid must have risen in the minds of all. Has Nadir Khan been justified in assuming the royal power? The world was led to believe that after Bachha was driven away, a representative *Jirgah* of all the tribes would be called in Kabul where Nadir Khan would propose and plead for the restoration of Amanullah on his father's throne. The world now suspects that Nadir Khan's undue haste in calling a short *Jirgah* for the purpose of deciding the important question of selecting a king which was the province of a fully representative national *Jirgah* one day after he entered the capital in which the pro-Amanullah tribes of the West on their way to the capital could not possibly be present was a betrayal of Amanullah's cause which he professed to have fought for. At least to the Afghan Trade Agent at Peshawar Nadir Khan must have given a solemn undertaking to restore Amanullah in case of success, before the former parted with his money. Interviewed by a *Pioneer's* representative on the 17th October about Nadir Khan's assumption of kingship the Trade Agent said :

It was a flagrant contravention of Nadir Khan's solemn promise that he would support Amanullah Khan. The *Jirgah* was a farce. Nadir Khan who from the beginning appears to have cherished the desire for kingship has by his present act created more troubles for Afghanistan and wiped off all the good work hitherto done by him.

One should not wonder at the righteous indignation of the loyal Sardar Abdul Hakim Khan who had just cause of grievance for the General's *volte face*. For although Nadir Khan's replies to welcome address in India were discreet and non-committal, there is no doubt of his unreserved and solemn undertaking to the loyal Trade Agent who apparently made Amanullah's restoration, the condition of financial help. There is thus a *prima facie* ground to accuse Nadir Khan of personal ambition and breach of promise.

The plea that he bent down to the unanimity of the choice against his own will with a view to end the civil war is poor defence. Because first, he did not strongly support and plead for the cause of Amanullah in the short *Jirgah*; secondly, the unanimity is a misnomer inasmuch as it was the unanimity of a few tribes and not the united voice of all the tribes. And it was extremely doubtful whether, war-worn as Afghanistan was, the restoration of Amanullah who had unquestionably the highest and best title to it, would have kept the flame of the civil war alive any more than Nadir Khan's acceptance of the kingship. One is liable to draw the conclusion that Nadir Khan fully took advantage of the war-worn condition of Afghanistan which longed for peace and strong rule. He took the crown which was not his by right and determined to give the country strong rule and peace. Nadir Khan would have been exonerated of all blame if he had offered the crown to Amanullah and accepted it himself after the latter's refusal; or if he had proposed Amanullah's restoration in a really representative national *Jirgah* with a scheme of administrative work drawn up with the consent of the *Jirgah* which Amanullah must accept with the throne as the most satisfactory solution of the evils he had done by his hasty reforms. That would have satisfied Amanullah's friends, would have reconciled the orthodox Afghans who were not so much against Amanullah personally as against some of his radical reforms, and would have also removed the suspicion of the world as to Nadir Khan's integrity of purpose.

What did the noble exile say from distant Italy when he heard of Nadir Khan's acceptance of the kingship—a turn of events which he least expected? The words were characteristic of the great man:

"I do not care whether I put on the crown or a feather on my cap—whether I sit on a throne or on a plank. All I care is service for my country." And that opportunity of service with a cautious programme of reforms guarded by the restraining influence of Nadir Khan was denied to that noble patriot and lawful king.

It might be that Nadir Khan's action to end the civil war only served to keep it alive. The lull may be deceptive and the fire of resentment of the pro-Amanullah tribes is kept smouldering under the ashes of a deceptive lull only to break with a

greater fury still at an opportune moment. The future alone will show it. What could not the two men—Amanullah and Nadir Khan working hand in hand have done for the strength, the peace and prosperity of Afghanistan? Nadir Khan had the opportunity and lost it. Will he rise higher than the temptation and do the right thing? It is not yet too late. A really representative national *Jirgah* may yet be held and an offer to Amanullah may still be given. The simple deluded Afghans who served as pawns of the clever *mullahs* must have been cured of their follies by now. And if the strength, wisdom and popularity of Nadir Khan are combined with the ardent patriotism and noble aspirations of Amanullah the restoration period might see the fulfilment of the big possibilities of which Amanullah had the vision, capable of realization.

London Naval Conference

SOME OF ITS PROBLEMS AND PITFALLS

By JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., Ph.D.

(Alias JOHN J. CORNELIUS)

IN the summer of 1927 a five-Power naval conference was called to meet at Geneva by President Coolidge, but only Great Britain, Japan and the United States participated in it, making it a tripartite naval conference. What happened there and the final failure of the conference served only to create greater suspicion in the minds of the people and force nations to build rather than reduce their naval programmes. The difficulties which embarrassed the Geneva Conference began with the refusal of France and Italy to participate in it. The French Government declined President Coolidge's invitation on the ground that since the League of Nations was making plans for a general conference on disarmament affecting all military weapons and not navies alone, the holding of a five-Power naval conference would result only in weakening the effort of the League. Likewise, Italy took up the position that it was not possible to adopt partial measures only between the five large naval Powers. The Italian Government contended further that by reason of Italy's

unfavourable geographical position, it could not expose itself to a binding limitation of its maritime armaments.

Since Great Britain and Japan accepted the invitation, President Coolidge went ahead with the limitation conference on the three-Power basis, but unfortunately it ended in a terrible failure as no nation was prepared to make the necessary sacrifice or to see beyond its own selfish interests. The contention on which America and Great Britain split concerned a proposal restricting the number of cruisers, of 10,000 tons and of smaller tonnage, that each of the two Powers might be privileged to maintain. As the discussions, which followed the proposal, did not lead to any agreement, some compromise proposals were advanced and they served only to fan the flame of controversy. Though the Geneva Conference was wrecked by the difficulties raised by the two Anglo-Saxon Powers, yet some good did come out of the fiasco. To say the least, it convinced Great Britain and the United States beyond doubt that no naval limitation could ever be

brought about unless and until they two were able to compose their differences on the cruiser question. It thus served to make it quite clear that an understanding between these two English-speaking nations as to the curtailment of cruiser strength was a primary requisite of another international naval conference.

It is this strong conviction that brought Mr. MacDonald and President Hoover together and forced them to agree to a practical programme of naval limitation. The present satisfactory status of Anglo-American affairs, due to the tentative agreement on principles to guide Washington and London in the Five-Power Naval Conference, may, therefore, be said to be in large measure the outgrowth of the ill-will created between these two English-speaking Governments. We must not, however, allow the Anglo-American tentative agreement to lead us into the full expectation that the London Naval Conference is going to be a great success. We must bear in mind that the Conference has to face five major difficulties, and they are: the Anglo-American differences over parity in auxiliary craft, the Japanese demand for a ratio of 10 per cent, the relation of the French to the Italian navy, the question of the abolition of the submarine and the relation of France to the Naval Conference as a whole. To what extent the London Conference will succeed in solving these great and complicated problems, no one is competent enough to prophesy at this stage.

ANGLO-AMERICAN DIFFERENCES

Nevertheless, it is a matter of great gratification that the differences between the United States and Great Britain are already well on the way to being composed. The preliminary conversations between the two Governments have helped them to accept the principle of parity for every type of craft, and to agree to a limitation of destroyers upon a basis of tonnage equality and to exert their influence in abolishing the submarine. Both the Governments have come now to recognize that since their needs are different, some concessions must be made to meet their individual requirements. This view of the situation has led to the agreement that the British navy may possess a larger number of cruisers than the United States, but that the latter should have the right to maintain more 10,000-ton 8 inch-gun cruisers than the British Empire.

While uncertainty still exists as to the actual demands of the United States, it seems that the British desire to maintain a fleet of fifty cruisers of a total tonnage of 339,000 while the Americans wish a fleet of thirty-six cruisers having 315,000 tons. The United States, however, desires to maintain six more large cruisers than the British, while the British are willing to grant the United States a superiority of only three. It remains to be seen if the Conference will help to bridge the Anglo-American difference over the three large cruisers, which is the one technical difference that now exists between the two Governments. It must be noted, however, that the Anglo-American settlement merely provides for Britain the stabilizing of the British cruiser fleet at its present strength rather than for any substantial reduction; and as for the United States, it provides for the construction of from thirteen to eighteen new cruisers. This failure on the part of these two Governments to bring about any cruiser reduction, cannot but have an adverse effect on other Powers.

JAPAN DEMANDS HIGHER RATIO

The Japanese notified the United States and British Governments during the preliminary conversations that they would insist, as far as cruiser, destroyer and submarine tonnage was concerned, on a higher ratio than that allowed to Japan in the Washington naval treaty. The ratio then allowed was 3, as compared with 5 each for the United States and Great Britain. Japan now wants an increase to $3\frac{1}{2}$, or seven-tenths of the individual naval strengths of the two English-speaking nations. Japanese declare that their navy has been constructed only with a view to maintain control over the China and Yellow Seas. In order to insure such control, the Japanese refuse to sign any naval treaty which does not allow them to maintain an auxiliary fleet of a ratio of 70 per cent to Great Britain or the United States.

Since the Washington Conference of 1922 some important events, which affect Japan seriously, have taken place. The first one is the coming into use of the large 10,000-ton cruisers which, the Japanese believe, is more of a potential menace to them than were the smaller cruisers of 1922. The second important occurrence is the construction of the Singapore base which, Japan seems to think

is directed against her. Though the Labour Government promised to slow down work on the base, yet the construction had gone on so far as to give room for serious misgivings. The last, but not the least, is the passing of the Japanese Exclusion Act by the United States which, as Japan views it, is an insult to the nation. Unfortunately it has served greatly to strain the Japanese-American relations. These events certainly throw some light on the present attitude of Japan in her demand for the higher cruiser ratio. Conditions being what they are, Japan insists that her quota of 10,000-ton cruisers shall be seven-tenths of the higher quota in that class of warships allotted to the United States or Great Britain. Only that ratio, the Japanese maintain, will give them a navy large enough to remove the feeling of uncertainty as to the ability of the Japanese fleet to protect the country from outside attack.

If the British Government finally agrees to the tentative Anglo-American agreement, then the British Empire will only maintain 70 per cent as many 10,000-ton cruisers as the United States. Japan's demand for a ratio of 70 per cent to the United States, means, therefore, a demand for equality in large cruisers with the British Empire. Premier MacDonald has, as is to be expected, already given a negative reply to that demand. It is not to be wondered if the British Government does not relish the idea of Japan maintaining a fleet of 10,000-ton cruisers, only a little smaller than the quota of fifteen which the British have indicated their willingness to accept. This certainly is a difficult tangle, since it involves Japan, Great Britain and the United States. In spite of the strong opposition, Japan has declared its intention to stand firm upon the 70 per cent ratio since there does not seem to be any compensation which other Powers may grant Japan in return for a reduction in the ratio proposed by others. Here is a tough problem for the London Conference to solve. To bring about an adjustment of the differences that exist with reference to comparative sea power is not an easy matter.

ITALY INSISTS ON PARITY WITH FRANCE

Serious though the Anglo-American and Japanese differences are, they sink into insignificance when compared with the problem raised by the relation of the French to the Italian navy. The Government of Italy has

declared that it would be willing to accept any reduction in armaments, however low such reduction might be, only on the condition that its navy is not exceeded by that of any other Continental Power. Italy's firm stand on this point is the most difficult issue before the London Conference since it means that Italy demands parity with France. A survey of the foreign interests of these two Powers makes it clear that while the interests of Italy are concentrated in the Mediterranean, those of France are centred not only in the Atlantic coast and the possessions in tropical Africa, but also in the Orient. Since extended foreign interests generally necessitate the maintenance of a larger navy, the acceptance of naval equality with Italy would mean nothing less than reducing France to a position of inferiority.

Their differences on the naval question are intensified further by the serious political disputes existing between them stirred up by the activities of the anti-Fascist organizations in France, the suspicions aroused in the French mind by Italy's colonial ambitions, which can only be satisfied at the expense of France, and by the Italian alliance with Spain and Turkey which places the naval strength of those two Powers at the disposal of Italy. Since these conditions are not favourable for a Franco-Italian settlement, there are three proposals made to compromise Italy's demand for parity. The first one suggests that in return for a theoretical declaration of equality between Italy and France, the Italian Government should promise not to expand its navy beyond its present size. The second is that if France and Italy find it impossible to arrive at some concrete settlement, then they should at least agree to suspend any further naval construction for a fixed period of years. The third proposal recommends that France should agree to parity with Italy in the Mediterranean and that, in turn, Italy should agree to allow France to maintain an additional fleet in the Atlantic, or in the Eastern Seas, securing Britain, if necessary, to guarantee that this additional fleet would not enter the Mediterranean. Though Britain is in an excellent position to enforce such a guarantee because of its strategic position in the Mediterranean, it is, however, doubtful, if the Labour Government would be willing to shoulder the responsibility since France has, as might have been expected, already announced its unwillingness to accept parity with Italy,

no one knows how the London Conference is going to handle this situation.

THE PROBLEM OF THE SUBMARINE

In wartime the submarine is a dangerous vessel of offence against large war vessels, but during the last war its principal work was in attacking merchant ships and freight vessels and sinking passenger ships and drowning the crews and voyagers. The submarine is the negation of chivalry in wartime and a financial burden in peace time since it is useless for the purpose of carrying passengers or freight. The abolition of the submarine might have been accomplished directly after the war was over, when everybody was sick at the thought of its horrors and inhumanity, but now, nations realizing that it is a comparatively cheaper weapon, are making the abolition of the submarine a difficult problem. The recent development of military aviation and the use of the depth bomb have, however, rendered the submarine useless as a weapon of offensive warfare. The only practical use to which the submarine can be put in present-day warfare is against unarmed merchant ships and this is against the dictates of humanity and repulsive to civilized methods of belligerency.

In the Washington Conference the American delegation proposed a limitation of the number of submarines to be maintained by each of the five naval Powers, and desired that the 5-5-3-1.75-1.75 ratio be applied in determining relative submarine tonnage, but no agreement was reached. France, in particular, would not accede to the abolition of the submarine. In fact, with the exception of Great Britain, the total abolition of the submarine was not advocated by the nations participating in the Washington Conference. But in their recent preliminary conversations the United States and British Governments agreed to advocate the total abolition of the submarine and a cautiously worded declaration to that effect was contained in the joint statement issued by President Hoover and Prime Minister MacDonald. But it seems certain that France will not agree to the abolition of the submarine, and in this position she will probably be supported by Italy and Japan.

FRANCE AND NAVAL DISARMAMENT

France has the second largest colonial empire of the world, and she depends upon

this empire both for raw materials and for troops. It is natural, therefore, that the French Government should be extremely cautious about signing any agreement which might expose the empire to attack by a hostile naval force. Since France cannot afford equality with the British fleet, she wishes to offset this inferiority by a large submarine and destroyer tonnage. The French naval programme calls for a cruiser strength of 210,000 tons, which is about two-thirds of the proposed cruiser tonnage for the American navy; it also calls for 180,000 tons of destroyers and for 96,000 tons of large submarines and about 35,000 tons of small coastal submarines. If France puts through this programme, the French navy will have many more submarines than any other navy in the world. France insists on the right to maintain a cruiser and submarine fleet which will enable her to offset to some extent at least the Anglo-Saxon predominance in capital ships. She therefore proposes to build four large submarines for every British battleship. This situation makes it quite clear that the task of working out a submarine formula which will satisfy both the French and British Governments will not be easy.

Unfortunately there is a lurking suspicion in the French mind that the Hoover-MacDonald agreement is a sort of move to bring about an Anglo-Saxon domination of the rest of the world. Since France will be in a minority in London, as against the Anglo-Saxon Powers, she insists on regarding the London session as merely preliminary to a general disarmament conference to be held at Geneva, where land and naval disarmament will be jointly discussed. At Geneva, she will of course, have the backing of the Central European nations who are also suspicious of the Anglo-Saxon naval supremacy. This situation may lead France and Italy to decline to sign any naval agreement in London and insist on the question being referred to the League of Nations. If Britain and the United States unnecessarily antagonize France at the London Conference and enter into a separate agreement, France, in turn, may refuse to disarm upon land. Land disarmament, in fact, is even more important for the maintenance of peace than naval disarmament. The most serious danger, therefore, confronting the London Conference is that the Franco-Anglo-American relations, if not carefully handled, may result in bringing

about two clear divisions of power: the Anglo-Saxon Powers holding on one side the supremacy upon the seas, and France with her allies maintaining, on the other, the military dominance over the continent of Europe. If such a situation develops, we must give up all hopes of seeing a world organized for peace and face a world organized once again for war.

In the face of such difficulties what is it that makes one view the London Conference with optimism? It is perhaps the belief that the five Powers are participating in it sincerely with a mind set for world peace. Further, the facts that the United States and Great Britain are entering the Conference not as competitors but as co-operators, and that important preliminary negotiations on naval matters have been carried on by the Governments concerned during the last three months, in preparation for this Conference, do make one more hopeful of the outcome of the London session. The significant diplomatic exchanges which have taken place, unsatisfactory though they may be between the United States and Great Britain on their

relative cruiser strength, between France and Italy on the question of naval parity, between the United States and Japan on the matter of cruiser ratio and between France and Great Britain on the problem of the submarine, cannot but promote better understanding of these problems and smooth friction when they are dealt with in the Conference. Though the five Powers are better prepared now to discuss naval disarmament matters than they were two or three years ago, yet the path of the London Conference is certainly not smooth. Since the Conference has to tackle infinitely more complicated questions connected with various types of cruisers, destroyers and submarines, behind which are explosive political questions involving naval bases, merchant shipping, freedom of the seas etc., all that one can say now is that the path of the London Naval Conference is thorny and beset with dangerous pitfalls. Many of these differences, political and technical, must be settled amicably before any agreement can be reached.

"Gospel of Ramkrishna"

A Review*

By MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH

WHY do you love and adore Ramkrishna? Why were men like Kesab and Bhai Pratap attracted by him? "What is there in common between him and me," writes Pratap Chandra, "I, a Europeanized, civilized, self-centred, semi-sceptical, so-called educated reasoner, and he, a poor, illiterate, unpolished, half-idolatrous, friendless devotee? Why should I sit long hours to attend to him, I, who have listened to Disraeli and Fawcett, Stanley and Max-Muller and a whole host of European scholars and divines? And it is not I only, but dozens like me who do the same." (Quoted by Lord Ronaldshay in his "Heart of Aryavarta," p. 206).

How are we to account for it? It is, we think, because of his unique personality. He was a simple child of nature: indeed there was 'no guile' in him—he was all innocence. He was a 'god-

intoxicated" man. He was an incarnation of the spirit of Chaitanya. His ecstatic devotion (*Bhakti*) was alone sufficient to attract devotees to his side or to his feet. He was a self-less man; his path was the "Path of Renunciation." He was above all types of sectarianism. His catholicity and universal toleration endeared him to all who came in contact with him. It is the personality of the man (and not his philosophy or theology) that attracts us.

The character of such a man is lovingly depicted in the "Gospel of Ramkrishna" and we are grateful to the author for the self-imposed task which he undertook. But for his love and devotion to the Master, much of what we now know of the saint would have been lost to the world. Boswell-like, he used to note down what he saw and heard. These were published in Bengali under the name "Ramkrishna-Kathamrita" (रामकृष्ण-कथामृत) in four volumes (the appendix being the fifth volume). The materials of the English version have been drawn from the Bengali edition. But unfortunately there are omissions, additions and alterations in the English

* *Gospel of Ramkrishna according to "M", vol. i, pp. 458, price Rs. 3 (cloth); vol. ii, pp. 384, price Rs. 2-4 (cloth). Published by Sri Ramkrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras.*

edition.* These seem to be an afterthought. When there is found even one purposive interpolation, the genuineness of the writings of the author and his scrupulosity regarding historical accuracy become doubtful. In fact the belief is current in many quarters that the Ramkrishna as depicted by "M" (Babu Mahendranath Gupta) is not the real Ramkrishna but the Ramkrishna of "M"—a revised, modified, expurgated and magnified version of the real Ramkrishna. We cannot vouch for the historical accuracy of all the facts, but we believe that most of the sayings of the saint are correctly recorded in the book. For devotional purposes there may not arise any question as to the authenticity of the book; but when sectarian and doctrinal questions arise, we should accept the facts with caution.

There is some misunderstanding regarding some of the teachings and religious practices of Ramkrishna. We may here discuss some of them.

SAKTI WORSHIP

He was a worshipper of *Sakti*,—*Durga* or *Kali*. But what is this *Sakti*? There is no consistent answer in the book. In some places, *Sakti* is identified with the Absolute, *i. e.*, Para-Brahman (i. 209, 232, etc.). But she is also described as *Maya* (माया) and *Mahamaya* (महामाया). "She it is who has deluded the whole world and is conjuring up the triple device of creation, maintenance and dissolution. She has spread a veil of ignorance over all, and unless she unbars the gate, none can enter the 'Inner Court' (a). One, the Satchidananda remains ever beyond our ken (b). Hence we find in the *Chandi* that Gods are making their earnest prayers to Mahamaya for the destruction of Madhu and Kaitabha.

"Energy is the basis of the creation. The Primal Divine Energy has the twofold aspects of *Vidya* and *Avidya*. *Avidya* has to be propitiated and hence the institution of *Shakti*-worship... Various are the ways of the worshipper for gratifying Her,—as Her handmaid, or companion, Her hero or child. What is the 'hero-attitude'?—it is to please Her even as a man pleases a woman by..." [Here the author uses an indecent word]. ii. 10-11.

On another occasion he said:—

"Of Brahman and Maya, the Jnani rejects the latter (c). Maya is like unto a veil (d). Just see how I put this kerchief between you and the lamp; you no longer see the light of the lamp."

"The Bhakta, however, does not ignore Maya. He worships Mahamaya. He surrenders himself to Her and prays—"O Mother, stand aside from my path (e); only then can I hope to realize Brahman" (f).

"The Jnani denies all the three states—waking, dream and deep sleep. The Bhakta accepts them all; so long as the ego exists, everything else also exists. So long as his ego remains, the Bhakta sees that it is He who has become everything,—Maya, Jiva, Jagat, and Twenty-four Principles" (g). ii. 369.

In the passages marked as (a), (b), (c), (d), (e) and (f), *Maya* or *Mother* is implicitly or explicitly declared to be different from Brahman; but in the passage marked (g), it is said that in the phenomenal world they are the same.

The prayer offered to the Mother (*Vide* the passages 'e' and 'f') is very significant. If Brahman is to be realized the Mother, *i. e.*, *Maya* or *Sakti* must stand aside. Here it is definitely said that *Sakti* and Brahman are different.

The meaning of *Sakti*-worship is now clear. *Sakti* is at the root of all evils; She is an object of terror. "The Mother is the terrible consort of Death" (ii. 243.) She is to be propitiated. Then she will stand aside and the worshipper will then be able to enter the "Inner Court" where no one has access. (*Vide supra*—the passage quoted from ii. 11). Brahman is the goal and the Mother is the barrier.

Gradually Paramahansa succeeded in getting rid of the influence of *Sakti*, and his attitude towards her became defiant and abusive. The following incident is taken from "*Atiter Brahma Samaj*, the Brahma Samaj of the Past" by Babu Trailokya Nath Deb. One day Trailokya Babu went to Dakshineswar and requested Paramahansa to show him the *Arati* worship. Paramahansa replied—

"আমি ঐ শালীর মুখ আর দেখি না, তুই একলা গিয়া দেখিয়া আয়" (p. 73), *i. e.*, "I do not now see the face of that sister-in-law (wife's sister). Go there alone and see" [The word *শালী* (*Sali*, wife's sister) is in Bengali, a term of abuse]

Next day he said again,—

"দেখ ত্রৈলোক্য, কাল যে তুই আমাকে আরতি দেবার জন্ত বলিয়াছিলি, আমি অনেক দিন ধরিয়া ঐ শালীর মুখ দেখি না" (p. 74) "Well Trailokya, last night you asked me to see the *Arati*; but for a long time I have not seen the face of that sister-in-law (*শালী*, wife's sister)".

Trailokya then said—"কেন দেখেন না"—"Why don't you see?" Paramahansa said in reply—"অনেক দিন ধরিয়া ঐ শালী আমাকে পথ ঘুরাইয়া লইয়া বেড়াইতেছিল। আমাকে ঠিক পথ দেখাইয়া দেয় নাই, সেই জন্ত আমি আর ওর মুখ দেখি না" (p. 74). "For a long time that sister-in-law (*শালী*) led me astray and did not show me the right path. I do not therefore see her face."

If we understand his interpretation of *Sakti* and the object of *Sakti*-worship, we shall not be surprised at this attitude of his towards *Sakti*. He saw no utility in *Sakti*-worship.

The next point to be discussed is—

SAMADHI

Ordinary men are under the impression that *Samadhi* means "union with God." That is not the fact. Even in non-theistic systems, there is *Samadhi*. It is simply "deep concentration of the mind." In lower forms of *Samadhi*, there are thought processes; but in higher stages, *Samadhi* becomes non-cognitive or ultra-cognitive.

One day there was a conversation between Amrita Babu of the Brahma Samaj and Ramkrishna. Amrita Babu asked—"Sir, what do you experience in the state of *Samadhi*?" Ramkrishna said, "Have you heard how by constantly thinking of a *Bhramara-keeta*, a cockroach becomes transformed into that insect? Do you know what I experience?—

* See note at the end of the article.

it is as though a fish had been released from a pot into the Ganges."

Amrita Baijn: "Does not even the slightest trace of your 'I' remain?"

Sri Ramkrishna: "Yes, a little of it generally remains; however hard you may rub gold dust on the grindstone, a little particle will always survive. It is like a big fire and the ego is one of its sparks. I lose my external consciousness completely; but she allows a bit of the ego to remain for the enjoyment of Divine Communion. There can be no such enjoyment without 'I' and thou. But that slight trace of the ego, she sometimes wipes out. Then it is called, 'Jada Samadhi' or 'Nirvikalpaka Samadhi'. Words cannot describe that experience. A salt doll went to measure the depth of the sea, but before it had gone far into the water, it melted away,—it became one with the saline water of the sea. Who then would come up to say how deep the sea was?" (ii. 124).

Ramkrishna never liked to lose self-consciousness in *Samadhi*; the very idea terrified him.

It is said that one day he was plunged in *Bhava* (भाव) and said—

"Om! Om! Om! Mother, what is this I am saying! O Mother, do not plunge me in the knowledge of Brahman and take away my consciousness! [ব্রাহ্মণ্য ব্রহ্মজ্ঞান দিয়ে বেহীন করে না in the Bengali edition.] Do not give me Brahman-jnana, I am but thy child. I have fears and anxieties! I do want my Mother! A thousand salutations to Brahman-jnana! Give it to him who wants it, O Mother! Anandamayee! O Mother Blissful" (ii. 179-180).

He was a *Bhakta* (devotee). He did not like to be merged in the Supreme self but to enjoy Him. He would, like Ramprasad, eat sugar and not be sugar. (*Vide* volume ii. 71).

He knew that the ultra-cognitive *Samadhi* was a higher state; yet he did not want it. He preferred to remain on a lower level with a view to consciously enjoying divine pleasure.

VISION

Sometimes, and especially in *Samadhi*, he would often see visions. On one occasion he said:

"The Mother of the Universe appeared to me in the form of *Mrinmayi*" (i. 226.)

On another occasion he said—

"Mother does appear in various forms.

"Yesterday I had a vision of Mother. I saw Her clad in a seamless ochre-coloured garment, and she talked with me.

"Another day she came to me in the form of a Mohammedan girl. She had a *tilaka* on her forehead, but was nude, a young girl six or seven years old. She began to stroll with me and make merry (Bengali—কল্লি কল্লি লাগল" ৪৩)

"When I was in Hride's house, I had a vision of Gouranga—He wore a black-bordered cloth.

"Haladhari used to say that God is beyond *bhava* [भाव] and *abhava* [अभाव], being and non-being—beyond all mood, mode and want. I went and told Mother what Haladhari had said and asked if all the divine forms then were false. Mother came to me in the form of Rati's mother and said: "Let thee remain in *bhava* [भाव] alone"

(বাসনা—ভূই ভাবই থাক). ii. 80-81.

One day he said to Mani—

"Do you know what I saw in my trance? In a field, extending over seven or eight miles, through which lay the way to Shihor, I saw myself walking alone looking exactly like a sixteen-year-old Paramahansa boy of whom I had a vision in the Panchavati. A mist of Joy lay all around, and out of it appeared the face of a boy of about fourteen years. Both of us were completely nude, and we played and ran in the field in great Joy. After some time we felt thirsty. He drank from a tumbler and offered me the remaining water. I said, 'No brother, I cannot take your leavings.' He laughed and washed the tumbler and brought me a fresh glass of water" ii. 234).

The author writes—

"The master is again plunged into *Samadhi*. After some time he comes down to the normal plane and says to Mani—

".....Do you know what I saw now? A Divine vision, the vision of the Divine Mother! She appeared with a child in the womb, which she brought forth and swallowed up the next instant. And as much of it as went into Her mouth became void! She shewed me that 'all is void!' And she said by these actions, as it were, 'Come confusion, Come confusion, Come!'" (ii. 234).

Now what were these visions? Did God really appear before him in these forms? Believers will answer in the affirmative and sceptics in the negative. Psychologists will say that these are externalizations of inner thoughts. Thoughts become so vivid in the mind of the thinker, that they seem to him to be actual external events. He cannot distinguish between ideality and actuality. This experience may be compared to 'dream-vision.' The dreamer cannot distinguish between what is ideal and what is real. His thoughts and desires become things. He himself is the subject as well as the object. It is he who, in dreams, loves and hates, sees and argues; and it is also he who is loved and hated, and it is he whom he sees and with whom he argues. He becomes a dual personality. But everything seems to the dreamer quite natural. Abnormal trance is also a form of dream-like experience. The psychologist is perfectly justified in drawing these conclusions.

The logician accepts the trance-experience, but he sees no connection between God-vision and that experience. There is nothing to show that God appears in those material forms. Take the proposition "A appears as B."

Here the observer must first fix his attention on "A" and mark the various changes that "A" undergoes. If in this observation he sees that "A" has been transformed into "B," then and then only can he say that "A" appears as "B." But in trance-experience such observations are not possible. In that logical proposition ["A appears as B"] A is known and becomes an object of observation. But in trance-experience God who is supposed to appear as something material, is not known and can never be an object of observation. So it is illogical to say that God has appeared in this form or that form.

According to the Vedantic Monist these are experiences on a lower level of spiritual culture. The seers of such visions are on the level of *manas* (মানসস্তর). Interpreted in terms of modern thought, these are mental images ejected

outside the mind. In this the Vedantist agrees with the Psychologist.

Men wish to see God as they see an ox. But that is an impossibility—say Yajñavalkya and Sankara. God is the self (आत्मा) and the self is always the subject. The subject can never be made an object. This view is supported by modern epistemology.

That some of his trance-experiences were not of a high order may be inferred from his conduct after the trance-experience.

For instance, Ramkrishna once said—

"Hazrah admonished me saying: 'Why do you think so much of the boys?' As I was going in a carriage to Balarām's house, this thought came to my mind and made me very anxious. So I prayed to the Divine Mother, 'O Mother, Hazrah tells me that I worry too much over Narendra and the other boys. He asks, why I think so much of them, instead of God? And as I prayed, a vision flashed before me, showing that She Herself has become men and that She manifests Herself most clearly in a pure soul. When after realizing this vision, I came down a little from Samadhi, I felt much annoyed with Hazrah (বাংলা সংস্করণ—

হাজার উপর ভাব করছি লাগ লম্ব)। I said, 'The fellow (শালা in Bengali edition) made me miserable!'

But then I thought, 'How can I blame the poor man? How is he to know?' (ii. 167).

In Bengali the word শালা (wife's brother) is a vulgar term of abuse. The Samadhi, returning from which a man can be angry and can use such abusive language as শালা (brother-in-law), is a Samadhi of a low order. The vision which he saw is certainly a vision created by desire for and attachment to earthly companions.

The modern mystic believes in the reality of trance-experience but considers God's appearing in a material form to be an abnormal and illusory experience. God's vision has two aspects, viz., (i) subjective and (ii) objective. In subjective experience the mystic feels the presence of an 'other.' It constitutes the very warp and woof of his self. What seems to be static in his self is perceived to be engrafted in the 'other' and what is dynamic flows continually from that 'other' to his own self. In certain diseases we feel intense pain at every throbbing of the heart. There can be no doubt about the reality of the pain. So we are conscious of the flow of our thoughts, emotion and energy from that 'other' whom theists call God. At the beginning the mystic is deeply conscious of this experience, but afterwards it becomes as normal as normal breathing. This is the subjective experience of God-vision. Its objective aspect is no less vivid. Where an ordinary man sees a tree as tree, the seer sees there God's Power taking the form of tree. What to an ordinary man is a beautiful flower, is to him God's Beauty manifesting itself as beautiful flower. The world is not the world to him, it is the manifestation of the Will, Love, Beauty and other aspects of God's Life in the form of the world. Such a knowledge is not discursive or inferential but is immediate; it is intellect rising to the level of Intuition. This

what is called अपरोक्षानुभूति (Aparokshanubhuti—

direct, immediate, intuitive perception. Such a level Ramkrishna also attained to. He realized that his body and self as well as the outer world were all manifestations of God.

One day Ramkrishna was going in a carriage. On the way he was suddenly filled with ecstasy and lovingly muttered to himself (আপনি আপনি বলিতেছেন)—

"Krishna, O Krishna, Thou art my knowledge, Thou art my life, Thou art my mind, Thou art my soul and Thou art my body!!" ii. 279 (In Bengali হৃৎকৃষ্ণ! হৃৎকৃষ্ণ! জ্ঞানকৃষ্ণ! প্রাণকৃষ্ণ! মনকৃষ্ণ! আত্মা কৃষ্ণ! দেহকৃষ্ণ!)

This he said when he was in ecstasy and therefore it was spontaneous. But it cannot be positively said whether it was simply his conviction or intuitive experience.

One day Ramkrishna said—

"I used to perform worship in the Kali temple. One day it was suddenly revealed that everything was *Chinmaya*—Pure spirit! The Puja utensils, altar, door-case—all were spirit! Men, beasts, birds, everything was *Chinmaya*! And mad-like I would rain flowers all around! Whatever I saw I worshipped!

"One day, in course of Siva-worship, I was putting the *Bayra* on the Siva-lingam, when the revelation came that the Universe itself is Siva. That day ended my worship of Siva by making His images.

"I was plucking flowers when suddenly it was revealed that the flower plants themselves were so many nosegays...It flashed clearly before me! I did not reason it out. I saw that each plant was a nosegay adorning the universal form of God! That was my last flower-gathering.

"I see men also in the same way. He Himself appears to be undulating with the human body.

[বাংলা—তিনিই যেন মানুষ-শরীরটাকে নিয়ে হেলে দুলে বেড়াচ্ছেন just like a pillow floating on the waves, moving on in a zig-zag course, but alternately rising and falling in the waves." ii. 207-208,

These are examples of God-vision in the objective world. But sceptics may explain these in different ways.

RAMKRISHNA AND THE BRAHMA SAMAJ

In March, 1875, Ramkrishna went to see Kesab Chandra and to know what the Brahma worship was like. Each was impressed by the other. Henceforward they hankered after each other's company. The relation between them was personal and very intimate. When Kesab was ill, Ramkrishna vowed offerings to his Divine Mother for his recovery (i. 216) and when Kesab left this world, Ramkrishna could not come out of bed for three days and felt as if one side of his body was paralyzed. (Vide the Bengali book **রামকৃষ্ণ-লীলা-প্রসঙ্গ, সাধক-মাণ্ড,** Appendix p. 17.)

After their first meeting Kesab began to write in public papers about the saintly life of Ramkrishna. It was Kesab who made him known to the educated class and made him known as '*Paramahansa*.'

MOTHERHOOD OF GOD

It is said in some quarters that Brahmas took the idea of the Motherhood of God from Ramkrishna.

But that is not the fact. Even in the sermons of Maharshi Devendranath we find God not only compared to Mother but described and addressed as Mother (*Vide* **ব্রাহ্ম-ধর্মের ব্যাখ্যান**, 1st Series pages 20, 22, 34, 35, 44, 50, 53, 61, 84; 2nd series pp. 23, 28, etc. Edition of 1807, *Saka*). Long before 1875 (when Ramkrishna and Kesab met together for the first time) many hymns were composed by Brahmas describing the Motherhood of God. The following are some of the examples:—

- (1) জননীর কোলে বসি, ইত্যাদি
- (2) কেবা জানে কত স্বখরত্বে দিবেন মাতা লয়ে তাঁর অমৃত নিকেতনে।
- (3) জগতজননী, জননীকে জননী তুমি গো মাতঃ
- (4) স্নেহময়ী মাতা হয়ে, ইত্যাদি
- (5) চরণ দেখি মাগো কাতর জনে
- (6) ওগো জননী! রাধ লুকাইয়া (Quoted from *আচার্য কেশবচন্দ্র, মধ্য বিবরণ*, p. 756)

So the idea of the Motherhood of God was not borrowed from Ramkrishna. But it is a fact that Kesab and his followers emphasised the Divine Motherhood under the influence of Ramkrishna.

THE SENSE OF SIN

The Brahmas of the original Church were men of vigorous and optimistic temperament. They would principally think of the dignity and blessedness of human nature. But younger Brahmas with Kesab at their head, would, under the influence of Christianity, think more of the sinfulness than of the dignity of human nature. The former were known as *Ananda-vadins* (**আনন্দ বাদিন**) proclaimers of Joy, 'Rejoicers'. Theirs was the Gospel of Joy (**আনন্দ**). The latter were known as *duhkha-vadins* (**দুঃখবাদিন**), proclaimers of sorrow, 'Weepers'. Ramkrishna came in contact with this party. He justly condemned their continual harping on sin (i. 177-178, 228, 293 etc). Too much thinking of one's own weakness paralyses one's power of resistance.

This may be well exemplified by incidents from the life of Ramkrishna himself. He would continually think and speak of the danger of Kamini-Kanchana (**কামিনী-কাঁচন**), women and gold, *i. e.* money). We firmly believe that he was above these temptations. But his continual thinking on the subject made him extremely nervous and produced in him a sense of imaginary danger. He could not touch metallic pots or plates; contact with them gave him a shock and pain in the hand, as if he were stung with a poisonous fang (ii, 296).

Whatever might be the explanation given by Ramkrishna himself or his followers, the psychological explanation is that subconsciously he felt himself insecure and in constant danger of succumbing to their evil influence. *Kamini-Kanchana* became his nightmare and 'daymare'. The continual harping on the temptations created a false atmosphere of insecurity.

The following is another example. An old maid-servant of the temple of Dakshineswar once saluted him by touching his feet. At once he stood up, uttering 'Govinda, Govinda,' startled and tortured

as it were by a scorpion-sting and hurried up panting to where a jar of Ganges water stood in a corner and washed those parts of the feet which the maid-servant had touched. In mute wonder the devotees witnessed that strange happening and the maid-servant sat deeply mortified. (ii. 176).

Here also the explanation is the same as before. It is a typical case of self-created neurosis. When a normal saint sees a woman, he sees a human creature. He never thinks of the sex. He sees a person without sex. Brooding over sin-consciousness is as enervating as harping on *Kamini-Kanchana*. The right path is the Middle Path.

BRAHMA WORSHIP

Paramahansa would now and then go to join in Brahma, worship, which he enjoyed. But he adversely criticized one aspect of that worship. Brahma worship is usually divided into four parts, *viz*:

- (i) Uthodhana (**উত্তোধন**, Awakening the mind).
- (ii) Aradhana (**আরাধনা**, Adoration).
- (iii) Dhyana (**ধ্যান**, Communion, Contemplation).
- (iv) Prarthana (**প্রার্থনা**, Prayer).

In *Aradhana*, the worshipper describes the attributes of God. This he found fault with. Once he said to Kesab:

"The members of the Brahmo-Samaj—why do they dwell so much upon the glory of God's works? 'O Lord, Thou hast made the sun, Thou hast made the moon, Thou hast made the stars.' Why do you dwell so much upon these things? Many are they that are charmed with the beauty of the garden—its glorious flowers and sweetest odours—few seek the Lord of the Garden! Which is the greater of the two—the garden or its Lord? Verily the garden is unreal so long as Death stalks in our midst; but the Lord of the Garden is the one Reality!"

"After having taken a few glasses at the bar of a tavern, who cares to inquire how many tons the liquors weigh that are in the barrels there for sale? A single bottle suffices for me.

"At the sight of Narendra I am drunken with Joy. Never have I asked him 'who is thy father?' or how many houses has he got of his own. Men do value their own goods; they value money, houses, furniture; hence they think that the Lord would view His own works—the sun, moon, stars—in the same light! Men think He would be glad if they spoke highly of his works." I. 211-212.

He once repeated the same thing to Pandit Sivanath Sastri. He said—"I say, why do you dwell so much on the glories of God? I also asked that of Keshab Sen. Those who are fond of splendour themselves, only like to speak of God's glories." ii. 43-44.

For the time being we accept Paramahansa's interpretation of the word **আরাধনা** (*Aradhana*), *viz.*, speaking highly of Him or praising Him. Then our remarks are:—

(i) If Brahmas be guilty of praising God, he, the Paramahansa, is no less guilty. He himself praised God and asked others also to do the same. Here are some of the examples—

(a) "If you practise singing the Lord's name and praise, you will, by and by, gain devotion." ii. 24

(b) "I have the longing to chant His holy name and sing His praise." II. 71.

(c) "O Mother, make my body a little stronger that I may sing Thy name and praise." ii. 208.

(d) "I want to sing His name and praise." ii. 209.

And so on.

He was habitually fond of singing God's praise. So he had no valid reasons for condemning *Brahma Aradhana* which, also, according to him, meant singing God's praise.

(ii) He wrongly accused Brahmas of thinking "that God would be glad if they spoke highly of his works." i. 212.

Even an ordinary Brahma, not to speak of Kesab and Sivanath, does not perform *Aradhana* with a view to pleasing God. *Aradhana* in the Brahma Samaj means "thinking of God's attributes." It is thinking of God as manifested in the Universe, while *Dhyana* is 'contemplating God as manifested in the soul.' In the congregational worship, this thinking of God's attributes, like singing hymns, cannot be silent; it must be vocal; it is thinking aloud. Necessarily this thinking takes the form of describing his attributes. God may be thought of either in the third person or in the second person. The worshipper may think—"God is our Father; He is our Refuge." Here God is thought of in the third person. He may also think thus; "Thou art our Father; Thou art our Refuge." Here God is addressed direct in the second person. Brahmas have adopted this form of address, as it establishes a personal relationship between the worshipper and the worshipped.

This describing of the attributes of God is principally meant, not for Him, but for the worshipper himself. Court-poets and other persons sing the glory of the king with a view to pleasing him and courting his favour. In imperialistic religions also, praises of God are sung for a similar purpose. But in the Brahma worship, *Aradhana* is performed for its psychological effects. Man becomes what he thinks and feels and wills. Think of good men and you become good; think of evil and you become evil. Think of God's Love and your nature becomes loving; think Him as *satyam* (सत्यम् Reality, Truth), you gradually become

'*satyam*' more and more. If we think and feel that He is our source, support and refuge, we cannot but feel ourselves attracted towards Him. By *Aradhana* Brahmas do not try to gladden God's heart but they try to elevate their own selves. Admiration is a stepping stone to imitation. Admire Him and you become like Him. This is the psychology of *Aradhana*.

So Paramahansa's criticism was based upon a misconception.

(iii) The Paramahansa compares God to the Lord of a garden and Brahma *Aradhana* to the admiration of that garden. To him the gardener is the reality and so the garden is unreal. He concludes that man should seek not the garden, but the gardener. What should we seek,—the gardener or the garden? The question is wrongly put and is inadmissible. The garden and the gardener are not mutually exclusive. The gardener without the garden and the garden without the gardener—both are meaningless abstractions. The Divine Gardener manifests Himself in the garden and the Divine Garden is the manifestation of the Divine Gardener.

One cannot exist without the other. Many will impatiently ask—would then God be extinct, if there were no world? The answer is—There will still remain God; but that God will no longer be the Lord of the world, because the world will then be extinct. The garden being extinct, there can no longer be the gardener of that garden. There will still be an entity but it is no longer the gardener, it is an empty entity. We want neither the Nonmenon nor the Phenomena, we want the Nonmenon in the Phenomena, the Gardener as manifesting Himself in the garden. In the *Brahma Aradhana*, the Gardener is sought in the garden.

(iv) In this connection it may be said that *Aradhana* is not the highest form of divine worship; there is a higher form still. It is *Dhyana* (ध्यान) i.e. communion. In *Aradhana* we think of Him outwardly; in *Dhyana* we commune with Him inwardly.

(v) Paramahansa's divine worship consisted primarily in (i) नाम-जप (nāma-japa, repeating God's name) and (ii) singing His praise.

He used to say—Repeat His name; any name—Durga, Krishna or Siva—will do (ii. 138). He accepted the popular view of the worth of नाम (name). He once said:—

"He and His name are not different. Satyabhāma failed to balance the Lord with Gold and Jewels. But Rukmini succeeded when she placed a Tulsi leaf and the name of Krishna on the other side [of the scale]." ii. 135.

The popular belief is that the 'name' of God has some inherent inscrutable mystic power. Ajamil, a wicked man, went to heaven, simply because at the time of his death he uttered '*Narayana*', the name of his son. Now the name *Narayana* is a name of God also and has therefore some mystic power. Ajamil uttered the name *Narayana* and went to heaven. Such is believed to be the power of God's Name.

Paramahansa also believed, as we have seen, in the wonderful power of the 'Name.' Here is an incident from his life. On one occasion he said—

"One day I was going to the country in a bullock-cart, when some dacoit-like men with clubs in hand came to our cart. I began to repeat the Holy Names. Now I repeated the name of Rama, now of Durga and again 'Om Tat Sat', so that if one failed another might fit in" (in Bengali edition—"ব্রহ্মে শব্দে). II. 196.

To modernists the name (नाम) has no intrinsic worth; it has no mystic power. It is simply a sound. Its value is the value of a symbol or of a logical concept. It represents a certain idea or object. By uttering a name we can bring to our mind the idea or the object for which it stands. Needless to say that these verbal symbols are human creations. In our country much scientific and psychological insight has been shown in the creation of these symbols. Take the word "*Om*." It is a word of one syllable and can be easily pronounced. But it is full of meaning. Its modern meaning is "the Creator, Preserver and Destroyer." This idea comes to your mind when you pronounce or think of the word "*Om*." With the least effort, you get the greatest value. This

value is not mystical or magical but psychological and practical.

The success of repeating the name of God depends upon its psychological effect. If it produces in your mind the corresponding idea, then and then only it can be called successful; if not, not.

But in our country the *nama-japa* has, in the majority of cases, become lifeless and mechanical. Mechanical or not, it is in itself considered to be meritorious. The classical example in Bengal is that of Haridas. It is believed that he used to repeat the name of God three lakhs of times every day. In a day of 24 hours, there are 1440 (=24×60) minutes. To count three lakh-times in 1440 minutes means counting about 210 times in a minute. If he allowed himself a respite of 4 hours (=240 minutes), then he had to repeat the same number of times in 20 hours, that is in 1200 minutes. This means 250 times a minute. Now what is the psychological value of such repetitions? To utter 108 names or 1000 names of Vishnu or a particular name three lakh times in quick succession cannot but be mechanical. It has no psychical value, neither emotional nor cognitive. Such repetitions and psychical experience are related to each other in inverse ratio. To make the repetition productive of emotion (say the emotion of *Bhakti*) there must be sufficient interval between consecutive repetitions so as to allow the worshipper time to think or feel.

There is another point in *nama-japa* (नाम-जप) which is of the utmost importance. To make it effective, the 'name' must be 'significant', i.e., full of meaning. If you wish to be immersed in Divine Love, the name must signify that God is Love. The terrific aspect of God cannot inspire the emotion of Love. If you wish to enjoy aesthetic emotion, the name must imply that God is Beauty, and so on. Some mistake the vacuity of mind for immersion in or union with God. Such vacuity may be induced by thinking on any sound or symbol. Such condition may be compared to artificial sleep and is present even in non-theistic Yoga or Samadhi. It is non-spiritual.

If *nama-japa* (नाम-जप) is to be made effective, the name must be attributive. The Brahma Samaj does not ignore "*nama-japa*", but it has placed it on a psychological basis. But the *Aradhana* as practised in the Brahma Samaj is more effective than "*nama-japa*", though more difficult.

In *aradhana* the worshipper thinks of the different attributes of God and analyses each attribute. Take for example, the attribute "Love" (प्रेम). In *nama-japa* we simply pronounce प्रेम-मय (premamaya); but in *Aradhana* we bring before our mind facts illustrating his loving nature. What is implicit in an attributive name, is made explicit in *Aradhana*, and what is explicit appeals more to our heart than what is implicit. But in higher stages the description and analysis of an attribute are not necessary. The mentioning of that attribute is enough, and you need not mention that attribute more than once; no repetition is necessary. Utter an attribute, say the word सत्यम् (Satyam) and the whole soul of the devotee will be aroused. He will

feel His presence and he will feel himself united with Him. But this is a higher life. On lower levels there must be religious *exercise* like physical exercise. Some will practise *nama-japa* and some '*Aradhana*', according to capacity and temperament. *Nama-japa*, as is practised by ordinary people, does not seem to be effective; but *Nama-japa* when practised psychologically will be really effective. *Aradhana*, when not mechanical, may be made more effective. Only those who do not know the aim and psychology of *Aradhana* will speak of it slightly.

Though Ramkrishna adversely commented on some of the religious practices of the Brahmas, he was always favorably disposed to the Brahma Samaj movement.

CATHOLICISM

His universal toleration endeared him to all classes of devotees. In the *Mahimna Stotra* we find the following passage, रूचीनां वैचित्राद्भुतदिल-

नाना-पथ-जुषां नृणामेको गम्यस्त्वमसि पयसार्णव इव ।

"Men's temperaments are different, but all their paths, straight or crooked, lead to Thee, as all waters fall into the ocean."

This was also the sincere conviction of Paramahansa. He would say:—

"To say that one's religion alone is true and that others are false, is dogmatism. It is a bad attitude. For, various are the ways that lead unto the Lord." ii. 111.

On one occasion he said:—

"I find all men quarrelling in the name of religion—Hindus, Musalmans, Brahmos, Shaktas, Vaishnavas, Shaivas—all are quarrelling with one another. They never think that He who is called Krishna is also called Siva, that He Himself is named Adya Shakti—The Primal Energy, Jesus or Allah—one Rama having a thousand names."

"The substance is one only. It has different names. And every one is seeking the same substance; they are only the variance due to clime, temperament and name. The same tank has many ghauts. From one ghaut the Hindus are taking water in jars—they call it *Jal*, the Mussalmans take water in leather bags from another ghaut—they call it *pani*; the Christians take water from a third ghaut—they name it water. Every one is following His path, and if he is sincere and yearns to know Him, then certainly he will realize Him." ii. 250-251.

On another occasion he said—"People take to things according to their taste and capacity of digestion, so to speak. The mother dresses the same fish differently for different children. For one she prepares *polao*, but the *polao* may not agree with others, so she makes soups of it. There are again other tastes; some relish fried fish, and others acid preparations. The Rishis were philosophical, hence they sought to realize God as the Absolute, the Akhanda satchidananda. But Bhaktas want the Divine Incarnation, so that they may enjoy the Sweetness of Bhakti" ii. 104-105.

What Ramkrishna says about the unity of all religions is weighty and worth considering. The subject can be discussed from a psychological point of view. The first question is—Can there be one religion in the world? Decidedly not. Temperaments are different and cultures too. So

the ideals of different men will be different and therefore their practices also will necessarily be different. Men of Jewish and Moslem cultures cannot appreciate, nay, will condemn the pantheistic or semi-pantheistic ideal of Vedantism. Men of savage and barbaric societies will consider forgiveness and love for enemies to be signs of cowardice. The God whom they consider to be worth worshipping, must needs be stern, violent and unforgiving. The religion of cold climates will be characterised by activity. The peoples of hot countries will generally accept a religion of contemplation and emotion. Let us consider the religious ideals of different members of a modern cultured society—say the Brahma Samaj. Is the ideal of God the same to all the members of the Samaj? Certainly not. The God of boys and girls and of ordinary men and women is grossly anthropomorphic. The God of some is anthropomorphic of a finer type. The God of a limited few is super-personal. I know of many Brahmas who pray for health, wealth and worldly prosperity. Some boys and girls pray for good results in University and other examinations. There are others who want nothing—worldly or other-worldly—they want only *Jnana* (knowledge), *Bhakti* (Devotion) and Divine companionship. Then we see, there may be heterogeneous elements even in the same family, the cultured father believing in a Super-conscious and Super-personal God and the uncultured children praying to an anthropomorphical Deity. When in the same family there cannot be one religion, how can we expect to see one religion in the whole world?

The second question is—What should be our attitude to other religions? The answer must be—Broad Catholicism and Universal Toleration. People of low culture pray for worldly prosperity, acquisition of wealth, success in litigation, conquest of rich and fertile countries, defeat and even death of enemies. It is immaterial whether such prayers are offered to Kali or Mary, Krishna or Christ, Vishnu or Allah. The religions of lower types are all fundamentally the same. So men need not quarrel with one another over the superiority of a particular creed. We believe, as Rammohan Roy believed a century ago, that all religions, when fully developed, approximate one another. So in higher religions also it is useless quarrelling over religion: missionary religions are the greatest sinners in this respect. Their preachers are generally intolerant. The time has now come to change their methods of preaching. Their object should be to develop the moral and spiritual life of every man, to whatever society he may belong. The spiritual life does not mean belief in a creed. Whatever creed a man will accept will depend upon his culture. If you consider it to be very low, do not revile it; but train his mind as you train the mind of a child. The present belief of a man will largely depend upon his past mass of apperception. All on a sudden you cannot change his apperceptive mass and it can never be changed by disparaging and vilifying. To change it requires time, patience and proper training. Your attempts may or may not be successful but you should always be sympathetic, loving and tolerant.

Many will ask—Are we to tolerate idol-worship? Yes, every form of worship is to be tolerated. Another point may be considered here. What is called 'idol-worship' is not the worship of an

idol. No one can psychologically worship an idol as idol, a stone as stone. What they worship is a spirit or a power which is believed to reside in or to come, on a particular occasion, to a particular object but which is not itself that particular object. We know, their belief is wrong, but that does not make them sinful. The days of Imperialistic Religions are gone. There now arises no question of honouring or insulting God. The idea of dishonouring God by idol worship is now antiquated and foolish. So even the so-called idol-worship is to be tolerated.

DISCIPLES

There are many other points in the life and teachings of this unique personality. But space forbids us to expatiate on those points. We can refer here only to two points.

First, he made no disciples. He used to say: "There is not a fellow under the sun who is my disciple (in Bengali, আমার কোন শালা নেই নাই). On the contrary, I am everybody's disciple. All men are sons of God—servants of the Lord. I too am a son of God and His servant" (i. 405).

On another occasion he said: "I have no disciples. (in Bengali আমার কোনাটলা নাই). I am the servant of the servant of Rama." ii. 311.

According to him "people making disciples belong to an inferior order of men." i. 426.

He made no disciples, yet many devotees accepted him as their Guru.

INCARNATION

Ramkrishna believed that God is manifested in the world in a variety of forms. It is He who appears as the finite soul and the phenomenal world (i. 375; Vide also i. 397; ii. 204, 320, etc.). "But his greatest manifestation is in man," ii. 233. So every man is, according to him, an incarnation of God. But he believed also in special incarnations. "Wherever there is a special manifestation of His Power, there is Avatar. This is what I believe," said he.

His followers tried to convince themselves as well as others that he was a special incarnation of God. But he repudiated the idea. Once a devotee said to him,—

"Sir, seeing you is as good as seeing God?" Ramkrishna said:

"Never say that. It is the wave that belongs to the Ganges and not the Ganges to the waves." ii. 183.

His metaphysical standpoint was that of a monist. He believed, as we have already seen, that in the highest state of Samadhi the worshipper loses self-consciousness and becomes identified with the Absolute. But he preferred retaining a separate personality. He did not like to become God but to enjoy him (ii. 71). He considered himself to be a Bhakta. He would say that, his Mother had placed him in the state of Bhakta (ii. 201). He further said:—

"The devotee will not say 'I am God' (i. 165)."

But when he was once in ecstasy he said:

"Krishna, O Krishna, Thou art my knowledge, Thou art my life, Thou art my mind, Thou art my soul, and Thou art my body," ii. 279.

These are also the outburst of a Bhakta, though the idea is monistic.

"An Avatar is," according to Ramkrishna, 'one who grants salvation,' ii. 317. But he never exercised nor claimed such a privilege or power. He would not accept the role of even a Guru. On the other hand, he was himself afraid of contamination (i. 285; ii. 176) and avoided sinners and the reformed (ii. 22).

He never claimed to be an Incarnation. But he said that he was a Bhakta. He was really a God-intoxicated Man.

Such is the man who has been depicted in the Gospel of Ramkrishna. The book is inspiring and worth reading.

[NOTE—Here are some examples of interpolation.

(i) Vol. i, page 398, lines 20-26

"People do not see that science deals only with the conditioned knowledge. It brings no message from the Land of the Unconditioned. Such message has been brought by holy men who have seen and realized God, like the Rishis of old. It is they alone that are competent to say 'God is thus and thus'."

This passage is an interpolation. (Vide श्रीरामकृष्णायुक्त, ১ম ভাগ, পৃঃ ২৬০)

(ii) Vol. i, page 55, lines 13-15.

"Hence everything should be the object of our worship, be it man or beast, bird, plant or mineral."

This sentence is not found in the Beng. ed. (vide i. 29).

(iii) Vol. i, p. 261 (last 4 lines) and p. 262 (first 4 lines)

This paragraph is not in the B. ed. (vide i. 152-153).

(iv) Vol. i, p. 278, lines 14-17.

"It brings Karma (work) to a minimum. It teaches the necessity of prayer without ceasing."

An interpolation (vide Beng. ed. i. 165).

(v) i. 279, lines 3-4.

"Let him love, pray, surrender himself entirely to God."

Not in the Beng. ed. (vide i. 166)

The section ix (pp. 287-321) corresponds to the 16th section of the fourth volume of the Bengali edition (pp. 132-144). But the whole 9th section has been re-edited: there are omissions, alterations, expansions, transpositions and interpolations. Some examples are cited below.

(vi) i. 290 (last 8 lines) and p. 291 (first 16 lines.)

In the Bengali edition there are only two lines. The author has expanded these two lines into 24 lines partly by expanding the idea but mainly by adding something new (vide B. ed. iv. 134).

(vii) i. 292 (last 14 lines) and p. 293 (one line)

"It is a case of Involution and Evolution. You go backwards to the Supreme Being and your personality becomes lost in His Personality etc."

An interpolation (Vide B. ed. iv. 134).

(viii) i. 293, lines 3-22. Not found in the B. ed. An interpolation; a fling at Christianity and Brahmanism. (Vide B. ed. IV. 134-135)

(ix) i. 298 (last three lines) and p. 299 (first 8 lines)

An interpolation (vide B. ed. IV. 136)

(x) i. 301, the whole page except the last line.

An interpolation (Vide B. ed. IV. 137.)

(xi) i. 302; lines 13-23.

An interpolation (Vide B. ed. IV. 137)

(xii) i. 303; the whole page. In the B. ed. we find মহাত্মার প্রেম,—অবতার আদির হয় (IV. 137) This line has been expanded into one page in the Eng. ed.

(xiii) i. 304; lines 14-22.

An interpolation (Vide B. ed. IV. 137-138)

(xiv) i. 305, lines 3-22. Different from the Beng. ed. (Vide IV. 138)

(xv) i. 308; first 6 lines.

An interpolation (Vide B. ed. IV. 138-139)

(xvi) i. 308, lines 22-27. In the Beng. ed. we find "আর আমি দেখি, ঈশ্বর নিজেই মানুষরূপ ধারণ করে রয়েছেন" (IV. 140)

The English version is:—"I look upon all human beings,—in fact, all creatures as incarnations of the deity. I see God evolved into all things, God manifested in everything—in Man and Nature. I see God Himself has taken these multifarious forms that appear before our eyes in this Universe!"

So the portion printed in italics is an interpolation.

(xvii) i. 310, first 13 lines.

An interpolation (Vide B. ed. IV. 140)

(xviii) i. 316 (last 13 lines); pp. 317-319 (three pages) and p. 32 (first three lines).

An interpolation. Vide B. ed. IV. 143 (last five lines) and p. 144).

These examples are more than enough to condemn the book.

Vizagapatam,— Its New Harbour

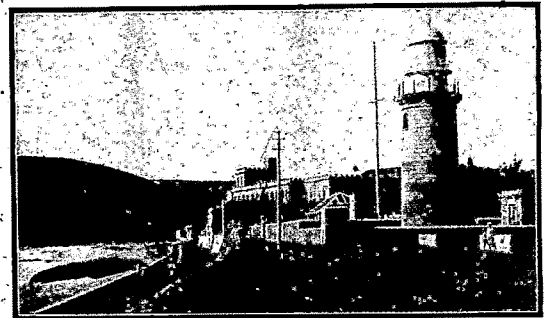
ABINASH CHANDRA DUTT, M. A. (Com.)

1

VIZAGAPATAM, as the name suggests, is the anglicized name of Vishakha Pattanam. Vishakha, according to the *Gathas*, is believed to be a Buddhist princess after whom the town (*pattanam*) was named. When King Asoka conquered the Andhra Desa, which in modern times is known as the Northern Circars, Buddhism extended its sway over the land. In the opinion of the writer of the *Civic Survey* of the Vizagapatam municipality, interesting Buddhist ruins may be found if excavations were made in the tidal swamp west of Vizagapatam, where large bricks, typical of the Buddhist period, are lying scattered. The Sankara ruins near Ankapalle are assigned to the period of Asoka's invasion of Kalinga.

The town is set in a picturesque amphitheatre of hills on one side and the deep blue expanse of the sea on the other. The swamp and backwater extend several miles behind the town, and the area is shut in by a range of sand hills on the west,

the English East India Company, to settle and establish factories at Vizagapatam in the middle of the seventeenth century. Until the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, when many military centres were abolished, Vizagapatam was an important military station of the British Government. On the Burujupeta or the Flagstaff hill, which



The Light House, Vizagapatam



The Entrance to Vizagapatam Harbour

the sea and the town lying to the east. This area has a free connection with the sea and is the natural site for an excellent harbour.

The presence of Dutch traders on the eastern coast of Bimlipatam and Vizagapatam induced their rivals in trade,

forms the southern fringe of the town, was located a battery for gunners, remains of which still meet the eyes of a visitor.

Waltair is the northern portion of the town, and is well known to health-seekers from other provinces. The sea breeze is reputed to be beneficial for lung troubles, and Vizagapatam is pleasant as a sanitarium from November to the beginning of March. If we leave the seaside out of consideration, a visitor from Calcutta will possibly be disappointed at the sanitary

condition of the town with the stench of its streets, consequent upon the inadequacy of water-supply and the want of a good drainage system. The debt incurred by the municipality for water-supply and still unpaid is, I understand, near about a lac of rupees. The town can boast of a number

of highly paid health officials to look after its sanitary interests, but the hands of this top-heavy administration must be tied for want of facilities in other directions.

The town of Vizagapatam is already much congested owing to insufficiency of building sites. The harbour which is in course of construction may reclaim some land out of the swamp and make approachable some areas in the hills for residential purposes, but as yet, the increasing pressure on land that will be an inevitable consequence of the proposed development of the town, will add to the difficulty of accommodating the local as well as the emigrant population, and the value of land, which is already high, will be rising higher.

The potentialities of Vizagapatam as a harbour for Central India has been discussed from the early seventies of the last century. It was the Bengal Nagpur Railway Company which took up the initiative in the preparation of a scheme for the construction of a harbour at Vizagapatam by their engineer, Colonel H. Cartwright Reid who, as Engineer-in-Chief, was in charge of the construction. The plan was approved by the Railway Board and the Secretary of State for India and subsequently it was taken up by the Government of India on their own hands from the B. N. Railway Company. About ten square miles of area has been acquired for the purpose; the cost of acquisition has been about twenty-seven lacs of rupees and a



View looking through Dolphin's Nose Cave, Vizagapatam

The Government of Madras are offering ungrudging facilities for the development of the district. The establishment of high schools for boys and girls, a technical school, a medical school, the King George Medical College of Vizagapatam, the mental hospital and the recent foundation of the Andhra University all speak eloquently for the endeavour of the Government in this respect.

Of the home industries, the ivory and sandal-wood works are worth mentioning. The industry of the local silk-weavers has almost died out owing to its competition with the mill-products.

Further amount of ten lacs, as I understand, has been sanctioned for land acquisition. A dredger is now working day and night and the work of construction is already in full swing. The inter-dependent railway line from Raipur in the Central Provinces to Vizianagaram has also been completed and opened for traffic.

In spite of there being no harbour at present on the long stretch of the eastern coast-line from Calcutta to Madras, a distance of about 700 miles, considerable trade in imports and exports is being carried on in the small ports of Masulipatam, Cocanada, Bimlipatam and Balasore, with the help of



A Bird's-eye View of Vizagapatam

surf-boats which carry merchandise to and from the small coasting steamers anchoring in the roadstead. The completion of the Vizagapatam harbour will concentrate this diffused trade, make transportation cheaper and easier, enhance the volume of trade and, at the same time, minimize the pressure on the ports of Bombay and Calcutta. It will offer excellent protection to shipping in bad weather and its connection with the Raipur Railway will open up the granaries of Central India for easy access. Two other feeder lines are the B. N. Railway and the M. S. M. Railway of which Waltair is the terminal station. In anticipation of the pressure of goods traffic bound for the harbour and for better handling of wagons at their junction with the M. S. M. Railway, the B. N. Railway, contemplates construction of a marshalling yard, and in no distant period. There is possibility of further expansion of the present small railway junction at Waltair to keep pace with the development of the harbour. Some

sites of the harbour area, it is understood, will be reserved for docks, workshop for ship repairs and, probably, for ship-building. The whole scheme may take several decades for development.

The natural security and the advantages of the Vizagapatam harbour with its surrounding hills promises well of the future possibilities of this port. The idea, when it was first formulated by the B. N. Ry. Company, was apparently a trade proposition. But I am not competent to say, if its subsequent working up by the Government of India has any strategic purpose behind it or implies any connection with the proposed Singapore Base to offer safeguard against the inroads of an *Emden*. However, under the able guidance of Colonel H. Cartwright Reid, C. B., the construction of the harbour at Vizagapatam is making great progress towards the development of the fiscal resources of India.

The Moslem Demand for Baluchistan

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

LIKE President Wilson, Mr. Jinnah, who claims to be a "Nationalist Mussalman" promulgated his fourteen points, not for the peace of the world but for safeguarding the Muhammadan interests in any future constitutional reforms that might be granted to or demanded by India. After some discussion most of these demands have been accepted by a considerable body of the Hindu leaders.

Let us examine some of these fourteen points, *viz.* the grant of the reforms to Baluchistan and the upholding of the present Muhammadan majority in the Punjab and Bengal.

Within the present geographical boundaries, the Muhammadans are in a small majority in the Punjab and Bengal which are "Reform" provinces and overwhelmingly so in Baluchistan and N-W. Frontier Provinces. In the remaining six "Reform" provinces excluding Burma, they are in a minority—their greatest percentage being twenty-eight in Assam. To balance these six Hindu "Reform" provinces they want five Muhammadan "Reform" provinces by the grant of reforms to Baluchistan and N-W. Frontier Provinces and the separation of Sind from Bombay. That is the mentality behind these demands. The Nehru Report by its acceptance has put premium over them.

As Bengal and the Punjab are at present constituted, with the advent of full provincial autonomy 21+9 *i. e.*, 30 million Hindus and Sikhs are to be placed under the political supremacy of the Muhammadans—what likely use they will make of their supremacy, it remains to be seen; their past conduct, especially in the Punjab, raises an apprehension in the minds of the Hindus that it will be used for their communal betterment at the cost of the Hindus. In the Punjab, the Ministry of Education (Minister—Sir Fazl-i-Hussein) is charged with subordinating the interests of its departments to the support of the communal interests of Muhammadans. The electoral rules of local bodies, the system of grants to educational institutions, and even the rules regulating admission to Government colleges are alleged to have

been modified with this end in view. The general charge is not one which the Ministry of Education has attempted to rebut, though it has denied with some justification, the extent of the allegations. (I am quoting from p. 200 of the Punjab Government's Memorandum on the working of the Reforms, 1924.)

As against these 30 million Hindus and Sikhs, there are only 19 million Muhammadans in the six "Reform" Hindu provinces. It may be urged that the political influence of Hindu India is very great in "Non-reform" areas. Even then the total of the Muhammadans under Hindu political influence is only 23 millions (The Muhammadans number 59.5 millions in the whole of British India). Not content with having 30 million Hindus and Sikhs under their control as against the 23 million Muhammadans, they want the grant of the reforms to N-W. Frontier Provinces and Baluchistan, which means political power over some more Hindus and political enfranchisement of a large number of Muhammadans; separation of Sind from Bombay—a process by which not only nearly 3 million Muhammadans will be taken out of the political influence of the Hindus, but a further political domination over nearly half a million Hindus will be effected. Finally, as against 18 million Muhammadans in the whole of British India under the political control of the Hindus or of the Burmans in Burma, the Muhammadans will have 31 million Hindus and Sikhs under their control.

They want the introduction of reforms in Baluchistan, a province with an area of 54,228 sq. miles, an area larger than that of Assam (the area of Bengal being 76,843) with a population of 4,20,648, the population of an average Bengal district being 1,667,698. The average number of persons per house is 5.1 and the average number of houses per sq. mile is 1.5 which works out at a density of 1.8 persons per sq. mile for British Baluchistan; the density per sq. mile for Bengal being 578. Fertile soil in the valleys, snowfall on the hills which feeds the *Karex* or well

systems, a fair rainfall, special facilities for irrigation, good communications by road and rail, the presence of a large military garrison and a market for surplus products have combined to induce a certain number of persons to settle round Quetta and increase the density there to 26 per sq. mile. Irrigation from the Sind canals renders lands in the Sibi district cultivable and has sent up the density per sq. mile to 21.

Of the total population of 420,648 souls 75,834 are aliens from India residing there temporarily as soldiers, sepoy and policemen etc. The remaining population has been divided by the Census authorities into indigenous and semi-indigenous. The indigenous population has increased by 7,962 since 1901, the year of the first regular census there, the semi-indigenous has increased by 1,276, while the increase of the aliens during the same period is 29,304. The proportion of females to males in the actual population was in 1921 as 790 : 1000 while the estimated proportion of females to males in the natural population is 833 : 1000, which is the smallest figure for any province in India excepting the penal settlement of the Andamans and Nicobars.

Of British Baluchistan the area inhabited by the Marri and the Bugdi tribes, is not directly administered by the British authorities. This tribal country from which no revenue is taken and in which the tribesmen are allowed to have their head as much as possible, is legally a part of British India. Taking Baluchistan as a whole the Census Commissioner makes the following observation:—"No country in the world with any claim to a settled population has a greater leaven of nomadism than Baluchistan." In 1921, 60 per cent of the population passed life permanently under roof, 22 per cent were nomads pure and simple, while the remaining 18 per cent used both roof and tent.

The causes of nomadism are—(1) the rigours of climate with a mean annual rainfall of generally five inches in the plains decreasing in some cases to three, while a few places in the high lands receive more than 10 inches. (2) The inherent pastoralism of the people. (3) The lack of cultivable and irrigable land. Natural production throughout Baluchistan is very poor and the proportion of area harvested to total area is about 1 per cent. (4) Famine and pestilence. But the indigenous Hindu, through good year or bad year, stays where he is.

The aliens fill most of the billets in the local administration as well as in the army and police, besides monopolizing the bulk of the trade in the towns and supplying hands for the labour market. They supply the bulk of its gardeners, washermen, domestic servants, traders and clerks.

In British Baluchistan there are 873 Muhammadans, 92 Hindus, 18 Sikhs, 16 Christians in every 1000. In urban areas the Muhammadans form 44 per cent of the population. The actual number of literates in the whole of Baluchistan including the Native States and including the alien population is 9,771 Muhammadans, 18,513 Hindus, 3,751 Sikhs, 5,108 Christians and 237 others. The proportion of literates amongst the indigenous Muhammadans in British Baluchistan is 66 per 10,000. The proportion of female literates to male literates is 9:1000.

Of the native population 33 per cent speak Baluchi, 27 per cent Pushtu, 20 per cent Brahui, 19 per cent Jatki. The alien Indians speak seven different languages.

The Mussalmans of India claim to represent and champion the cause of the Mussalmans of Baluchistan. But what they have done for uplifting their moral and material condition? How many schools, how many dispensaries, how many hospitals have they established in Baluchistan? How many scholarships have been endowed by them for the benefit of the poor, deserving Baluchi boys?

There is as much difference between the Islam of the average tribesman and the highly developed Islam of the Indian Maulavi as between the Hinduism of the domiciled Hindu families who celebrate their festivals in the local Masjid and the Hinduism of orthodox Brahminism. With the common mass, Islam is merely an external badge that goes awkwardly with the quaint bundle of superstitions which hold them in thrall. The Zikri, numbering about 28 thousand, substitute the Mahdi for Muhammad in their *Kalima*—the very negation of Muhammadanism. (The above is from the Baluchistan Census Report, 1921, pp. 47 *et seq.*)

The total receipts of the Baluchistan administration from all sources of revenue for the year 1925-26 was Rs. 20,95,000, while the cost of civil administration alone, excluding military, railways, customs etc., amounted to Rs. 80,98,000. The total amount of land revenue collected was Rs. 8,90,000; the cost of collecting the same was

Rs. 2,93,000. The land revenue is paid in kind either by the division or appraisal of crops. The grazing tax, called *termi*, amounting to Rs. 1,04,000 from the nomads and Rs. 49,000 from the permanent inhabitants is included in the above figure under land revenue. The amount of *Taccavi* loans outstanding was Rs. 5,50,000.

The length of open canals for irrigation was 106½ miles. The total outlay amounted to Rs. 31,66,600. The gross revenue in 1925-26 amounted to Rs. 46,000, while the working expenses were Rs. 53,000. This shows a net deficit of about Rs. 6,000.

The total area harvested was 2,22,000 acres. The forest area is about 800 sq. miles. An attempt is being made to create forests by artificial sowing and planting on the bare hill slopes in the neighbourhood of Quetta. The natural production is very poor owing to scanty rainfall and the dry climate of the country. The total revenue and expenditure for the year 1925-26 amounted to Rs. 73,000 and Rs. 31,000. The revenue from local salt was Rs. 375.

The cost of civil police alone was Rs. 11,26,000, the strength being 2,172. This works out to one police constable for every 200 men. In addition 40 policemen were employed at the cost of the departments. Besides these are 2,314 levy forces (=armed policemen) costing about Rs. 1,600,000. The number of offences reported in the year 1925 was 9,735 and the number of persons under trial was 14,213; i.e., 3 or 4 persons out of every 100 citizens were undergoing trial.

The total revenue from excise amounted to Rs. 6,06,000, i.e., Rs. 1-7 per head of population.

The number of persons assessed to income tax was 149 officials and 285 other persons including jointstock companies and joint undivided Hindu families.

Trade beyond the ordinary retail trade of a garrison town shows no sign of increase.

There is only one municipality in the province—the Quetta municipality. There is only one company registered in Baluchistan viz., the Quetta Club Ltd., a company having a capital of Rs. 1,500 limited by guarantee. The number of jointstock companies registered elsewhere but working in Baluchistan was 1 in 1921. The number of documents registered, including wills and those optionally registrable, was 852 and the income from fees and other sources amounted to Rs. 5,448.

The total value of property affected by these documents is 18,97,348. The corresponding figures for Bengal are 1,991,399 documents affecting property worth 44,20,13,407 and the receipts of the Government from fees amount to Rs. 34,09,994.

The total output of coal was 6,500 tons, of coal-dust 27,600 tons and of chromite 18,000 tons and the total revenue received by the Government was Rs. 17,743.

Civil suits and criminal offences concerning the tribesmen are decided by the council of elders (*Jirgahs*). The number of civil cases instituted in 1925-26 was 4,302; of these 4,034 were for recovery of money or movables and 2,066 were valued less than Rs. 50. The total value of all the suits was Rs. 24,36,134.

The number of industrial establishments employing over 20 men was 36 in 1921, while the total number of industrial establishments of all sorts including the above was 49. Of these 25 are under the control of the Government or of local authorities; three are under companies with European directors; two are privately owned by Europeans and the remaining nineteen are owned by Indians. There were, in 1921, three private printing hand-presses employing in all twenty-nine alien Indians and one semi-indigenous Baluchi. In 1925-26, it does not appear that there were any private printing-presses or any newspapers or periodicals in any language, published in Baluchistan. (The figures are from the *Statistical Abstract of British India* for 1925-26.)

Of the 2,476 skilled employees, only 384 are Baluchis, the rest are alien Indians. The number of unskilled labourers was 2,616, of these 966 were Baluchis, indigenous or semi-indigenous.

There were 5 factories of which 3 were Government factories, such as Ordnance, Railways employing about 1,111 men; the remaining 2, which were private concerns, one a brewery and the other a flour mill, employed on an average 86 persons.

The total route mileage of railways stands at 893 miles, but the passenger traffic is very small. Over a considerable portion trains run twice a week. The number of post offices is 46, but as the figures for letters, registered letters, money orders issued and received are not kept separately for Baluchistan, an estimate of its progress cannot be made.

The tribesmen are very sensitive as to any questions about the women of their

families. Most of the serious crimes have their origin in intrigues with women and adultery. A bad adultery case resulting in 5 murders occurred among the Dhamari Khetrans of Lorlai district in 1925-26. The fine by way of compensation in this case totalled Rs. 9,000. Tribesmen consider such crimes as of the nature of tort; fines are almost always imposed by way of compensation *viz.*, blood money or value of property looted. The idea of fleeing across the border over petty quarrels is being gradually abandoned but not absent in the minds of the tribesmen. One Sardar dissatisfied with a decision four years back has been for some

time residing in Afghanistan and has now definitely become an Afghan subject.

Such is Baluchistan. Yet full provincial autonomy as in the major provinces must be given to it, so that it may rank as a full-fledged Reform Muhammadan province; that it may rank as an equal in the future federation of States in India; that it may act partly as a counterpoise to Hindu India, that it may, in the event of a war with Afghanistan, possibly follow in the footsteps of its Sardars and join hands with the enemy. And this is the Moslem demand voiced by men like Mr. Jinnah. Comment on the mentality behind it is needless.

Development of Rural Finance in Bengal

By B. K. SARKAR, M.A.

FOLLOWING the Decentralization Commission's example of using the word 'rural' in a wide sense, I have used the words 'rural finance' to signify the finance of all rural bodies in Bengal, *viz.*, Union Boards, Union Committees, Local Boards, and District Boards, except Municipalities. The municipal finance of Bengal is so fundamentally different from rural finance, that it requires to be specially dealt with.

Before entering into the heart of the subject, I think it would not be out of place to mention several peculiarities of rural finance of this Presidency.

The growth of rural bodies in Bengal has not been evolutionary or natural but extremely artificial. Unlike what is to be found in Madras, the old village communities in Bengal have long been extinct. The Chaukidari Act of 1870 introduced some form of organized government into villages by the creation of Chaukidari Unions. This artificially created form of local government was not again allowed to develop on right lines. Lord Ripon's sympathy for the growth of self-government in rural bodies led to the preparation of a bill in 1883. It was proposed that the Union Committees which were to replace the old Municipal Unions created by the Municipal Act of 1876 should form the nucleus of rural govern-

ment with sufficient financial resources and power to manage their own affairs and that a Central Board should be established in Calcutta for exercising general control over them. The Secretary of State for India, however, intervened and proposed the appointment of District Committees with the proposed powers of the Central Board. He had no objection in treating them as committees of control instead of committees of administration. Finally, however, when the Self-Government Act of 1885 was passed the district was made the unit of local administration and not simply the unit of control.

This was to begin local self-government at the wrong end. "The system ought to start from the bottom and work up, rather than from the top and work down." The artificiality of local government as well as its progress by devolution have left this impress on the financial system of the local bodies. In Europe the "growth has been from parish or commune to the union" and upwards, and the relation of local to central finance has been progressive. Taxes and services which were once parochial gradually became provincial and then national, but in Bengal the case has been the reverse. Taxes which were initially imposed by the provincial Government were gradually utilized by district and then in lower boards, *e.g.*, Union

Boards. Thus we find in 1875-76, "the Provincial Reserve Fund" included Rs. 2,69,798 on account of receipts from 'Pounds' and Rs. 69,214 from 'Ferry' and 'Road Tolls'. The receipts from 'Pounds' were composed of fines and unclaimed proceeds of the sale of cattle in working out the Cattle Trespass Act (1) of 1871. These were gradually handed over to the District Boards. The Union Committees and now the Union Boards have been, in many cases, given the proceeds from 'Pounds' and 'Ferries'. In 1927-28, tolls from 'Ferries' and 'Roads' were Rs. 6,01,874 for District Boards and Rs. 1,281 for Union Boards. Similarly certain duties, e. g., primary education which the provincial Government had to discharge gradually devolved on District Boards and now to a certain extent on Union Boards.

A second peculiarity is that although before 1870, local bodies were non-existent, there were many local taxes, the receipts of which were spent for local welfare but the administration rested with the provincial Government. Thus before the decentralization scheme of Lord Mayo was introduced, in 1871, (i) £9,000 per annum was obtained from road tolls (ii) £6,000 from public ferries of rivers, and (iii) £3,750 from road cess levied at a rate of 1 per cent in case of settlement of estates which were not included in permanent settlement or had reverted to Government in addition to revenue. These taxes along with the sum obtained from profit of jail manufacture and surplus proceeds of pounds amounting to £24,000, were centralized in one fund, and were spent only on improvements of respective localities.

So far as administration of finance is concerned, the Bengal system is a mixture of the French and the British. In England, the local bodies are not interfered with in administrative affairs and can spend their funds within prescribed limits, according to their option, but there is sufficient control of the central Government by audit, general supervision and inspection in exchange for liberal grants-in-aid. In France, the system is bureaucratic, the local administration being carried by representatives of the central executive and the local bodies have very little initiative or independence. In Bengal, the administration of local bodies aims to follow the British system; there is provision for audit (sec. 55 of Self-Government Act), inspection, and general control (Part IV of the Act) by the Central Government. According to the recommendation of the Decentralization

Commission this control has been relaxed and limited to a few points and to general suggestion and advice (Circular letter No. 7. T.-L. S. G. dated 12. 10. 1912). Eventually the control has become negligible (*Cf.* Report of the Bengal Government on the working of the reforms) and the system has become anarchical, almost similar to the American. On the other hand, Sec. 31 (*ibid*) provides for the supersession of the District Boards by the Provincial Government and when that happens the measure cannot be considered as anything but thoroughly bureaucratic. In the case of Union Boards provisions for the appointment, dismissal and determining the number, salaries, and equipment of chaukidars (Secs. 21-23 of the Village Self-Government Act 1919), according to the option of the District Magistrate, and the preparation of those items of the budget estimate which relate to chaukidars and dafadars, and sanction by the District Magistrate through the Circle Officer (Account Rule No. 1-A) make the system still more dependent on the general administration.

The locally administered services in Bengal can be more or less specifically divided into 'onerous' to the ratepayers (not directly beneficial to the people of the locality) and 'local' or 'beneficial' to them. This classification is not logical and is not based on the principle of *fundamentum et divisionis*, but this sort of divisions gives some general idea of the nature of duties that local bodies have to perform. The presumption is that in the case of 'onerous' duties the State or some corporate body insists on the duty 'being carried out and a certain standard of efficiency reached.' In the case of Union Boards the duties that can specifically be thrust upon and compliance extorted from, them (Sec. 33 of the Village S. G. Act) and those relating to maintenance of primary schools (Sec. 32 of the Act) and in the case of District Boards maintenance of middle schools (Sec. 62 of the Act) and dispensaries (Sec. 66), water-supply works (Sec. 87) and any improvements relating to schools that are required to be done by Government (Sec. 65) may be considered 'onerous.' On the other hand, most of the other duties of rural boards may be considered 'beneficial' and 'local.'

The years 1871, 1885 and 1919 are landmarks in the history of local finance in Bengal. Before 1870, there were no legally constituted rural bodies to manage rural

finance. The Road Cess Act of 1871 was the direct outcome of Lord Mayo's decentralization scheme of 1890. Roads were in a very bad condition and it was asserted that as the Supreme Government could not grant anything, money must be raised by local taxation. A committee was appointed under Mr. Schalch,—a member of the Board of Revenue. Although there was much opposition from zemindars on the ground that any taxation of land would interfere with the rights conferred by the Permanent Settlement, it was held by the Committee that responsibility for improvement of roads and education rested with the zemindars. The reasons assigned as to why raiyats should also bear a portion of the tax were (1) that makrari raiyats would benefit much from improved roads, (ii) that improved roads would lead to extortion of higher rents by zemindars, which could be avoided by the imposition of a cess, (iii) and that price of staple food had increased and occupancy raiyats were capable of contributing something for improvement of roads. On these grounds the Road Cess Act was passed in 1871.

The road cess was to be levied on the annual value of lands and annual net profits of other types of immovable property, e.g. mines, quarries, tramways etc. provided that the cess could not be realized from railways and tramways which were the property of Government of India or for which dividend was guaranteed and that the minimum rate could not exceed $\frac{1}{2}$ anna in the rupee. The Act was extended initially only to a few districts and district and branch committees were appointed to carry out the purposes of the Act. Two-thirds of the committees were non-officials but none were to be elected. The principle of assessment and collection was that the landlord immediately superior to the raiyats would collect half of the rate fixed by the Cess Committee and pay to his superior landlord the full rate for his holding or tenure or estate, less half rate on the rent or revenue receivable. This can best be expressed by the formula $V \times R - \frac{R}{2}(G)$

when V is the annual value of an estate, or tenure or holding, R the rate of Cess and G the revenue or rent to the Government or superior landlord as the case may be. Thus in the case of an estate the revenue of which is Rs. 200, if it be leased out to a *Patnidar* at an annual rent of Rs. 500 and

the raiyats pay Rs. 300 as rent to the tenure-holder the cess would be realized thus: the annual value of the estate should be taken at Rs. 500; the estate-holder would pay to Government if the rate had been $\frac{1}{2}$ anna in the rupee $(500 \times \frac{1}{2})a - \frac{1}{2 \times 2}(200) = 100as.$

Of this the raiyats would pay $300 \times \frac{1}{2 \times 2} = 75a.$ to the the tenure-holder, who together with the collected raiyats' share would pay $(500 \times \frac{1}{2})a - \frac{1}{2 \times 2} \times 500 = 125 as., i. e. 125 - 75 = 50a$ on his own account.

The Estate-holder would get 125 as. from the *Patnidar* and pay $\frac{500}{2}a - \frac{200}{2 \times 2} = 200as.$ to the Government and thus himself would pay $200 - 125 = 75as.$

A cess on houses was also to be levied on those persons who did not pay any cess on lands or mines etc. and carried on any trade or profession unconnected with lands or mines. The rate of cess on houses was to be ascertained by the District Road Committee and value was to be assessed by Panchayets in places where Chaukidari Act of 1870 or Act XX of 1856 was in force and in other places by appointed assessors. In case of lands and houses the valuation roll was to be kept in force for 5 years but in the case of famines it was to be made every year.

In 1877, the Provincial Public Works Cess Act was passed; a rate of which the maximum could not be more than $\frac{1}{2}$ anna in the rupee, was to be levied on all immovable properties. The P. W. Cess was a provincial rate but the provincial Government gave away half of the public works cess to the District Committees as discretionary grant. The agency employed for raising the cess was the same as that for road cess; one-third of the total cost of collection was to be borne by the provincial Government and two-thirds by the Road Cess Committees.

Up to 1878-79, the receipts from cess as well as any other contributions from Government to the Cess Committee together with fines and penalties incidental to collection of the cess was to be deposited in the District Road Fund in the custody of the Collector who kept a separate account for it. The District Road Fund was shown in the accounts of the provincial Government

under the head 'Local Funds', *i.e.*, the 'Fund', the income from which was devoted solely and entirely to the district or the locality or purpose for which the money was raised.

From 1878-79, some of the 'local funds' including the District Road Fund was incorporated with the Provincial Reserve Fund (*i.e.*, the fund the balances of which were at the disposal of the provincial Government for provincial purposes) along with the Provincial Public Works Cess and shown as 'Provincial Rates' according to the orders of the Government of India. This was required for preparation of consolidated statements for the whole of the Indian Empire. It may be mentioned in this connection that since 1908-1909 Government of India decided on the exclusion of accounts of rural bodies in the Imperial budget.

The cess on houses was suspended from 1st April 1878. The Cess Acts were consolidated into Act IX of 1880.

Circular letter No. 3515 of October 10, 1881 of Lord Ripon's Government pointed out that all local administration except by Municipalities should be concentrated in the hands of one Committee in each district having ancillary Sub-Committees, and within the limits laid down, the fullest possible liberty of action should be given to local bodies.

So far as local finance is concerned the Cess Act was fundamentally replaced by the Self-Government Act of 1885.

Certain types of local taxes were given to the District Boards and Union Committees, *e.g.*, receipts from pounds and ferries, and fees from schools and dispensaries. The balance of the District Road Fund, (Sec 109 of the Cess Act) along with receipts from other sources constituted the District Fund. Although the Boards were given some taxes, at the same time some heavy responsibilities *e.g.* maintaining primary and middle schools, dispensaries, etc. devolved on them. The cost of collection of road cess also increased. 20 per cent was deducted for collection of road and public works cess which was done by a Deputy Collector. Formerly this was done more cheaply by the agencies of the Cess Committees just in the same way as the 'district rate' in England was realized by the 'Council's own men in the urban districts. Moreover the income from pounds and ferries which was expected to be susceptible of considerable expansion proved inelastic. Due to all these difficulties and a certain laxity in

its application the road cess was applied to provincial roads and dispensaries as well as to the maintenance of veterinary schools etc. and not solely to the improvement of village roads and tanks and everything connected with the village for which it was originally meant to be levied. Consequently the condition of roads deteriorated. The Government of Bengal was opposed to the diversion of the cess and the policy was also approved of by the Government of India.

Accordingly, in order to ensure that an amount approximately equal to the amount of road cess should be devoted to the maintenance of communications, Sir John Woodburn's government made a grant of 5 lacs in 1901, and in two subsequent years the resources of the Boards were augmented to that extent. In 1905, provincial finance improved, thanks to increased assignment by the Government of India and since then an augmentation grant of 25 per cent of the road cess has been made by the provincial Government to the District Boards. To allay the pressure on District Board finance and to make certain improvements a bill was prepared as far back as 1896 but due to famine and other considerations the Local Self-Government Amendment Act could not be passed before 1908. The Act empowered the Boards to levy tolls on bridges and diversion of road cess to purposes other than those mentioned in Sec 109 of the Cess Act was prohibited, the Union Committees were empowered to levy a small rate for purposes of water supply works and Bengal Government contributed every year one-third of the expenditure incurred by a board in the preceding year on the improvement of local water-supply works up to the maximum of Rs. 3,000 to individual Boards. To facilitate a healthy loan policy to local bodies the Bengal Loans Act (1) of 1914 was passed and in 1913, the whole of the public works cess was given to the District Boards with the intention that it should be mainly spent on sanitation and water-supply. In 1927-28, receipts under sub-head 'tolls from ferries and roads' were completely transferred from the provincial Government to District Boards and the total amounted to more than 6 lacs of rupees. Besides these special methods of mitigating the pressure, the Government has provided a healthy system of grants-in-aid—the contributions amounting to not less than 38 lacs of rupees in all—the whole income of District Boards in the province being

Rs. 145.5 lacs. But still the pressure on the finance of the District Boards continues to be great. The reasons are—

(1) The Boards have not been able to utilize their powers of borrowing effectively and usefully. They often finance capital works from current revenue. The Boards having a total income of more than one crore incurred a loan of only Rs. 20 lacs, capital works should be a charge not only on the present generation but also on the future ones who would derive much benefit from them.

(2) Labour and materials have been expensive without there being any corresponding increase of the resources of the Boards.

(3) In 1921, Government laid down that the District Boards should contribute a substantial portion of the augmentation grant to Union Boards (Sec. 45 of the Village Self-Government Act) for improvement of villages. Although the District Boards have not been acting thoroughly according to this principle, for we find in 1922-23 out of an augmentation grant of Rs. 4½ lacs only Rs. 1½ lacs was given to Union Boards, still that cannot but be considered a definite charge on the District Boards.

(4) The ideal of the amenities of civic life has outstripped the resources of the Boards. The following is a list of suggestions including those made by the Conference of Representatives of District Boards in 1919, for coping with the financial stringency of the Boards.

(i) Section 8 of the Cess Act should be repeated so that a cess may be levied on Railways.

(ii) District Boards should be empowered to open canals for irrigation and levy tax on the users.

(iii) A tax should be levied on carriages including motor vehicles and fees realized from registration of carts and upon persons attending a *mela* and those who own such *melas*.

(iv) Licence fees should be levied on private markets.

(v) Augmentation grant should be 25 per cent not only of road cess but also of public works cess put together.

(vi) The rate of road and public works cesses should be increased.

(vii) The Union Boards should levy a small tax for supplying local wants effectively and cheaply and the District Boards left with bigger problems.

Some of these suggestions received serious attention of the provincial Government and in fact a bill was prepared in August 1923 proposing to authorize District Boards to impose a tax on carriage including motor vehicles, licence fees on private markets and a tax upon persons attending *melas* as well as upon the owners of such *melas*. This was not carried into effect. Subsequently in 1925-26, it was proposed to levy a tax on motor vehicles by the provincial Government and to spend the income in grants to local bodies for improvement and maintenance of roads. None of the bills was passed into law. Government, however, was of opinion that the resources of the Boards could not be materially augmented by these means and financial stringency of the Boards could only be alleviated by handing over some of their duties to Union Boards which should meet the charge by increased taxes.

In this connection we should consider the taxes of the subordinate rural boards. The *chaukidari* tax as levied in 1870, was mainly an apportioned tax. The tax along with the income of *chakran* (resumed) lands defrayed the cost of maintenance of *chaukidars*. The Panchayet, as appointed by the Magistrate, used to appoint *chaukidars*, and, subject to the approval of the District Magistrate, could dismiss them. According to the suggestions of the Munro Committee, Act I of 1892 was passed, by which the power of appointing *chaukidars*, punishing them, determining their number and fixing their salary was taken away from the Panchayet and vested in the District Magistrates. Side by side with the *Chaukidari* Unions, the Union Committees, as constituted under the Local Self-Government Act of 1885, continued their flickering existence. After the report of the Decentralization Commission was published, the activities of these committees increased and we find as many as 383 Union Committees at work in 1919-20. Most of them were distinctly supported by District Boards, but some, specially those of Dacca, appreciated self-taxation and carried out many works very economically.

In 1918, the Government of India issued an important resolution reiterating the policy laid down by Lord Ripon's government and inculcating the removal of unnecessary official control and differentiation of spheres of action of local institutions and Provincial Government. The Bengal Village Self-Government Act was passed in 1919. Under the

Act, the Unions Committees and Chaukidari Unions were mostly abolished and replaced by Union Boards. The chaukidari tax was transformed into the 'union rate' which was more or less a personal tax levied on the pecuniary circumstances and property of the villagers—the maximum amount payable by an individual being not more than Rs. 80 per annum. Although the election principle was introduced there was great opposition to the enforcement of the Act in the beginning and because of arrears of pay of chaukidars, tahsildars had to be appointed under Section 54 of the Village Self-Government Act for realizing the rates. The tax, whatever be its nature theoretically, is still practically an apportioned one, for we find that in 1927-28 Rs. 56 lacs was the total income of about 1,300 Union Boards, including the income from *chakran* lands and other sources and the expenditure for establishment (chiefly *dafadars* and chaukidars) was Rs. 35.2 lacs leaving a balance of about Rs. 21 lacs for the purpose of village improvement. Although according to Sec. 37 (b) of the Act (*ibid*) a rate can be levied for the purpose of specific schemes of village improvement, only one consolidated union rate is in fact realized and anything remaining after payment of establishment charges is considered to be the total income available for village improvement. The question of abolition of the chaukidari tax and the provincialization of the rural police was discussed a few years back. The upholders of the view of abolition of the tax may suggest in the present circumstances, that the shifting of the burden of the establishment charges may afford the Union Boards sufficient resources for local improvement. The reasons that were marked against the proposal were (1) that provincialization of the rural police would lead to wages as high as those of the ordinary constabulary and would mean uncalled for drainage of the provincial purse. The village police in Madras and in the United Provinces has been provincialized and the staff has been reduced.

(2) Secondly it was said that the exis-

tence of the Chaukidari tax was the *raison d'être* for the establishment of the Panchayet which was the only village organization that might help in training villagers in Self-Government. With the establishment of Union Boards which was meant to introduce rural self-government in villages the second objection does not hold good. Without entering into the higher problems of stringency of provincial finance and the pressure that may be inflicted on it by provincialization of the rural police, it may be suggested that the new scheme of introducing health units in each rural thana, the expenses of which are proposed to be met from provincial funds, should be so modified as to make the proposed expense a charge on the Union Boards and a suitable provincial contribution made to them for establishment charges.

A word should be said here regarding Local Boards. Under the scheme as propounded in the Bill of 1883, the Local Boards were given a very high status as the real supervising agency of the lower boards. In effect, however, under the Local Self-Government Act of 1885, these have become more or less electoral colleges for the election of members to the District Boards. Under the Road Cess Act the Lieutenant-Governor was to assign every year to the Branch Committees a portion of the District Road Fund but the amount allotted did not exceed the amount of cess recovered from the area for which the branch committee was appointed. Under the present account rules, however (Rules 150-152 of District Board Account Rules) the District Boards are to make arbitrary allotments to Local Boards for expenditure on the matters under their control and administration.

The Decentralization Commission proposed that the Local Boards should have independent resources of income and separate spheres of duty and that they should be given the exact proportion of land cess recoverable from their area but half of the total cess should usually be the suitable share.

Dominion Status and Independence Side by Side

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

A Canadian writer has contributed an article to the *New Republic* of New York of December 4, 1929, on how Canadians look upon Americans, i.e., upon the citizens of the United States of America. It is addressed to the latter. William York, the writer, observes that the Canadian "envies the prosperity of the United States, and yet damns that country up and down." According to him, "his country has much the same physical characteristics; his people have much the same mental characteristics. In temperament, outlook, speech, he is much nearer the American than the European. Yet he dislikes the American." Mr. York says, "We envy your prosperity."

So Canada and its people have much the same physical and mental characteristics. And the area of Canada is larger than that of the United States. It is equal to almost the whole of Europe. Why then are the Canadians not as big, powerful and prosperous a people as the Americans? "Our people," says the writer, "have been through an attack of the inferiority complex," adding:

Perhaps, if we had been as successful as we had hoped a few years ago, there would not have been so much of this inferiority complex. About two decades ago Sir Wilfrid Laurier, then Prime Minister of Canada, made the confident prediction that "the nineteenth century belongs to the United States, but the twentieth century belongs to Canada." But having passed the first quarter of "our" century, we find his anticipations far from realized; and that, on the contrary, this second quarter belongs, as its opening, still very much to you.

When Laurier spoke, Canada was experiencing the flood tide of an enormous immigration—not only from Europe, but from the United States as well. Railroads were being built at a rapid rate, townsites by the hundreds were being launched every year, a huge industrial development seemed obvious. Optimism and boosterism filled the air. But war brought a swift reversal. We fought for four years, sent 8 per cent. of our total population overseas; and loaded ourselves up with war debts on a scale unequalled in the United States. You had no really serious aftermath of war; we did. Our development, which "flopped" in 1914, did not recover in the industrial revival and surge of mass production as yours did. As you entered this unparalleled wave of prosperity, we just about kept our heads above

water. Immigrants stopped coming; or, if they did, they used our country merely as a boarding house en route to the United States. Our own people, attracted by your extraordinary activity and by your high wages, emigrated in large numbers themselves.

The net increase in our population, from the census year 1911 to the census year 1921, which period covered, as well as the War, the amazingly large immigration of 1911-14, was 1,581,841, or 22 per cent. But after the War, from the census year 1921 to the 1927 government estimate, the nett increase was only 600,817—less than 7 per cent. During this period 811,340 immigrants entered Canada, so that somewhere the country actually lost some 210,523 people. Do you wonder, therefore, that when we look across the border we feel covetous?

I admit, of course, that the pendulum shows indications, if not actually of swinging the other way, at least of wavering. Emigration from Canada to the United States is a little more hesitant; but we cannot jubilate if it is because industry in the United States is hesitant too. Our sad experience has ever been that a boom in the United States takes several months to benefit Canada, but that a slump is felt immediately.

The writer does not explain why, after the War, things took a different course in Canada from that in the United States and continue to do so still.

The Canadians suffer from an attack of the inferiority complex not only as regards material prosperity but also as regards their intellectual and cultural standing. To account for this fact the writer says:—

The irony is that the United States is full of Canadian artists, writers and actors of talent, who might have stayed home if they could have made a decent living, but who are forced by our very narrow market and smaller financial returns to seek a wider market. Sometimes their work comes back to us—as American!

This explanation does not seem convincing. In Europe smaller people than the Canadians live in very much smaller countries. Yet, not to speak of earlier centuries, even in recent times, since Canada came to be spoken of Canada, these small European peoples and countries have produced more scientists, artists and writers of greater merit and wider reputation than Canada. And these countries and peoples are quite close to bigger ones with wider markets, some speaking the

same languages as their bigger neighbours. Yet their artists and writers did not run away to the adjoining larger countries, but "stayed home." The average income per head of the peoples of these small countries is not greater than that of the Canadians. The areas and populations of some of these small countries and peoples are compared with those of Canada in the table given below.

Country	Area in Sq. miles	Population
Canada	3,547,230	9,750,000
Austria	31,760	6,600,000
Belgium	11,400	7,600,000
Denmark	15,000	3,435,000
Netherlands	12,760	7,527,000
Norway	124,000	2,789,000
Sweden	173,000	6,074,000
Switzerland	15,950	4,000,000

The modern intellectual and cultural achievements of the abovementioned European countries are, no doubt, due in part to their heritage from the past. But as the Canadians are mostly descended from European peoples like the British, the French, the Germans, etc., they also have a similar heritage. Allowance must certainly be made for the fact that a considerable portion of the energy of the Canadians has been spent in utilizing the resources of a vast wild country for their material advantage. But the Americans also have had a similar task to perform; yet their intellectual and cultural achievement has been far greater than that of the Canadians. May not the inferior achievement of the Canadians, then, be due to the fact that, living under the aegis or protection of Britain as a sub-nation, they have not yet fully felt the promptings of a distinct, independent and free nation to develop their powers in every direction to the utmost in order to occupy an honourable place by the side of other distinct and independent nations and to acquire such respect and moral influence as would indirectly be a shield in part against aggression on the part of others? Does this explain the stunting of Canada to any extent? Can a child grow to the full stature of its manhood, if it be for ever tied to the apron-strings of its mother for protection? The mother may not treat the child as a slave. But the very fact that self-reliance is not felt by the child as a *sine qua non* of its existence, may stunt its growth.

It has been said above that Canada is a vast country, almost equal to the continent

of Europe. Its area is 3,684,723 square miles, the land area alone being 3,504,688 square miles. The area of the United States is 3,026,789 square miles, the land area alone being 2,973,774 square miles. Thus Canada is a bigger country than the United States. But in 1928 the population of Canada was 9,750,000 and that of the United States 120,013,000, according to the League of Nations *Armaments Year-Book* for 1928-29. According to the same book of reference the density of population of Canada is 1 per square kilometre, and that of the United States, 15.31 per square kilometre. It has been noted above that the physical and mental characteristics of the two countries and their peoples are the same, and they are descended from the same European stocks. Why is then Canada less prosperous and very thinly populated?

One explanation which will suggest itself is that the climate of Canada is more rigorous than that of the United States. But that is true only of some parts of Canada. I have before me works of reference like the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Chambers's *Encyclopaedia*, etc., giving pretty long descriptions of the climate of Canada, but they are too long to quote. So I will content myself with quoting the following paragraph from *Whitaker's Almanack*, 1930:

"The climate in the eastern and central portions of the Dominion presents greater extremes of cold and heat than in corresponding latitudes in Europe, but in the south-western portion of the Prairie Region and the Southern portions of the Pacific slope the climate is milder. Spring, summer and autumn are of about seven to eight months' duration, and the winter four to five months. The soil is generally fertile and all the products of the temperate zone are cultivated."

On the whole, what I have read of the physiography, hydrography and climate of the two countries has led me to conclude that there is no such difference between them as to adequately account for the extreme sparsity of the population of Canada. But in order not to depend too much upon my impression, I will compare the areas and population of the provinces of Canada and the States of the United States which are quite contiguous to one another and have practically the same climate. I refer to the Canadian provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick which are situated just on the other side of the northern boundaries of Washington, Montana, North

Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, New York, New Hampshire and Maine. The total area and population of these Canadian provinces are 2,144,353 square miles and 8,163,401 persons; and the total area and population of the adjoining American States are 577,274 square miles and 22,836,310 persons. The American States have about a quarter of the area of the contiguous Canadian provinces but nearly three times as many inhabitants as the latter. What is this striking difference in immediately adjoining areas due to? There cannot be any appreciable difference in the climates of these American States and of the southern halves or at least southern quarters of the Canadian provinces. Yet, if the southern one-fourth of these provinces had been as densely populated as the neighbouring American areas, the Canadian population would have been very much larger.

It cannot be said that Canada has insignificant natural resources and cannot support a much larger population than it does. "It is believed that 381 million acres are physically suitable for agriculture." "The value of agricultural production in the Dominion, including live-stock in hand, was in 1918 about 2,360,000,000 dollars," or about 700,00,00,000 crores of rupees in round numbers. Besides agriculture, Canada is famous for stock-raising, dairying, fruit-farming, lumbering, fisheries, the fur-trade, etc. The chief mineral productions are gold, silver, nickel, copper, lead, zinc, coal, asbestos, natural gas, gypsum, petroleum, salt and iron. "The Canadian deposits of nickel and asbestos are among the most important in the world, yielding sufficient to control the market in these commodities." "The coal reserves of Canada are second in the Empire." "Iron occurs in large deposits." "The water-power resources of Canada have been placed at 18,255,316 h. p. for conditions of minimum flow and 32,076,000 h. p. for maximum flow. There are various flourishing manufactures.

"Canada is admirably provided with harbours on both oceans."

The attitude of both Canada and the United States towards Asiatic immigrants is the same. But as regards European immigrants, Canada is not as restrictive as the United States. Yet more European immigrants go to the latter than to the former, though there is far more habitable land vacant in Canada than in U. S. A. The general situation as regards immigration may be understood from the following extracts:

".....Tried by these tests, it is clear that, as has actually been the case, the United States and British North America [i.e., Canada for the most part], Australia, New Zealand, South Africa (though there the native population is large), and the more temperate parts of South America—e.g., the Argentine Republic—would be the places which would attract most emigrants."—Chambers's *Encyclopaedia* vol. iv, p. 330.

[In U. S. A.] "The principal methods of restriction adopted are the head-tax, exclusion of certain types (feeble-minded, anarchists, illiterate, etc. etc.), and the quota system, limiting the annual immigration of particular nationalities to a certain small percentage of the number already admitted."—Chambers's *Encyclopaedia*, vol. x, p. 324.

[In Canada] "Every encouragement is held out to immigration, free or almost free grants of land being obtainable in some of the provinces; while improved farms, with buildings, implements, and machinery, can be purchased from the holders on favourable terms in many parts." Chambers's *Encyclopaedia*, vol. ii, p. 700.

For defence Canada depends on the friendliness of U.S.A. and on the navy, etc., of Britain. Hence its defence arrangements are not worth speaking of.

Just as regards commerce and industries of various sorts Canada cannot stand comparison with U. S. A., so, in spite of its admirable harbour facilities, it cuts a sorry figure by the side of the United States in shipping. The shipping registered under the U. S. A. stood in 1927 at 25,778 vessels of 16,887,501 tons. In Canada registered shipping on December, 1925, totalled 7,913 vessels with a tonnage of 1,283,033.

On account of the larger population of the United States the number of its educational institutions is very much larger than that of Canada. The American Universities do not excel in number alone.

"In 1926 there were in Canada 1,343 periodical publications, classified as follows: Dailies, 117; tri-weeklies, 7; weeklies, 910; semi-weeklies, 26; monthlies, 234; semi-monthlies, 26; miscellaneous, 30."

"In 1924 there were in the United States 2,310 daily newspapers, 13,267 weeklies, 473 semi-weeklies, 3,613 monthlies, 280 semi-monthlies, and 738 other periodicals."

In science and invention Canada is inferior to the United States and to many much smaller countries in Europe. In literature in its broadest sense, it cannot stand comparison with U. S. A. and many small European countries. Chambers's *Encyclopaedia* gives the following names of authors, few, if any, of whom can be said to belong to the front rank or to possess more than local fame:—

Judge Haliburton, Joseph Howe, Sir William Edmond Logan, Sir William Dawson,

Alphæus Todd, Bourinot, Grant Allen, G. J. Romanes, Simon Newcomb, Sir John Murray, J. B. Crozier, C. G. D. Roberts, Bliss Carman, Wilfred Campbell, Duncan Scott, Sir Gilbert Parker, L. H. Frechette, Garneau, Chauveau, Poisson, Cremazie, Chapman, Nelligan, and W. H. Drummond.

From the same work I select the names of some of those American authors only who are known both in America and abroad :

Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine, Noah Webster, Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, William Cullen Bryant, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Amos Bronson Alcott, Margaret Fuller-Ossoli, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, John Greenleaf Whittier, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Edgar Allan Poe, Walt Whitman, Julia Ward Howe, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Richard Henry Dana, William Ellery Channing, Theodore Parker, George Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, Francis Marion Crawford, Henry James, Edward Everett Hale, Louisa Alcott, Francis Bret Harte, 'Artemus Ward,' 'Mr. Dooley,' 'Mark Twain,' Henry Adams, Woodrow Wilson, Alfred Thayer Mahan, John Fiske, William James, James Oppenheim, Winston Churchill, Jack London, Upton Sinclair, Theodore Dreiser, Booker Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, John Dewey, George Santayana.

It strikes me that the political status of Canada may have had something to do with retarding its material prosperity and intellectual growth. Those who have personal knowledge

and experience of both U.S.A. and Canada may be able to say whether there is even a modicum of truth in my impression. What I feel is that, *other things being equal*, emigrants from independent European countries to some other country might prefer to make a great independent country the land of their adoption in order to become citizens of such a country, instead of becoming members of a glorified sub-nationality. Canada is a Dominion, no doubt. And the Dominions "are autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." "Every self-governing member of the Empire is now the master of its destiny. In fact, if not always in form, it is subject to no compulsion whatever." (Summary of Proceedings, Imperial Conference of 1926, page 14). It is not yet full four years since this definition of a Dominion was adopted. Time alone can show whether this new Dominion status will produce material and moral results equivalent to those of the independence enjoyed by the U.S.A. The enjoyment by Canada of the right of diplomatic representation abroad is also not of much longer duration. From the article of the Canadian writer, referred to in the first paragraph of my article, it does not appear what actual concrete benefit to Canada has resulted from her new Dominion status and her right of diplomatic representation abroad.

January 18, 1930.

The Right of Coastal Reservation

By GAGANVIHARI L. MEHTA, M.A.

HAS India the right to reserve the coastal trade of the country to her own nationals? Without dealing with the moral aspect of the case—for no one can dispute the moral right of India in this matter—let us consider briefly the legal basis of the right.

As the right of coastal reservation by one nation involves the relations of the nationals of one country with those of others, the question of maritime legislation is intimately bound up with international law. The coasting trade of a country has always been recognized in international law as the domestic concern of that country in which foreign interests cannot engage as of right but to which they may be admitted as an act of grace. The most recent and authoritative exposition of international law on the subject is the "Convention and Statute on the International Regime of Maritime Ports," unanimously signed at Geneva in December, 1923, by a special conference held under the auspices of the League of Nations and comprising thirty-one maritime nations. This Convention makes it clear that coastal reservation is not inconsistent with international law and usage. In fact, Article 9 of the Statute specifically excludes the coastal trade of a country from the Convention and states that "this Statute does not in any way apply to the maritime coasting trade."

In the absence of a special treaty a State has, therefore, the right and the power to exclude foreign vessels from navigation along the coast and can even prevent foreigners from fishing in territorial waters. Such special commercial treaties might give the right of most-favoured-nation treatment to foreign shipping in the coasting trade. But even the treaties guaranteeing the most-favoured-nation treatment often exclude the coastal trade from their stipulations as in the Franco-British Convention of 1882, or they do not operate in practice as in Spain, Portugal and Latvia, in whose coasting trade no other than the national flag is admitted.

International Law on maritime questions is also built up by successive International

Shipping Conferences. These Conferences have attached great importance to the freedom of the seas and have insisted on the preservation of this freedom. They have consequently strongly condemned flag discrimination. But even these Conferences have excluded the reservation of the coasting trade of a country from the definition of flag discrimination. This question was, for instance, discussed at the third International Shipping Conference held in London in 1926 which definitely expressed the opinion that there must be nothing in the resolution of flag discrimination to limit the control of any nation over its coastal trade which was a purely domestic matter.

Mr. Ernest Fayle in his book, *The War and the Shipping Industry* observes :

"It was generally recognized that the coasting trade of any country was a domestic concern and might be closed to foreign flags without any breach of International comity."

India, therefore, demands nothing more than a right which is universally recognized and which is sanctioned by International Law. She has an undoubted right to reserve her coastal trade for national vessels.

But the right to confine the coasting trade to ships flying the national flag is no abstract privilege; it is a right which has been in fact exercised by almost all the important maritime countries of the world in the past as well as at present. The policy of coastal reservation is adopted as an effective method of building up a national mercantile marine by countries like America, Soviet Russia, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Japan, Austria, Belgium, Rumania as well as Chile, Peru, Greece, Turkey which continue it till to-day because they find it a source of national wealth and national power. China is the most recent example of this.

The classical illustration of the exercise of this right is England. British shipping was built up and developed with the aid of the Navigation Laws which were in force for two centuries. These laws were designed to preserve the monopoly of coasting and

colonial trade for British shipping. While opinions may differ as to the contribution of these Acts to the establishment of a national marine—though even the importance of this contribution is beyond challenge—no one has contended that England had not the right to enact the Navigation Acts.

Two interesting facts about this right as practised by maritime countries at present are worth noting. In the first place, the legislation by which countries have reserved this right usually provides for an almost immediate exclusion of foreign interests from coastal shipping. The respective measures framed by them do not give foreign concerns even sufficient time to withdraw their tonnage. In no case does the time-limit exceed six months. In China, which is the latest instance, the Government insisted on immediate retrocession of China's coastal and inland rights. As against this, the Indian Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill lays down five years as the period of elimination of non-national tonnage.

The other point is the extension of the conception of coasting trade. Though attempts have from time to time been made to define coastal trade, there is no accepted and universal definition of the term. Hence in exercising and applying the right of coastal reservation some countries have stretched its definition beyond recognized international usage. As distinct from the view that the coasting trade should be limited to sea trade between any two ports in the same territory, the Governments of the United States and of Portugal hold that it should also cover voyages to colonies or oversea dominions. The United States Government reserve voyages between U.S.A. and Alaska and U.S.A. and Hawaii, and the United States Merchant Marine Act of 1920 provided for the closing of the trade, as coasting trade, between the United States and the Virgin Islands and Philippines. Similarly, a Portuguese enactment of 1922 lays down that maritime traffic between Portugal and the adjacent islands and the Portuguese colonies is to be reserved to national vessels, as also the maritime traffic between the ports of the colonies or between one and the other, provided such traffic is regularly served by national vessels. The trade between France and Algeria was by a law of 1889 also included as coasting trade and so reserved to French vessels. Now whatever the effects of the extension of this principle on the

shipping and sea trade of other countries and even if this extension may be construed as abusive by the other nations affected it has not been and it cannot be contended that these countries which have enlarged the scope of coastal trade have gone beyond their legitimate right to reserve their coastal trade. Neither at Geneva nor at the Hague have we heard the plea that the exercise of this right involves discrimination, confiscation and expropriation. This right has, therefore, the sanction of universal practice.

But it will be asked, is this right of coastal reservation consistent with the present constitutional position of India and her status in the British Empire? The British Merchant Shipping Act of 1894 which is the foundation of imperial maritime legislation confers through Section 736 power upon the legislature of a British possession by an Act or Ordinance, to regulate its coasting trade. This right of the subordinate legislatures of the Empire has been confirmed by the Imperial Navigation Conference and has been exercised by Australia. The Imperial Navigation Conference which was specially convened in 1907 for the purpose of discussing the question of a Dominion's right to develop navigation made it clear by its endorsement of the Australian policy of reservation that a component part of the British Empire has the right to exclude under certain conditions ships of other parts of the Empire. Australia has made full use of this right by enacting the Australian Navigation Acts which have sought to reserve the coastal trade of the Commonwealth to ships on the Australian register, that is, ships conforming to Australian conditions and licensed to trade on the Australian coast. Whatever the precise method followed, there is no doubt that the main object of these laws was, in the words of the Report of the Royal Commission on Australian Navigation that "the Australian coastal trade was to be reserved for Australian-owned ships." The Australian Act required the British ships to comply with certain clauses as regards the employment of labour on ships while the Indian Bill on the subject insists on ships complying with certain conditions as regards capital and management before the ships could engage in the coastal trade. There is, therefore, no denying the right of Australia a British Dominion, to legislate for the regulation of its coastal trade as a distinct national unit. Even the technical issue for

India is no longer in doubt. The bill which seeks to reserve the coastal trade of India to national vessels was examined twice by the Law Officers of the Crown in England and has been declared to be wholly within the competence of the Indian Legislature even with its existing meagre powers. The measure is hence *intra vires* of the British Merchant Shipping Act and strictly constitutional in its scope. This was also the considered opinion of the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee appointed by the Government of India in 1923-24 which held that there was nothing in the British Merchant Shipping Act to prevent reservation of coastal trade—its principal recommendation—from being effected.

It will hence be clear that the right to reserve the coastal trade of a country to its

nationals is sanctioned by International Law, recognized and exercised in practice by shipping all over the world in the past and the present and is permitted under the relative provisions of imperial maritime legislation. It is a perfectly legitimate and accepted method of maritime protection. It is essential that this right should be exercised by Indians if the political and economic interests of India are to be promoted; nor is there any doubt that it can be effectively exercised. But the scope of this article being restricted to the right of coastal reservation, only the legitimacy of this right has been established even on the assumptions and the laws of Western countries framed for their own conditions and interests and on the constitutional basis which obtains at present in India.

Architectural and Art Treasures at Polonnaruwa*

II. The Gal Vihare—The *Chep D'Oeuvre* of Buddhist Art in Ceylon

Illustrated with Photographs taken by the Author

By Sri NIHAL SINGH

ONE afternoon almost three years ago Mrs. St. Nihal Singh and I were wandering about the archaeological reservation at Polonnaruwa. It was our first visit to Lanka's early mediaeval capital. As usual with us on such occasions we were going about without guide or hand-book, forming a general impression of the ruins. We meant to return to Polonnaruwa, probably several times and make a systematic study of the monuments at leisure.

Just as the shadows were lengthening we saw a board bearing the legend: "To Gal Vihare." Gal, we knew, was the Sinhalese for "rock," and *vihare* meant "shrine."

"We must be near the *Uttararama*—the northern park"—I said to my wife. "You remember we read in the *Mahavamsa* or the

"Chronicle of the Great Dynasty" that Parakkama Bahu the Great caused "the rock that was there to be hewn out." The cunning workmen that he set to work made "three caves in the rock, namely, the *Vijjadhara-Guha* ("the cave of the spirits of knowledge"), the *Nisinnapatima-lena* ("the cave of the sitting image") and the *Nippannapatima-lena* ("the cave of the sleeping image.")

We entered the narrow path to which the board pointed. It appeared to lead us away from the ruins into the thick jungle, but the board had been placed in its position by the Archaeological Department of the Ceylon Government, and, therefore, we felt safe in going in the direction indicated by it. In the waning light the heavy, dark-green foliage of the forest trees that lined the path looked, however, sombre and forbidding.

We walked for five minutes or so in silence and then emerged upon an open space. A few yards ahead of us, at the left,

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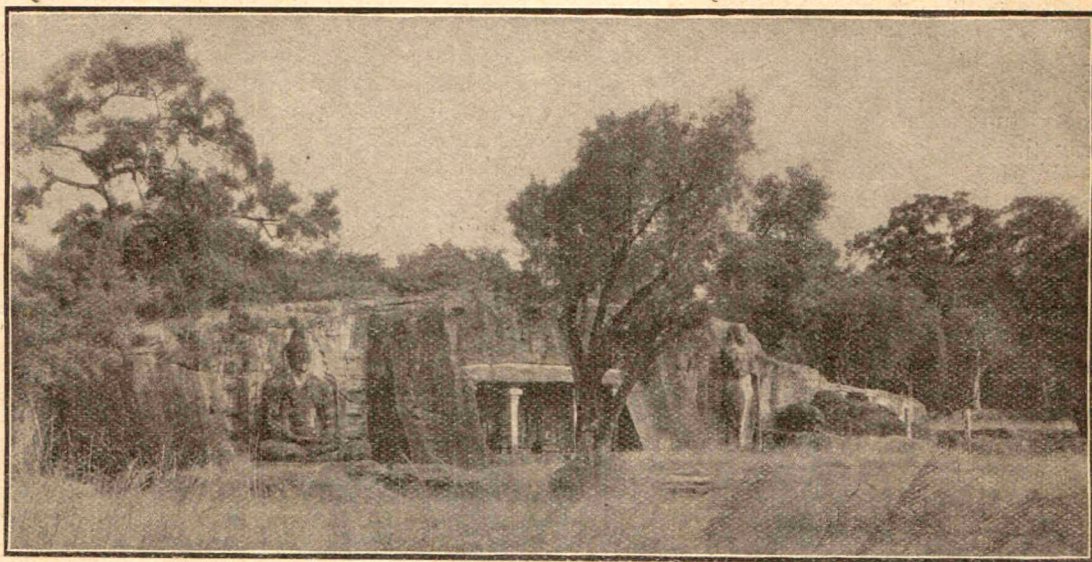
was a low boulder—a mere pimple upon the plain.

"That must be the Gal Vihare," my wife remarked.

By then the sun had sunk so low that its long rays just touched the top of the grey granite rock with a golden glow. It looked as if Nature herself was paying homage to the shrine, surrounding it with a halo, as it were.

Upon near approach we saw a seated Buddha carved at the near end of the boulder. Next to it a chamber had been hewn from the solid rock, with a sedant

since then I have made many pilgrimages to it to study the shrine, statues and symbolical carving. Closer acquaintance has increased my admiration for the boldness of design and sureness of touch of the men who wrought with the living rock as their medium of expression. I would, however, refuse to barter the original glimpse I had of it for all the knowledge that I have gleaned from my own observation and reading, inasmuch as I feel that the intensified silence of the gloaming in which I saw the shrine for the first time revealed to me the poetic spirit that inspired its



The Gal Vihare at Polonnaruwa
Copyright Photograph by St. Nihal Singh.

Buddha against the back wall. A little further on a huge standing figure with arms folded across the breast, towered above the recumbent form of the great Teacher.

The forest all about us was calm. Not a breath of wind stirred the leaves of the trees and bushes. Not a bird moved or chirruped. The brooding silence harmonized with the expression of serenity that master-sculptors, whose names no chronicler cared to hand down to posterity, had given to the countenances that they had carved, particularly to the face of the Buddha lying rigid in the embrace of death that had ended for him the pangs of re-birth.

This first sight of the Gal Vihare remains indelibly impressed upon my mind, though

creators, and the spiritual significance of the purpose that they had in view.

II

To descend from this exalted plane to mundane details. The outcrop of grey granite runs from south-east to north-west. Not quite 170 feet in length, it is, at the highest point, near the centre, thirty feet in height. The end from which a visitor—be he pilgrim, student or sightseer—usually approaches it is almost twenty feet in height. From the centre it slopes down rather abruptly, until it runs down to the level of the jungle beyond the feet of the recumbent Buddha. Viewed even from a short distance at that end, only the top of the boulder is visible.

The rock does not run in an exactly straight line, but bends slightly at the centre. One must walk back a little way to see the entire face of it at a single glance. Perhaps the most comprehensive front view of it is to be had from a much lower rock across from it, with a narrow valley separating the two.

This smaller outcrop of granite, too, bears, in places, traces of the chisel. Was it used as a quarry and stone cut from it used elsewhere for building or sculptural purposes? Or had some one entertained the idea of carving it into a shrine? Who can tell at this distant date.

The *Kalugala*—black (really grey) rock—was somewhat larger in width before the stone-cutters got busy with it. To execute the statues they were compelled to cut away the rock face.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell, a member of the Ceylon Civil Service, who, during the greater part of his official career, occupied, with distinction, the position of Commissioner of Archaeology—estimated that in places as much as fifteen feet of granite must have been chiselled away. This estimate errs, if anything, on the side of conservatism, for two of the gigantic statues are carved almost in full round, joined only at the back to the rock matrix, and no part of the original rock has been left untouched by the chisel.

III

The statue at the left hand of the visitor as he stands in front of the rock shows the Buddha seated in an attitude of meditation. The right leg is crossed above the left. The upturned soles display the traditional lotus marking. The hands lie open in the lap, palm upwards. The robe, falling from the left shoulder, covers the entire body except the right arm and breast, which are left exposed. The lips are a trifle thick and the eyes rather full. The ear-lobes are elongated. The hair is represented in the conventional fashion.

The figure, fifteen feet two and a half inches high, is seated on a lotus throne resting on another throne which is supported by lions—the Sinhalese symbol of sovereignty. The head of the great Teacher rests against a cushion shaped like a horseshoe surrounded by a nimbus or halo.

Arched above the figure is a *makara torana* elaborately carved, resembling, in some ways, those with which we are familiar

in India. There is this difference, however, that whereas in our country the *makaras* (alligators) have their faces turned inwards, in the case of the Gal Vihare at Polonnaruwa the faces are turned outward.

Among the elaborate decorations, the miniature cells are particularly noteworthy. Each contains a figurine of the Buddha carved in low relief and perfect in every detail, the work of a jeweller rather than a stone-carver. The connecting halls and rooms have latticed windows all in true perspective. The roofs and finials are delicately chased.

The arch is so designed as to suggest a cobra's hood spread above the entire figure protecting it from harm. It is divided into a number of square and oblong panels upon which arabesques are carved.

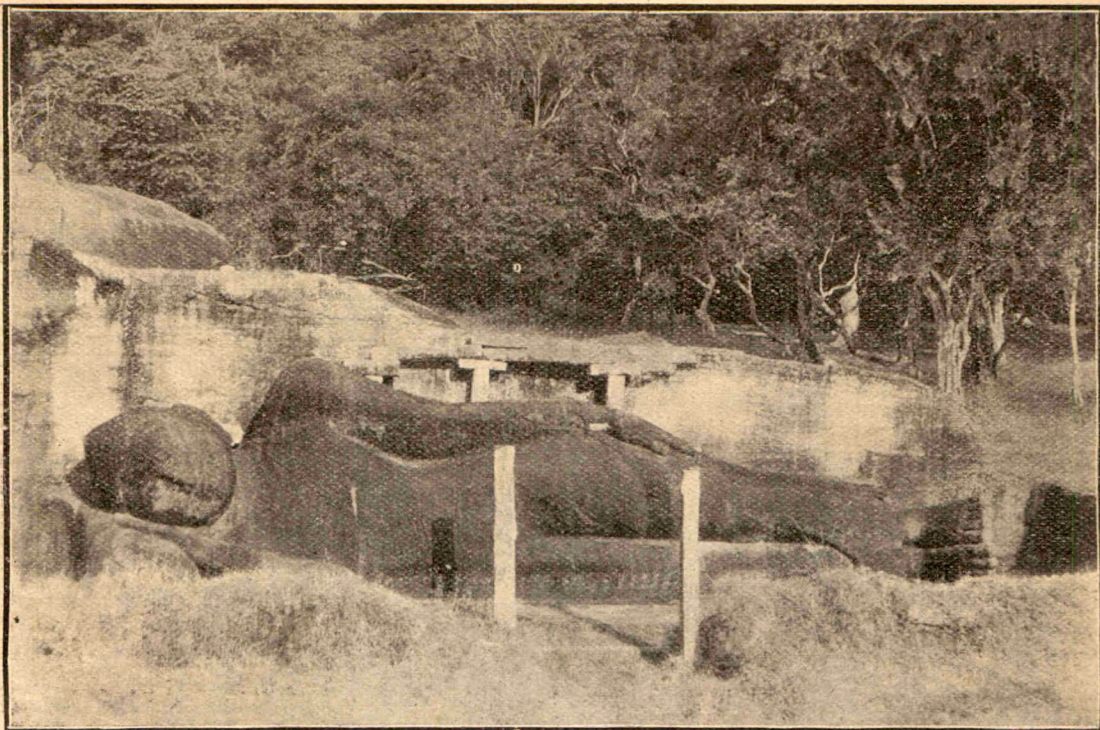
A little below the top of the rock, immediately above the nimbus, the facade associated with the Ajanta type of *vihare* is elaborately carved, no doubt to give the entire work the effect of a shrine. The man (or men) who designed it wished to place before the devotee a picture of the Buddha set in a gigantic niche in a temple. Measured from this facade and including the plinth, the carving is nearly eighteen feet in height.

Upon close examination it is found that at one time the statue was protected from the elements by a roof. The structure, according to Mr. Bell, was of brick and oblong in form, with a breadth of eighteen feet and a bay in the middle measuring twenty-three and three-fourths feet.

IV

Some twelve feet from this image, to the visitor's right, there is a chamber twenty-six feet long, twelve and three-fourths feet deep and nine and three-fourths feet high, cut in the rock. Four masses of granite left by the carvers to support the overhanging rock roof, which varies from twelve to thirteen feet in thickness, were chiselled into graceful pillars with squared shafts and carved capitals decorated with bands of *ganas* (grotesque dwarfs) and *hamsas* (sacred geese). The two in the middle are ten feet apart, while those at the ends are each separated from them by a distance of five feet nine inches.

Against the centre of the back wall, there is a monolithic statue of the Buddha, four feet seven inches in height. As in the one already described, the Master is seated in a meditative attitude. The treatment given to the figure, dress, throne and decoration



The recumbent Buddha, a monolithic statue in heroic size at the Gal Vihare
Copyright Photograph by St. Nihal Singh

follow much the same lines as the other. The features, however, are more delicate and regular.

At either side of the image stands an attendant Bodhisattva, carved distinctively after the Ajanta style. Each has the sacred thread of the "twice-born," is clad in a waist-cloth, wears a multiplicity of ornaments, and carries a richly decorated *chauri* (yak's tail) over the shoulder.

Rising above the Buddha's head is a canopy in the form of an umbrella. Immediately beneath it, at the right and left respectively, are Brahma and Vishnu, dressed very much like the two Bodhisattvas. Two feet in height, these gods are carved only from the knees up. Each has four arms, the palms of the hands of the lower pair being pressed together in an attitude of worship, the other two arms, bent at the elbows, raised and bearing the symbols associated with the particular deity holding them.

Bare traces are left of the frescoes with which the walls and ceilings of the rock-cut shrine were covered. Some years before the

Ceylon Government took in hand the work of protection, conservation and restoration at Polonnaruwa, some pious but foolish person, desirous of acquiring merit, smeared the paintings, much faded through the neglect of centuries, with gaudy paints, without taking the trouble even to follow the original outlines. Not content with such sacrilege, he spread a thick layer of hard lacquer over the image and throne.

Shortly after taking charge of the monuments Mr. Bell detailed men to remove, with the greatest care possible, as much of the lacquer as they could. In time they succeeded in scraping or burning off nearly all of it.

It was, however, impossible to restore the frescoes even to a semblance of their original glory. The two strips that remain are so far gone that I will not attempt to describe them here. I must, however, note that Mr. Bell, who first examined them a generation ago, compared them to the work of the Old Masters of Europe, declaring that the artists who executed them had reached the same level. In his opinion, "in dignity and repose

of countenance these venerable Brahman worshippers might be the Apostles who appear in the 'Burial of the Virgin' by Duccio, or sit at the table in Leonardo da Vinci's 'The Last Supper.' "

The technique of the paintings, in some respects, also reminded Mr. Bell of the artists who left their handiwork on the walls of Ajanta. The pigments used were mostly pale yellow and brick-red. Now and again a white tone tinted with olive green was

he placed a design of flowers, chiefly lotus. He "decorated" the back wall with the silhouettes of ten monks, five on either side of the image, in an attitude of worship.

I am glad that the Archaeological Department has enclosed the interior of the chamber behind a wire net of half-inch mesh, fashioned by Sinhalese craftsmen at Kandy. It is sufficiently substantial to prevent any one from breaking through it.

It is true that this cage prevents a student from making a close examination of the statue and decorations, unless he happens to be *persona grata* with the authorities. Devotees lacking the artistic impulse are, however, prevented from burning oil lamps and camphor and incense on or near the pedestal and smoking up the image and other carvings.

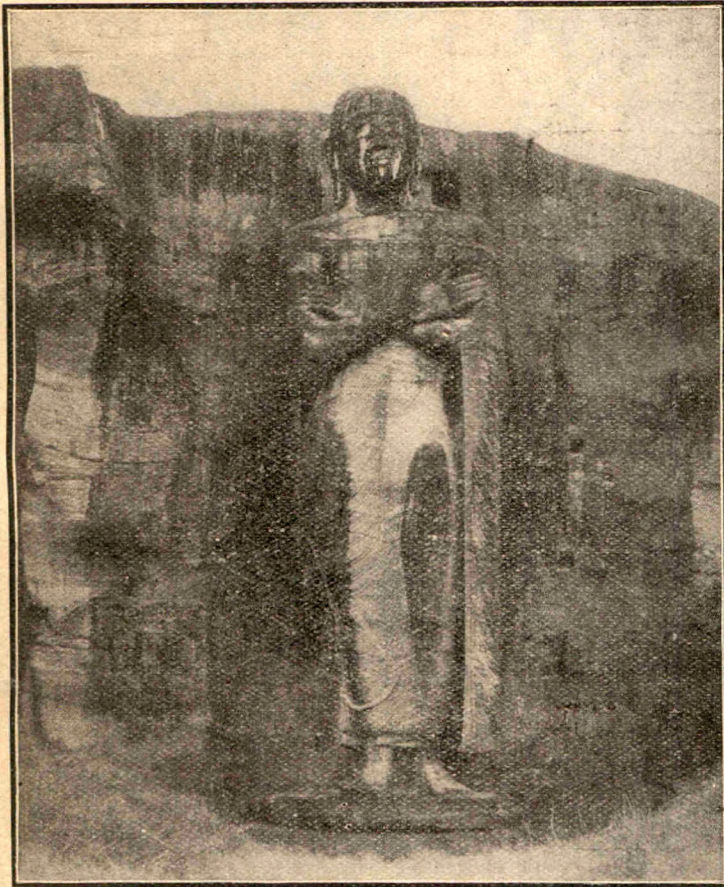
V

Immediately to the left of the rock-cut shrine the smoothened face of the granite boulder bears an inscription. The tablet measures thirteen and one-fourth by nine and three-fourths feet. The letters of the inscription, which is fifty-one lines long, are from an inch and a half to two inches in size and are cut in the rock between engraved lines that are two and a half inches apart.

As Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe, until lately epigraphist to the Ceylon Government, notes in *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Epigraphia Zeylanica* (vol. II. pt. vi) the contents of the inscription fall readily into two classifications: (1) historical and (2) injunctions. The first part deals with the period succeeding the death of the Buddha, first up to the reign of King Valagam Abha

in the first century B. C. and thence on to the reign of Parakkama Bahu I.

King Valagam Abha, finding that there was great confusion regarding the doctrines of Buddhism, caused a great convocation to be held in a rock-chamber at Alu Vihare near Matala of our day, at which the sayings



Statue at the Gal Vihare, popularly believed to represent Ananda mourning the death of Gautama.
Copyright Photograph by St. Nihal Singh

employed. In most cases the shaded background was brick-red.

The less said about the modern "paintings" the better. The "artist" attempted to represent the Buddha seated in the centre of the ceiling with twenty-four of his "approbations," twelve at either side. Round these figures

of the great Teacher were set down in writing, for the first time in Ceylon. The collection thus formed is known as the *Tripitaka* (three baskets), since it is systematized under three distinct classifications.

Parakkama Bahu I., twelve hundred and fifty-four years later, likewise felt that the Buddhist Church was disintegrating and called together a great meeting of the Elders representing the various schools of Buddhist thought. Maha-Kassapa Thera, who presided over this convocation, was acclaimed for his great learning and piety.

When the ideas of the various sects (*nikayas*) had been reconciled and the irreconcilables expelled, the King, in imitation of our own Asoka, issued a rescript containing the measures that had been agreed upon. This ordinance forms the second part of the inscription, beginning with the eighteenth line. It is really a code of disciplinary injunctions relating to the conduct of monks and novices. Their thoughts, their behaviour, their comings and goings, every detail connected with their waking and sleeping, are strictly regulated.

It is clear from the inscription that the holding of the convocation and the issuing of the rescript were necessary because of the strife that existed between the four main sects into which the priests were then divided and the lax conduct of many of the priests. The King enlisted the services of eminent *Bhikkus*, it is stated, because he found that "sons of noble families of the Buddhist persuasion" were "through ignorance or imperfect knowledge" marching straight toward *apaya* (one of the four purgatories).

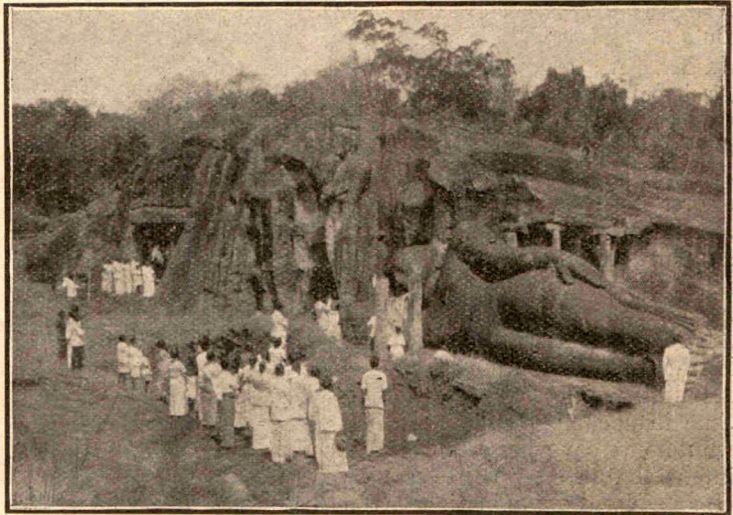
Reading between the lines of the rescript one is able to gain a fair idea of the low state to which the Buddhist priesthood must have fallen at this period. Every "thou shalt not" indicates the nature of the offences that were being committed. Every "thou shalt" indicates the effort to overcome laxity of discipline.

VI

The boulder bends a little at the point where the inscription ends. Beyond this

bend stands a colossal erect figure, twenty-two feet and nine inches in height, with arms folded across the breast. Carved nearly in full round, it reaches to within a few inches of the top of the rock.

The boulder slopes downwards rather abruptly from this standing figure, running down until it merges with the plain in front. This portion was chosen by the sculptor of old to carve the recumbent Buddha, measuring forty-six and one-third feet from the top of the head to the soles of the feet. It lies on the rock-bed in the



Pilgrims worshipping, on a full-moon day in front of the Gal Vihare

Copyright Photograph by St. Nihal Singh

traditional *parinibbana* attitude, the rigid body resting on the right side, the head upon a bolster, with the open right hand in between the two. The left arm and hand are stretched out following the curve of the trunk and thigh. The feet are placed one above the other, on a low, flat cushion. A full-blown lotus is carved on the sole of each foot and of the right palm.

Everything about the statue bespeaks the work of the master-sculptor. No detail has been overlooked. The puffed, beaded, tasselled end of the bolster has been ingeniously depicted. The depression in it made by the weight of the head is cleverly shown. The disposition of the robe, too, is masterly. It leaves the arm and breast exposed and shows the under-robe in a natural unobtrusive manner. The calm dignity of the features in repose is particularly noteworthy.

In the popular estimation, the two figures represent the master lying rigid in his last slumber and Ananda—his beloved disciple and companion, standing at his head, with a woe-begone expression. Certain scholars, however, contend that the erect figure is merely another statue of the Buddha. The only difference between it and the other Buddhas lies, they explain, in the somewhat unique posture, with the arms folded across the breast. It has, however, all the other distinguishing features—the *mahapadma* (lotus) pedestal, the elongated ears, the curly hair and the monk's robe, characterizing the other three images of the Buddha at the Gal Vihare.

Mr. A. M. Hocart, until lately the Archaeological Commissioner of the Ceylon Government—a protagonist of this school—declared in a recent issue of the *Ceylon Journal of Science* that the mournful expression that certain persons observed on the face of the standing figure was due to dirt and bird-lime. He had it cleaned and pointed in triumph to the fact that the figure now had an entirely different expression.

To substantiate this theory further, Mr. Hocart drew attention to the fact that the standing statue had been enclosed at one time in a compartment of its own—which would not have been the case had it been intended for the two to be viewed together. Upon close examination traces of two separate structures could be seen.

These explanations do not satisfy the protagonists of the Ananda theory. The two figures at Gal Vihare represent the *nirvana* of the Buddha, they assert, just as a similar series of sculptures at Ajanta does. It is true that this rock-cut temple in the Deccan shows Ananda sorrowing for the lost leader at the foot of the couch, with a host of gods hovering among trees in the background. The configuration of the rock at Polonnaruwa, they say, made it impossible for the sculptor to carry out that idea. Limitations of the size and shape of the rock made it imperative for the carvers to use the low part for chiselling the recumbent figure of the Master and to place Ananda at the head of the couch. Having been compelled to adopt that course, they had no option but to give the disciple heroic size, otherwise he would not only have been disproportionate compared with the sleeping figure, but also would not have conformed well with the configuration of the rock, which at this point is high.

As to the separate structures in which the two statues are said to have been housed, Mr. Bell had pointed out nearly a quarter of a century ago that in his opinion the original intention had been probably to enshrine the two in a single building. The front wall of both shrines was conterminous; "and further, the projecting bay vestibule of each, whilst virtually similar in plan, differs but little in dimensions, as though purposely designed to serve for double entrances to one continuous, elongated Vihare." Though he admits that either this design was not carried out or at some later date the two were separated by a cross-wall, he insists that the

"...close proximity of the figure to the head of the dead Buddha, the wearied posture of body, the reverential disposition of the crossed arms, the inexpressible sadness in the face—surely not accidental—all so eloquent of patient resignation, are strikingly confirmative of the popular belief. The unbiassed gazer on this marvellously human statue, reflecting that deep personal bereavement to which philosophical consolation is but as wormwood, must needs feel that the great sculptor (whose very name has perished unknown) inspired by 'divine afflatus' has here visibly lived in his work—the *tour de force* of a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief himself. Obsessed with a vision of that memorable last scene on earth, he has vitalized it in granite for the ages to come."*

Mr. Bell remarks, moreover, that some of the frescoes in the Domala Maha-saya Vihare (which I shall describe in another article) a short distance from the Gal Vihare, show the Buddha attended by disciples with arms crossed over the breast, as in the Ananda statue.

I doubt that Mr. Bell has seen the statue since Mr. Hocart had it cleaned. I wonder if, when he sees it, he will continue to describe the countenance as "inexpressibly sad."

Personally I continue to see this sadness and also to adhere to the Ananda theory. The authority of the *Mahavamsa* is on my side, too, for it speaks of three and *not four* "caves."

VII

Considering that the structures that once protected the statues carved against the rock face fell, or were destroyed, centuries ago, the figures have weathered the storms of time—natural, political and vandalistic—wonderfully well. The two sedant Buddhas

* *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon. Annual Report of 1907.* By H. C. P. Bell, C. C. S., Archaeological Commissioner, p. 13.

are particularly in a fine state of preservation.

The standing figure has, however, suffered more probably from the depredations of vandals than from the elements. A diagonal slice has been broken off the back of the head from about a foot and a quarter above the right ear to six inches above the left ear.

More recently a large crack has developed in the face of the statue. It had not been noticed by any one until the recent cleaning operations had been started. It might possibly be due to carelessness upon the part of the labourers employed to do that work, just as some of the frescoes at Sigiriya were damaged when workers dropped a bucket of lime-wash over them?

The damage to the statue at Polonnaruwa has not yet been repaired. The wooden frame work set up in front of it for protection is hideous. I hope it will be removed soon.

The recumbent Buddha is little the worse for exposure to wind and weather for centuries. There is a chip just over one of the nipples and a lengthwise crack in the left arm. A bit is broken off of the right arm. One toe on the left foot is cracked and the bolster and fringe on the end of the robe are chipped.

People who live in Polonnaruwa tell the visitor, in awed whispers, of how the wrath of the gods descended upon vandals who were damaging the statues at the Gal Vihare. They say that some years ago two Europeans took it into their heads, perhaps under the influence of drink, to practise shooting there, using the images as targets. A Buddhist priest who happened to be passing by remonstrated with them, but the man who had been seen in the act of shooting merely jeered at the yellow-robed figure. Before another moon had waned, however, this same man encountered a herd of wild elephants in the jungle, and when the ponderous pachyderms had finished with him there was little left of him to bury.

VIII

My last visit to the Gal Vihare coincided with a festival day. Pilgrims had poured into Polonnaruwa by train, motor bus, private car, bullock cart, and on foot.

Upon entering the open space in front of the rock-cut shrine I came upon a

temporary hut of *cadjan*—the long, feather-like leaves of the coco-nut palm woven into mats—fastened to rough poles driven into the ground. Cool drinks were being dispensed from it gratis to the pilgrims as they went to the shrine or returned from it.

The sun was blazing overhead. Hardly a breath of wind stirred the trees. The man who had set up the booth and provided the *sherbet* and coco-nut water was surely accumulating much merit—if merit can be accumulated by the performance of good works.



Seated Buddha at the Southern End of the Gal Vihare, Polonnaruwa

Copyright Photograph by St. Nihal Singh

The open space was alive with humanity—mostly clad in spotless white. Hardly a pilgrim approach the shrine empty-handed. Some carried flowers and tiny bottles of perfume in shallow baskets. Others held candles and sticks of incense in their hands. Some took with them small earthen or metal saucers, thin cotton wicks, oil and matches.

In reverent attitude the white-robed devotees went up to the stone step of the

shrine cut into the living rock, made obeisance in front of the seated Buddha, laid their flowers on the stone altar, sprinkled the perfume about, lit the candles and incense and, if they had brought oil, poured it into saucers with floating wicks which they set alight.

The women produced small white flags, some edged with red, and tied them to a rope stretched in front of the images, or fastened them to the meshes of the wire screen. A few of these tokens of faith were elaborately embroidered. The devout ladies who had expended much loving care upon the making of them no doubt hoped that by leaving this memento fluttering in front of the shrine, they would gain much good *Karma*.

As I stood on the low rock facing the Gal Vihare waiting for a good opportunity to take a photograph a long line of pilgrims suddenly seated themselves close to one another in a long line extending from the feet of the sleeping Buddha almost to the other end of the boulder. A yellow-robed monk, who had arrived from somewhere, stood on the platform of the rock-cut shrine

chanting sacred texts. Another monk passed slowly in front of the people holding in his hand some sacred object which the pilgrims touched as he extended it towards them. A little later another monk mounted the platform. All the devotees rose and stood with bowed head while he delivered a benediction. He then chanted texts which the assembly repeated after him. Shouts of "Sadhu ! Sadhu !! Sadhu !!!" (Amen ! Amen !! Amen !!!) marked the conclusion of the service.

The trail blazed by the great Gautama who lived and died in northern India some two thousand and five hundred years ago has become virtually obliterated in our country. In Ceylon, which he is supposed to have visited, it is much overgrown with grass and weeds ; but men and women of faith there are still able to discern the print of his lotus feet. When days of special sanctity—associated in one way or another with the Buddha—come round, the silence of the jungle in which he, in stone image, sits in meditation or lies locked in the arms of his final slumber, is broken with the joyous shouts of humanity struggling to be free from sin and sorrow.

The First Bengali Newspaper

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJĪ

WHAT was the first newspaper ever published in the Bengali language ? On this very important question historians have been greatly divided. The Rev. James Long, who dived deep into the antiquities of British Bengal and Bengali literature, at first (in an article in the *Calcutta Review*, 1850) gave this honour to the *Samachar Darpan*, the organ of the Baptist Missionaries of Serampur, which commenced publication on 23 May 1818. But he corrected himself in 1855 by declaring the *Bengal Gazette* of Gangadhar Bhattacharya, started in 1816, as the first Bengali newspaper.*

Long's correction has been doubted by many later writers on the grounds that

(i) nobody has seen any copy of this *Bengal Gazette*, and

(ii) no reference to the *Bengal Gazette* has been found in any of its contemporaries especially the *Samachar Darpan*.

The evidence collected below shows that the latter is not a fact, and that as early as 1831 mention was really made of the *Bengal Gazette* as the first newspaper to be published.

money by popular editions of the *Vidya Sundar* Betal and various other works, illustrated with woodcuts ; the paper was shortlived."—*Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Works*, by Rev. J. Long, 1855 p. 66.

* "In 1816 the *Bengal Gazette* was started by Gangadhar Bhattacharji who had gained much

A

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *Chundrika*

A learned correspondent of the *Durpun*, amongst many observations on the Bengalee newspapers, in the 680th number of that paper, has said—"Before the appearance of this unequalled *Sumachar Durpun*, it never entered the ears of any one that there was a thing with the name of a Bengalee newspaper." I suppose this writer cannot be an inhabitant of this city: for the late Gunga Kishore Bhattachariya, who was the first to print the work *Urnadamungul* with pictures, set up a newspaper called the *Bengal Gazette*, which was received nearly through the whole town. The paper however ceased, because the Editor was obliged through other business to go to his own residence at Buhura. After that, the writer received the vision of the incarnation of the *Durpun*; but many first received this thing from a *bramhun*.—*Chundrika*.*

B

THE *DURPAN* AND THE *BENGAL GAZETTE*. A correspondent in the *Chundrika*, in replying to a letter given in the *Durpun*, denies that this paper was the first ever published in the Bengalee language. He affirms that Gunga Kishore published another paper called the *Bengal Gazette* before the appearance of the *Durpun*.

* *Sumachar Durpun*, 11th June 1831, p. 191.

To this we would reply that the *Bengal Gazette* was published (we believe) a fortnight *after* the first number of our paper had appeared, certainly *not before* the publication of the *Durpun*.† *

C

THE PROPOSED REDUCTION OF THE *DURPAN*. We freely confess that the *Sumachar Durpun* is beneficial to the country, and that among the various papers published in the native languages this was the first. Perhaps the paper called the *Bengal Gazette*, may have been published before it, but it was speedily dropped. The *Sumachar Durpun* is therefore the oldest, and gives us a great variety of news.—*Chundrika*.†

The conjecture of the editor of the *Samachar Darpan* (made in 1831) that the *Bengal Gazette* started publication a fortnight after his own paper, is without foundation and is made with hesitation. The *Bengal Gazette* died soon after its birth and no issue of it is now known to exist in India.

A search for it should be made in the British Museum and the India Office, London.

* *Ibid.*, p. 194.

† *Sumachar Durpun* 15th November 1834, p. 547.

The Government School of Art Exhibition at Calcutta

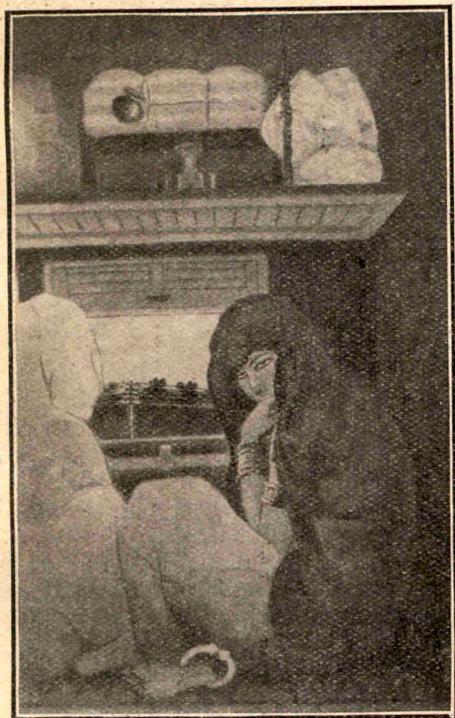
BY DR. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

THE Annual Exhibitions of the Indian Society of Oriental Art and the Government School of Art are the two important events in the world of art in Calcutta, other exhibitions being few and far between. The exhibition of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, standing as it does for the revived national school, naturally has had greater claims upon the sympathies of those art-lovers who do not wish to see India sink into a province of Europe in matters of art; and, in fact, as the exhibition where people could see every year the new works of Abanindranath Tagore and Gaganendranath Tagore, and Nandalal Bose, and others only less famous, it has been enjoying greater prestige,—and rightly so. The Government Art School, in spite of the good quality, and often

very good quality of a good proportion of its exhibits, has always been more or less under a cloud—at least so far as an important section of lovers of art were concerned. A great deal of the wall-space in this exhibition was taken up with students' work, and student's work cannot always inspire enthusiasm. Besides, the most successful items would be in the formal European style, for which public opinion, especially when it is anxious to pass as informed, has ceased to be over-enthusiastic, at least among the upper ranks of the intelligentsia in Bengal. So it was becoming a difficult task to make the Government Art School Exhibition varied and attractive, and truly representative of the best endeavour of Bengal during the year in Art. It required a man of artistic

instinct and taste as well as courage and energy to raise this exhibition from the banality of a collection of school exercises or from the dull lifelessness of essays by Indian artists in the European or pseudo-European style. Mr. Mukul Chandra Dey, the present Principal of the School, is the man who has brought life to the annual exhibition held in the school, and is transforming it from an art students' or amateur artists' display into something really important, and satisfying for the art-lover. The last exhibition which remained open to the public during the Christmas vacation, thanks to Mr. Dey's efforts, was quite a representative one, and as good a one as we ever saw in Calcutta. The work of the students of the school, as is only proper, formed the major side of the exhibits, and that of the staff was also fairly well-represented: and besides (what was undoubtedly a very strong side of the exhibition) a number of very fine works by outsiders was included. There were in addition

and some stock subjects in oils) and woodcuts, and the number of articles was nearly 350.



The Other Side of the Carriage—By Indu Rakshit

some old pictures. It was an exhibition of drawings, paintings (in water colours mostly



Bir Hanuman—By Renu Roy

The work of the students showed generally a good quality, but unfortunately nothing extraordinary or striking could be marked out. There was a good deal of copying or adapting of the Ajanta frescoes and Mughal or Rajput miniatures, and some of the copies of Mughal and Rajput pictures were refreshingly fine. But one is constrained to remark upon a general want of boldness in either conception or execution, and the prevailing anxiety seems to be to achieve prettiness and to cultivate sentimentality rather than to be sensible and strong. The art of the poster has made its advent in India, and one would expect a certain amount of vigour here, but somehow that also was lacking. There seemed to be here in this exhibition as well as outside a wide-spread desire to revive or emulate the spirit of Ajanta or of medieval Hindu sculpture, on the sensuous side, in commercial as well as fine art, but the results did not seem very inspiring. The

approach was not made in the right spirit. It is as if the artists were seeking for a heightened effect from an exotic art. There was a certain lack of understanding of the deeper significance of ancient Indian art; and this turned, rather unfortunately, in some of the pictures from both students and outsiders, the sincere into the theatrical. Is it due to our becoming more and more incapable of understanding the true spirit of the past, as an inevitable result of an altered outlook upon life? There were, however, some good landscapes.



The Mother (Woodcut)—By Ramendra Chakravarti

We reproduce two pictures by student exhibitors. There were a few more which we would have liked to publish. Mr. Indu Rakshit's "The Other Side of the Carriage" is quite a pleasing composition, and is a good example of a successful treatment of a scene from present-day Indian life in the style of the new Indian School. The conventional treatment of the eyes of the young woman who is turning round forms as it were the heart of the picture, and all the romance and beauty suggestiveness of the scene are

centred there. "Bir Hanuman" by Mr. Renu Roy is quite remarkable. Hanuman, the Monkey God, is one of the most popular figures in Indian mythology, and he is usually depicted in one of two moods—the devotional, when he is standing humbly with hands folded before Rama his divine master—and the heroic, when he brandishing his war-club while performing the feat of bringing the Gandhamadana hill in his left hand with the plant in it which will revive Rama's brother Lakshmana who is lying as one dead through a wound inflicted by the demon king Ravana. Outside India, in Indo-China and Indonesia, Hanuman is depicted commonly as jumping upon some terrible Rakshasa or demon with his simian agility, and with a demoniac grin making it most unpleasant for the former. Both these moods in which Indian Art paints Hanuman have their conventions, which are at once bold



A Study—By Atul Bose

and sincere. Mr. Roy's treatment is quite novel, and although it has taken some liberty with the traditional picture of Hanuman, even by leaning a little towards the burlesque, it is distinctly vigorous, and the obvious sincerity

of the composition does not allow the suggestion of the burlesque in painting good old Bir Hanuman, who we all love from our childhood, to assert itself and make the picture irreverent. One may even see the artist's admiration for Hanu's strength in the superlative treatment of the muscles!

Among the works exhibited by teachers of the school, Mr. Atul Bose's studies from life were quite distinctive pieces. One of these is reproduced. The artist has succeeded here, as in his portraits, in bringing a certain personality and a feeling which combined with his bold

from his understanding of the spirit of Indian Art which all his works show. His woodcuts are among the best that have been done in this line in India, and their bold and vigorous lines, and their economy of effort which comes from the conscious strength of a master-hand, have only enhanced their peculiar Indian character. Woodcuts are not a innovation in India, only these were used in printing cloth, and were in a highly conventionalized style: the coloured stamped cloths of Muslipatam—the "pintados" as Europeans used to call them formerly—giving elaborate reproduc-



Lakshmi—By Sunayani Devi



Santal Dance—By Ramendra Chakravarti

touch make it quite a quite good picture. Mr. Ramendra Chakravarti was represented by a good number of his works—his series of water-colour paintings on the life of Buddha, and two big pictures, one of which is an enlarged version, from his Buddha series—"The Birth of Buddha," and the other, "Santal Dance", which is published herewith. A series of woodcuts dealing with village life formed another very successful item from Mr. Chakravarti. Mr. Chakravarti has a great future before him, judging

tions of pictures in the Mughal style, are now coming to their own in the estimation of art-lovers. It is good that a vigorous school of wood-cutting for book illustration is growing up in Bengal, and here the lead has been taken by Mr. Nandalal Bose; and Mr. Chakravarti who is a pupil of Mr. Bose, is a successful exponent of this art. Among the work of other teachers we may mention the studies in water-colour by Mr. Satish Sinha, in what may be described as a culmination of the Bengal "Art-school style". These are

usually studies of women with the usual background of Indian village or domestic life. This style is to some extent based on drawings on *genre* subjects in the folk-art of Kalighat, and then it was "improved" by mingling it with British art school traditions, conventions and technique, with a certain amount of copying from living models or from photographs: and the result has been something which goes hand in hand with Bengali *bourgeois* life. It is one of the most popular

girl in a scarlet *sari* in the midst of a field of green.

The work of others who are neither students of the school nor members of its teaching staff afforded a wide range, and the best exhibits belonged to this group, considering that masters like Abanindranath and Nandalal were represented. Abanindranath has exhibited a small sketch—"The Blue Flower"—that of a girl with a lamp, the soft and delicate colouring of which are in the



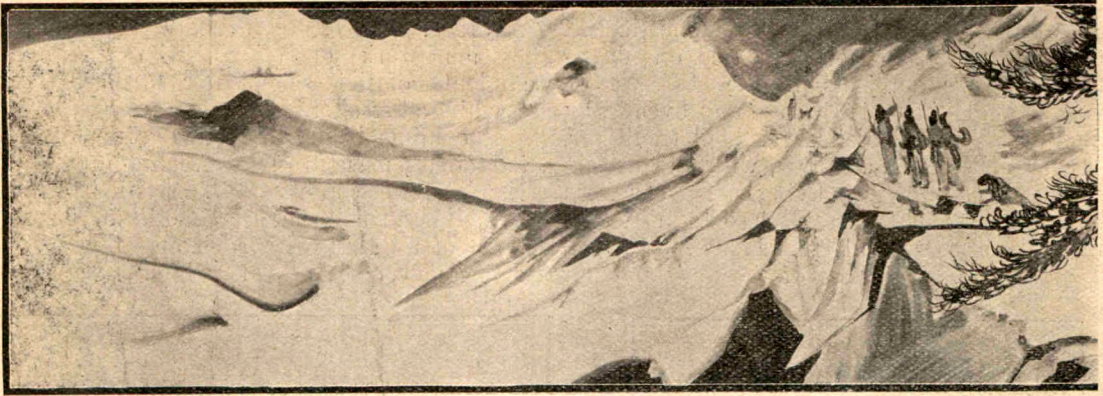
The Flute—By Jamini Roy



Javanese Dancer as Abhimanyu—By Stowitts

things in the line of picture-making in Bengal—and in the rest of India as well (with other local folk-schools sometimes peeping underneath). Some of the work in this style is pretty and attractive. Mr. Sinha, however, has, unique facility, and a perfect command over his brush, and although we do not like the style, we like some of the pictures. A good part of his studies and sketches have a reference to commercial art, and a few of his pictures are distinctly charming, in their balanced figures, their strong lines and their harmony of colour: particularly a sketch of a Hindustani peasant

characteristic style of the master, and defies reproduction. The most striking picture was a long scroll in Chinese ink by Nandalal Bose,—the "Mahaprasthan"—depicting the *finale* of the Mahabharata, when the five Pandava brothers and Draupadi left their kingdom to ascend to heaven by the Himalaya mountains. This picture has been reproduced in the present number. This is unquestionably one of the greatest pictures painted in Bengal during the year. Here we see Nandalal's master-hand at its best. The method might be Japanese, but the spirit is that of India. With a small number of most vigorous brush strokes Nandalal tells the epic story in a



"MAHAPRASTHAN"
By Nandalal



The Picture Roll—By Rani Devi

manner which is convincing in its profundity. The brothers are sitting down to rest during their arduous ascent under an age-old *deodar* pine in the Himalayas. The tree seems to be living—its gnarled trunk and the wealth of its leaves suggest some ancient *rishi* sitting down in everlasting meditation. Gusts of storm-wind have scattered its leaves. On the right the lines of the clouds and the line of the mountain side suggest the wide plains of India, while to the left are the eternal snows of the Himalayas, where range succeeds range. Four of the brothers are terribly anxious,—they are so eager to tramp onward, to reach the Paradise of Indra; and Draupadi is most anxious of all—she cannot

afford to sit down even. Only Yudhishthira, the eldest, is calm and collected: does he know with a prophet's insight that the others will not be able to reach heaven in body—that they will fall on the way, and Draupadi first of all? The story is taken up in the same picture, and we find the brothers moving on in single file through a defile—there are no trees there,—and Draupadi has dropped down dead: but they march on. Then beyond a hill, after the succeeding episodes have been accomplished, we see Yudhishthira with his faithful dog: the dog comes into the picture for the first time here. Then far away, like two black specks, we see the two

companions, the man and the dog, losing themselves in the most distant snows. It is a great treatment of a great theme.

Mr. Bose also exhibited another picture, besides a few woodcuts. The picture is a small one in tempera: "The Birth of Chaitanya." The inspiration is the folk-art of West Bengal, and yet the charm and the vigour are the master's own. The delicate beauty of the figures carrying offerings is arresting, the human interest has been most wonderfully harmonized with the essentially decorative character of the picture. We have here a transfiguration of a Bengali village home. No detail is missing: the walled courtyard with the door to the left, door and wall



OF THE PANDAVAS
Bose

both with the protective thatching, the isolated thatched hut, with the veranda, and the matting wall, and decorations ; and the trees and the sacred basil plant (*tulasi*) in a vase on the altar-like platform ; and outside the wall, trees. The sobriety of the colours which are the old colours used by village painters, is striking. We are glad to be able to present our readers with a coloured reproduction of this beautifully unique work.

There were also lady artists whose work was exhibited. Srimati Sunayani Devi's pictures, in the transformed folk style that is all her own, elicited the praise that they never fail to draw. Her picture of *Lakshmi* the goddess of beauty and wealth, with her casket of jewels, which is reproduced, is charming in its naïveté. Srimati Rani Devi and Srimati Prakriti Devi had a number of their pictures, and some of them show an astonishingly good quality. They are in the style of the new Indian School, and they rise above the commonplaces of that school by their individuality and freshness. We print one picture by Srimati Rani Devi—a village scene : an artist and religious singer unrolling a picture roll depicting the story of the Snake Goddess Manasa and how she had her worship established on earth through Behula, one of the heroines of medieval Bengal, the story of whose love for her



Under the Trees—By Mrs. Marjorie Edmondson

husband and her success in restoring him to life forms one of the most beautiful legends of Bengal. A great charm of this picture is its unconscious simplicity and directness. Mrs. Marjorie Edmondson's "Under the Trees" is a striking little sketch in water-colours, with a most refreshing vigour that is the result not only of a sure hand but also of a rare appreciation of the essentials in a landscape of trees which require to be singled out or emphasized. We wish there were more of her work in the exhibition.

Mr. Manindra Das Gupta's "Cartoon for Mural Painting" is a conventional European composition, only the outward features



Cartoon for Mural Painting—By Manindra Das Gupta

are Indian. There is a good knowledge of Western conventions in the sketch, but the artist has not been able to rid his picture of the theatrical poses of nineteenth century compositions in the same style. Quite a contrast and a refreshing contrast is presented by Mr. Jamini Roy's picture, "The Flute." Here Mr. Roy is quite content to go back to the two dimension treatment of Bengali and all other folk-art, refusing to sacrifice sincerity and strength—even though it is marked by a kind of *rudesse*—to a well-disposed prettiness. By his training Mr. Roy is a finished artist in the Western style, but he did not feel satisfied by the conventions of modern Western art—he essayed also in the New Indian school, and now he has fallen back upon primitive folk-art to catch something of its simplicity, its strength, its sincerity. Mr. Mukul Dey a few months ago arranged an exhibition of Mr. Roy's work in the school, and it was quite a revelation, in the great quality of his first attempts at expressing himself through the medium of strong lines in the conventional way and through primitive colouring. The figure of the boy ("The Flute") recalls the strength of ancient Egyptian lines, and yet the picture is unmistakably Indian with its haunting sense of mystery: it might equally have been labelled "Krishna."

A delightful little painting—a study of a tree and flitting pigeons—by Sobhagmal Gehlote, a student of the Kalabhavana at Santiniketan, is quite characteristic of high class work in the new Indian style.

Lastly, the exhibition included a few paintings of Javanese dancers by the American artist Stowitts. We give one in reproduction. Stowitts' pictures, mostly on Javanese subjects, were already exhibited at the Indian Museum a year ago through Mr. Mukul Dey's interest, and they created quite an impression. The subjects with their brilliant costumes lend themselves magnificently to the colorist's brush, and Stowitts' masterly technique knew how to make use of the situation. But it is not the mere outward trappings and the gorgeous colouring that are the only thing in Stowitts' pictures. It is the individuality of the subject which shines out with its proper background of the race-type that marks out the work of this artist as that of a rare genius. The poses in the Javanese drama and dancing are theatrical, no doubt, but they are not vulgar; and Stowitts' pictures of them are not at all theatrical or affected. Coloured reproductions of a representative selection from Stowitts' pictures on Javanese and Indian as well as European subjects will be a desideratum for all lovers of art.

Mr. Mukul Dey deserves the thanks of



The Nests—By Sobhagmal Gehlote

the art-loving public for providing in his school exhibition for such a rich feast, and it may be hoped that in future years the

same experiment will be repeated, to the benefit and aesthetic pleasure of his students as well as the general public.

The Political Goal of India

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE main resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its forty-fourth session held in Lahore runs as follows:

This Congress endorses the action of the Working Committee in connection with the manifesto signed by party leaders, including congressmen, on the Viceregal pronouncement of the 31st October relating to Dominion Status, and appreciates the efforts of the Viceroy towards a settlement of the national movement for Swaraj. The Congress, however, having considered all that has since happened, and the result of the meeting between Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru and other leaders and the Viceroy, is of opinion that nothing to be gained in the existing circumstances by the Congress being represented at the proposed Round Table Conference. This Congress therefore in pursuance of the resolution passed at its session at Calcutta last year, declares that the word 'Swaraj' in article one of the Congress constitution shall mean complete independence, and further declares the entire scheme of the Nehru Committee's Report to have lapsed, and hopes that

all congressmen will henceforth devote their exclusive attention to the attainment of complete independence for India. As a preliminary step towards organizing a campaign for Independence, and in order to make the Congress policy as consistent as possible with the change of creed, this Congress resolves upon a complete boycott of the central and provincial legislatures and committees constituted by Government and calls upon congressmen and others taking part in the national movement to abstain from participating directly or indirectly in future elections, and directs the present Congress members of the legislatures and committees to resign their seats. This Congress appeals to the nation zealously to prosecute the constructive programme of the Congress, and authorizes the All-India Congress Committee, whenever it deems fit, to launch upon a programme of civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes, whether in selected areas or otherwise, and under such safeguards as it may consider necessary.

The passing of this resolution has been looked upon with disfavour by some classes

of politically-minded Indians, and by Britishers in general. But, considering all the circumstances, it has been the logical and natural consequence of the last Calcutta Congress resolution on the conditional acceptance of Dominion status as India's political goal. That resolution, proposed by Mahatma Gandhi, stated in effect that if the British Government agreed to confer Dominion status on India within the 31st December, 1929, it would be accepted; if not, the Congress would declare complete independence as its objective. The Congress waited till the 31st of December last. But the British Government did not confer Dominion status on India on or before that date. It could not even be said that the Government had definitely promised that the next step in the constitutional evolution of India would be the attainment of Dominion status. At the promised or proposed round table conference, it has not even been promised that the basis of the discussions would be a Dominion constitution for India. It has been only said that proposals would be placed before Parliament in accordance with the greatest measure of agreement arrived at at that conference. As no Indian representative body is to have any say over the kind and number of men to be invited to that conference as representing India, as the rulers of the Indian States, who are mostly reactionaries favouring autocratic and bureaucratic rule, and as the British rulers of India have always shown a tendency to profess to believe those Indians to be the truest and most natural leaders and representatives of the people of India who are most subservient to them, it is naturally anticipated and apprehended that many such men would be invited to attend the conference as would lend themselves to be used as tools in the hands of the wirepullers to counteract or minimize the importance of the most advanced political opinion in India. In that case the greatest measure of agreement reached at the conference must fall far short of Dominion status. Under the circumstances the Congress leaders could not even say at Lahore that, though there was no definite promise, there was at least some *hope* of the majority of members of the round table conference advocating Dominion status.

The last Calcutta Congress resolution definitely spoke of the conceding of Dominion status by the 31st of December, 1929,

as the condition precedent to its acceptance; it was neither said nor suggested that any promise or hope, distinct or vague, would be considered as a substitute for the bestowal of Dominion status. Still, as a definite promise or a distinct hope may sometimes amount to a moral certainty, it has been assumed above that the Lahore Congress would have been justified in not considering and passing the complete resolution if there had been any such promise or hope. But in their absence the only action which the Lahore Congress could have taken on the Calcutta resolution would have been to declare: "We have been merely bluffing; we have been merely seeking to gain some advantage by delivering a mock ultimatum. But though we have gained nothing tangible, we will not declare complete independence as our goal. Oh no, we will do nothing of the kind. We shall depend absolutely and entirely on the mercy and favour of the British Government." But such a statement would not have been, to say the least, consistent with the honour of the biggest Indian representative body. Or, the Lahore Congress could have observed complete silence on the subject of the Calcutta resolution, taking no action on it. But that would have been exactly equivalent to the statement outlined above.

These are some of the reasons for thinking that the placing of Mahatma Gandhi's resolution on complete independence before the Lahore Congress was a natural and logical consequence of what had been resolved at the previous Calcutta Congress on the same subject. Of course, it was open to the delegates at Lahore to reject it. But they passed it by a majority of votes after prolonged and exhaustive discussion.

It has been argued above that the previous Calcutta resolution made the Lahore resolution inevitable under the circumstances. A word on the Calcutta resolution will, therefore, be expected. Mahatma Gandhi, who proposed that resolution, wanted to fix the time-limit for obtaining Dominion status at two years; but as sometimes leaders have to be followers, he agreed to the compromise of one year. It cannot be said that during one full year India could not have been made a Dominion, but two years would have been considered more reasonable by the British people. But at the time when the Calcutta resolution was passed, it did not seem to us expedient and the right policy

to lay down a definite date, as the people of India were not sufficiently organized and united to give that kind of ultimatum to the British people. A race-proud, power-proud and purse-proud people like the British imperialists—and all British political parties *are* imperialists—should not be expected to brook to be dictated to. But, of course, whenever we are strong enough to dictate terms and whenever on mature thought and deliberation it is found necessary to do so, it must be done in disregard of British sensibilities. But Indians are not yet masters of the situation. The die has, however, been cast. And every legitimate and available means must be adopted by them to make themselves arbiters of their own destiny.

We have never had any doubt that independence ought to be our political goal. We have shown again and again that, neither in theory nor in the actual foreign relations of independent countries in general, is independence necessarily associated with isolation. It is one of the glories of complete independence that it enables free nations to be interdependent by parting with some of their rights of their own free choice. We have also held that if Dominion status were made the immediate objective, it would not necessarily stand in the way of India's ultimate attainment of complete independence; on the contrary, it might enable Indians to make more vigorous and sustained efforts to obtain complete independence.

Those Britishers who are opposed to the grant of Dominion status to India, have repeatedly asserted that such status being substantially equivalent to independence, cannot and should not be conceded. Other Britishers also, who have spoken and written in favour of India being made a Dominion, have said that Dominion status is practically equivalent to independence. Many Indians also, who advocate Dominion status, hold the same opinion. These British and Indian advocates of Dominion status may be asked: "If independence and Dominion status mean practically the same thing, why do you get so annoyed when some people ask for independence? If these be like tweedledum and tweedledee, the advocates of tweedledum should be locked in the loving embrace of the advocates of tweedledee and *vice versa*; there should not be any reason for the loving embrace developing into some wrestling grip." If Dominion status be equivalent to independence and independence to Dominion status,

the advocates of neither need indulge in mutual recrimination. They should consider one another tacit allies, not avowed opponents. But let us see what Dominion status, at the highest point at present reached, stands for.

The "position and mutual relation" of "the group of self-governing communities composed of Great Britain and the Dominions" have been thus defined in the Summary of Proceedings of the Imperial Conference, 1926:

"They are autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

"Every self-governing member of the Empire is now the master of its destiny. In fact, if not always in form, it is subject to no compulsion whatever."

"But no account, however accurate, of the negative relations in which Great Britain and the Dominions stand to each other can do more than express a portion of the truth. The British Empire is not founded upon negations. It depends essentially, if not formally, on positive ideals. Free institutions are its life-blood. Free co-operation is its instrument. Peace, security and progress are among its objects...And, though every Dominion is now, and must always remain, the sole judge of the nature and extent of its co-operation, no common cause will, in our opinion, be thereby imperilled."

It is understood that "the British Commonwealth of Nations" is to remain a monarchy with a person of the British royal blood sitting on the throne;—it cannot become a republic, nor can it have a non-British monarch. As far as can be gathered, the Governor-General of a Dominion should be a citizen of Great Britain appointed by the British monarch. A Dominion cannot enter into a treaty of friendship with or fight for an enemy of Britain for however just a cause, nor can it declare war with an ally of Britain, though in any war of Britain's with any other country it may or may not fight on the side of Britain. Perhaps a Dominion cannot enter into a commercial treaty with an enemy of Britain or give it commercial preference.

As regards the channel of communication between Dominion Governments and Foreign Governments, the Irish Free State has appointed a Minister Plenipotentiary to represent its interests in Washington. Since the last Imperial Conference, Canada has appointed ministers of her own at Washington, Paris and Tokyo, and is thinking of appointing an envoy at the Chinese capital of Nanking.

When it is said of the British Empire

that "Free institutions are its life-blood, Free co-operation is its instrument," the statement cannot be accepted as true for the Empire as a whole. In fact, the Report of the Inter-imperial Relations Committee explicitly states that the definition of the British Commonwealth of Nations laid down by it does not cover the case of India, which is governed by special statutes. India, as everybody knows, has not got free institutions, nor does it *freely* co-operate with Britain.

It would be difficult to give in a paragraph or even a short article an exact idea of the limitations of the British Dominions as compared with countries which are quite independent. Suffice it to say that as regards—

Dominion Legislation; Merchant shipping Legislation; finality of the judgments of their highest courts; relations with foreign countries in the matters of treaties, representation at international conferences, general conduct of foreign policy and channel of communication between Dominion Governments and Foreign Governments; and Defence, the British Dominions are not quite as free as countries which enjoy complete independence. No part of the British Empire, except Great Britain, is as self-sufficing and self-reliant as regards its defence as equally large and quite independent civilized countries generally are.

Bearing all this in mind, one may find the following definition of Dominion Home Rule, given by Mr. Bonar Law in March 1920, interesting:—

What is the essential of Dominion Home Rule? The essential is that they have control of their whole destinies, of their fighting forces, and of the amounts which they will contribute to the general security of the Empire. All these things are vital, and there is not a man in the House who would not admit that the connection of the Dominions with the Empire depends upon themselves. If the self-governing Dominions of Australia or Canada choose to-morrow to say 'We will no longer make a part of the British Empire' we would not try to force them. Dominion Home rule means the right to decide for themselves.

Professor Arnold J. Toynbee observes on the above passage:

This was strictly true, but it was not quite the whole truth; for the fact that the Dominions were no longer held within the British Empire by any sanction imposed by the British Government did not mean that they were subject to no sanction at all. The real sanction which practically precluded secession at this time, and would probably continue to

preclude it for a long time to come, was the certainty that no Government, party, or national element in any Dominion could propose secession without splitting the country to such an extent as to imperil the national unity of that Dominion itself. In other words, the sanction to which each Dominion was subject was internal and not external; but possibly it was all the stronger for that.—*The Conduct of British Empire Foreign Relations since the Peace Settlement*, pp. 16-17.

What General Hartzog said in the course of a speech at Pretoria on the 20th December 1926, should be taken *cum grano salis*:—

South Africa was now free in its self-government, inside as well as outside, and the degree and the nature of that self-government were equal to those of Great Britain, without any inferiority or reservation.

This, though not absolutely true, is true to a great extent of the white population of that country, but not the others, who form the majority. This, by the by, is a blot on South Africa as well as on the British Empire. Britishers pretend to be reluctant to give self-government to India on the ground that the higher castes would oppress the depressed classes minority, though there are no laws in India discriminating against the latter, nor is there the least likelihood of any being passed in a self-ruling India; whereas self-government has been given to the South African whites in spite of discriminating and oppressive laws pressing hard on the native population who form the majority.

Let us now turn to the means available for winning self-rule for India. The boycott of the Councils cannot directly bring any pressure on the British people to agree to India having self-rule. But if the members who have resigned can bring about an effective boycott of British goods (say, British yarn and cloth, for example), can prepare the country for civil disobedience and the working population in British-owned factories in India for a general strike (collecting and keeping in reserve sufficient funds for the purpose), can abolish untouchability, and can bring about more amicable relations between Hindus and Moslems, self-rule would be in sight. Of all the means of bringing direct pressure to bear on the British people, the boycott of some of their manufactures, *e. g.*, yarn and cloth, is most likely under present circumstances to be effective and the least likely to cause suffering to the masses in India.

Even if India were given the same status as Canada, Indian Independentists would feel that Indians not being Britishers or even

Europeans and being far more numerous than all the other inhabitants of the British Empire, having a more ancient civilization and having influenced larger areas and masses of humanity than any other peoples, should not be known as members of a non-Indian Empire or Commonwealth having a non-Indian king, and should not have a foreign Governor-General appointed by a foreign monarch. This may be pooh-poohed as mere sentimental nonsense. But the sentiment is based on reality. And such sentiment rules the world.

To those Britishers who say that for India

Dominion status would be equal to independence, and it would make India an equal of Great Britain, an Indian Independentist might say: "If Dominion status be equal to independence, independence must also be equal to Dominion status. Why do you then object to our having independence? If Dominion status would make India an equal of Great Britain, could you imagine with equanimity the possibility of an Indian king sitting on the throne of the British Empire or Commonwealth of nations and appointing an Indian Viceroy and Governor-General for Great Britain?"

Comment and Criticism

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

"A Sandstone Head of the Gupta Period"

In an article under the above heading by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in the *Modern Review* for January 1930, the learned scholar of Indian antiquities describes the find-spot, the position and the condition of the head as well as the head itself. He also adds a correction slip on p. 160 in which he gives the present position of the head in the Indian Museum, its exact find-spot, (e.g. *Samkisa* in U. P.) and the date (i.e. 1st cent. A. D.) ascribed to it by the authorities in charge. This date is, however, characterized as tentative by Mr. Jayaswal who would like to label it as 'Gupta', so much so that there is, if I am not wrong, an indirect hint as to its being identical with the portrait head of a Gupta King.

I had more than once seen the above head in the Museum before Mr. Jayaswal drew our attention to it, but never did it strike me as belonging to the Gupta period. I am inclined to think that it is one of the finest products of art inspired by the Hellenistic school of Gandhara that on occasions produced art specimens of abiding aesthetic interest. The head cannot in any way be classed with those innumerable craft products of the popular Gandhara school—stiff, stereotyped, made-to-order products serving a particular religious creed and frankly decorative in their purpose. It is really an art product of the purely Hellenistic school of Gandhara. Its "individual effect is marvellous" and we agree with Mr. Jayaswal that it certainly does not deserve

oblivion. But it is difficult to accept his contention that it belongs to the Gupta period. On the contrary, I am almost in agreement with the view that it belongs to the first century of the Christian era, or perhaps a little later, that is, to the earlier part of the second century A. D.

Let me set forth my arguments in brief:—

1. The portion of the head-dress that remains shows that its form and design have some affinity with those of head-dresses noticeable on some of the so-called Graeco-Buddhist sculptures from Gandhara.

2. The tufts of hair represented in fine scratches near the two ears are so arranged that they have distinct affinities with late Graeco-Roman examples and are unknown in Gupta examples.

3. The *tilaka* at the middle of the forehead—a *mahapurusa laksmana*—is seen on most of the Buddha foreheads of the Gandhara school. But the Buddha foreheads of the Gupta school scarcely bear any *tilaka* mark.

4. The curvature of the *Samkisa*-forehead as well as that of almost of all foreheads of Gandhara sculptures are almost semicircular, whereas the curvature of the forehead of Gupta examples is invariably of broad elliptical form.

5. The eyebrows in the present example as in all Gandhara examples are more prominent (also modelled in certain instances, as in the present one) than those of Gupta examples which are indicated only in faint lines melting on the forehead itself. In Gupta examples, the curve of the

eyebrows point more or less upwards, but in the present example it is a distinctly downward curve.

6. The nose in examples of both the schools as well as in the present one is sharp and perfectly modelled. But the Samkisa nose is more bold, more prominent and roundish and more finely modelled—almost Apollo-like—than any Gupta example where it is invariably flattened at the top indicated in two sharp edges.

7. But the most significant difference lies in the treatment of the two eyes. In the Samkisa example, as in all Gandhara examples the upper and lower eye-lids represented as half-closed are almost on the same plane modelled in two delightful curves; and the eye-ball with the blue is represented as sunk on a deeper plane between the two eye-lids. But in all Gupta examples, it is invariably the case that the upper eye-lid should droop much downwards pushing the lower to a much deeper plane, and the eye-ball with the blue should seem almost to bulge out from beneath the lids, the lines of which seem as a result to have completely been filled in with a surface modelled in the round. The curve lines of the eye-lids in the Samkisa head are also longer (as in Hellenistic examples) in comparison with those of a Gupta face. These are differences that are impossible to be overlooked or slightly set aside.

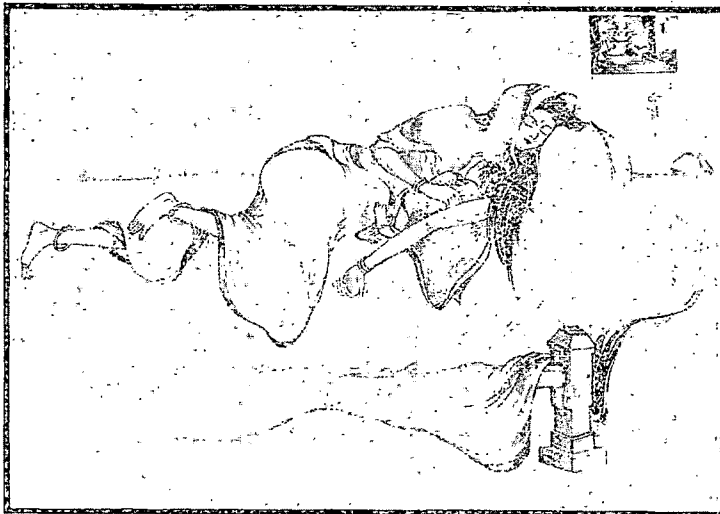
8. The next important point of difference lies in the treatment of the lower portion of the face, especially of the two lips. In the Samkisa as in all Gandhara examples the two lips delicately modelled are almost on the same surface and are mutually proportionate. But in all Gupta examples the lower lip must proportionately be heavier and droop downwards so as to be represented in a curve almost separately modelled in the round;—it is negroid in appearance. This again is a difference that cannot certainly be missed.

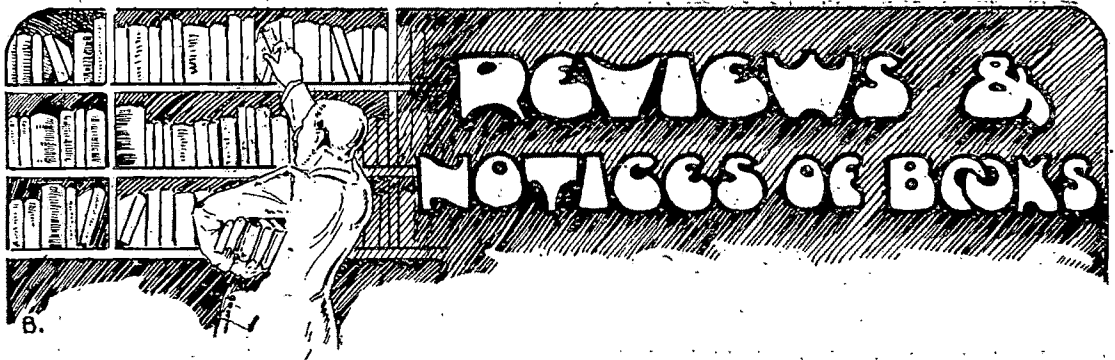
9. The chin of a Gupta face is more sharp and pointed than that of the Samkisa head. The general shape of the Samkisa face, as of almost all Gandhara faces as referred to above, is more or less circular whereas that of a Gupta face is more or less oval.

10. The differences in appearance and treatment of the eyes, the lips, and of the whole face are mainly responsible for the difference in the individual effects of the whole face of this particular sculpture and of a typically Gupta example. On the former we value and appreciate a bold and dignified face planned on strong and definite curves that are responsible for the serene grandeur relieved by the delightful smile given out by the long and graceful curves of the eyes and the lips—a characteristic expression particularly associated with the stucco and terracotta heads of the Gandhara school referred to above. On the latter, that is, on a typically Gupta head we admire the soft graceful curves, almost effeminate in their tenderness, and the expression of perfect calmness and serenity given effect to by the faint melting curves of the eyebrow, the upper eye-lids drooping down to such an extent as almost to close the eyes in tender compassion,—the heavily modelled lower lip and finally the oval form of the face. The Samkisa face is bold, dignified and masculine. A typically Gupta face is soft, tender and almost feminine in its expression. These are vital differences in individual effects which should not and cannot be ignored.

In view of the above facts, I would like to submit most humbly that the Samkisa head cannot be ascribed to the Gupta period; on the contrary, I would hold that it is one of the finest art products inspired by the so-called Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhara, and there is very little to quarrel with the date already ascribed to it, i.e., 1st century A. D.

NIHARANJAN RAY





[Books in the following languages will be noticed : Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY : By Nirmal Kumar Bose, M. Sc. (Calcutta, 1929) pp. IV-152. Price Re. 1-4-0.

We heartily welcome this excellent little book by an accomplished young anthropologist who, it is great pleasure to find, is not only well versed in the anthropological literature of the world but has got a thorough grip of his subject (which unfortunately many of our graduates in Anthropology would appear to lack) and, what is more, has been doing some amount of original thinking in seeking to apply anthropological principles to Indian social history and social phenomena. The book is divided into six well-written chapters, headed respectively, I. What is Culture; II. The General Nature of Culture; III. The Structure of Cultural Trait; IV. The Distribution of a Trait; V. Changes Due to Contact; and VI. Evolution and Progress. Each of these topics is handled in a masterly way in so far as the limits of space has permitted. As we are told in the short introduction to the book, the theoretical position very correctly taken by our author is that human nature is ultimately the chief factor in historical developments,—the historical, geographical, economic and morphological aspects of culture being "the settings of a drama which is essentially human in import and direction." The book is written in clear and simple language and will prove eminently useful to students of Anthropology in our Universities as well as to the social reformer and political reformer, and the man of culture in general. The Anthropological department of one or other of our Indian Universities would do well in securing the services of such an accomplished Indian anthropologist for teaching and guiding its students both in theoretic and practical work.

S. C. R.

AN INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN CITIZENSHIP AND CIVILIZATION : By Shikrishna Venkatesh Puntambekar, M. A. (Oxon), Barrister-at-Law. Professor of History and Politics, Benares Hindu University. Nand Kishore and Brothers, Benars. Pp. 1-XVI+1-263. Price Rs. 3.

The book, as the author says in his title page, "is a historical background and modern problems" of India and is intended to serve as an introduction to the study of Indian citizenship and politics. In the first two chapters the author has dealt with the various problems of the economic life of the country. Chapters III-VIII deal with the problems of political life, and only one chapter (IX) is devoted to the problems of sanitary life. The scheme of the book is a comprehensive one. The author attempted a wide and varied survey of the economic and political problems. But within the small compass of the book the author could but touch the fringe of the problems he raised. As an introduction to the study of these problems, however, the book will serve an useful purpose by stimulating the curiosity of readers to know more about them. The author has given ample proof of his ability as a writer, and we hope bigger volumes containing a fuller treatment of these problems will come out of his pen. The author has faced these problems squarely and attempted a fair and bold treatment of them. Dealing with the 'Infringement of civil rights in India' the author says, "In India the executive Government has imposed certain restrictions and assumed certain extra-legal powers within or without those laws which are not in the nature of any regular principles or procedure but in that of racial character, and arbitrariness. They encroach upon some of the fundamental rights of citizens as regards his person, property or liberty. Government uses ordinances and regulations, old or new, in normal as well as abnormal times which give it exceptional powers. The government is not popular and responsible, and its methods of

law-making are arbitrary and unrecognizable by the people, therefore, the liberty of person is not well protected. Any person can be arrested without any proper cause shown, and detained and imprisoned without any regular judicial trial. There is no Habeas Corpus for India as a whole. Government is both the prosecutor and the Judge. See Regulations like that of 1818, Regulation III of Bengal, and Governor-General's extraordinary powers of law or ordinance-making (Secs. 67, 71, 72, 111, 126 of the Government of India Act)" (p. 209). The get-up and the print of the book are good, and there are a few useful statistics.

NAGENDRA NATH GHOSH

STUDIES IN SPENSER : By Mohini Mohan Bhattacharje, M. A.; B. L., with a foreword by Dr. W. S. Urquhart, M. A., D. Litt., Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. Published by the University of Calcutta 1929, pp. xii+93.

Under a somewhat loud title, Mr. Mohini Mohan Bhattacharje of the Post-Graduate Department, Calcutta University, offers a few notes on Spenser in a book, covering not quite a hundred pages. These, dealing with five subjects in all, are, he tells us in a preface, "a supplement to some theses submitted as a Premchand Roychand Research Student." On close examination, they are found to be a study of the Four Hymns, the Fifth and the Sixth Books of the Faerie Queene and of certain isolated passages.

That Spenser was influenced by Plato and even by Neo-Platonism has hardly ever been disputed, and might now be taken to be a literary "settled fact." But Mr. Bhattacharje essays the difficult task of fixing definite sources through which Neo-Platonism came to Spenser. In this, unfortunately, he does not seem to have attained much success. In the Four Hymns, he is keen about establishing the influence of Pico Della Mirandola; yet his choicest assertions become nothing more than a series of "very probably"s. The six stages of Love, generally supposed to have been derived from Castiglione might equally have been obtained from Pico; but this is merely Mr. Bhattacharje's pet conjecture; he produces no evidence of Spenser's direct knowledge of Pico. Nor does he mend matters by thinking it "very likely" that Castiglione borrowed from Pico; Mr. Bhattacharje is not for once on sure ground. In fact, what is clear is that Spenser drew from the current of Neo-Platonism from Ficino to Pico and later, from Castiglione to Bruno; and since a good many ideas were common to them, he might have been the debtor of some as well as of others, or of all. But sheer lack or practical thinness of external evidence—and the embarrassing vagueness and fluidity of internal evidence particularly where it concerns analysis of parallel ideas which are similar even to details—makes the exact identification of each individual creditor a baffling and barren task. The largely subjective estimates of Mr. Bhattacharje can find no acceptance in the absence of more concrete evidence. In countering Professor Elton and asserting Giordano Bruno as a source for the Four Hymns, Mr. Bhattacharje seems to have better luck, but this is because he has found Miss Winstanley arriving at the same conclusion already before he started his own investigations.

The chapter on Bruno does not make it possible to judge whether he has in any way reinforced Miss Winstanley's arguments; he seems merely to have given them back in his own language.

In dealing with the Fifth Book of Faerie Queene Mr. Bhattacharje works in an atmosphere of slack self-confidence. He makes the initial comment that, in this Book, "it must be admitted that nowhere is the influence of Aristotle or Plato very marked." Yet, hoping against hope, he goes on, all through the rest of his first chapter, finding "traces" of the Platonic and also Aristotelian conceptions of Justice. Such are the ooziings of defeatist "research"! In the discussion of the Sixth Book, he has better luck, since without pretending to make a vast original discovery, he shows how greatly indebted Spenser was to the courtesy books of the Italian Renaissance. And no one certainly will demur to Mr. Bhattacharje's assertion of Platonic influence on Spenser's poetic theory.

To sum up. Mr. Bhattacharje's readings in and around Spenser seem to be fairly wide and he writes in an honest manner; the book as a whole is certainly interesting and informative. But in the one or two discoveries which he says he has made, he does not carry conviction. The themes which he has chosen out of Spenser for investigation do not lend themselves to tangible research. That Sidney might have lent Spenser a copy of Bruno's book or that the study of Benivieni's Hymn must necessarily have been followed by a perusal of Pico's commentary upon it are beautiful conjectures; nor is the nature or amount of internal evidence produced by Mr. Bhattacharje such as to make strong external evidence unnecessary. The pains that have been taken would have yielded better results, if he could have selected a subject of a more definite character.

B. B. ROY

HOME INDUSTRIES. PROFITABLE INDUSTRIES. MONEY IN HANDICRAFTS. By an Industrial Expert. Industry Book Dept., Keshub Bhawan, 22 Shambazar Bridge Road, Calcutta. Price Rs. 1-8 each.

These books contain brief description of several industries which in the opinion of the author can be profitably taken up by the small capitalist such as baking, catechu, vermilion, shellac, fireworks, brushes, polishing paper, bangles, buttons, horns etc. The author's aim is to give a general idea of the processes involved in such industries, so that the would-be manufacturer may choose a subject which suits him most. In his preface to 'Home Industries', the author has ably set forth certain conditions under which small industries are most likely to prosper. The books are very well written and are sure to be popular. It would have been well if the author had given some idea of costs and prices, at least in certain cases. The novice requires to be told that things like hand-made emery paper can be sold only if the price be much less than that of the better finished machine-made article, and that fruit essences made according to the author's recipe are suitable for home consumption only, having no chance against the cheaper and stronger commercial stuff made with essential oils and ethers. It may also

be mentioned that the author's process of making arrack from grapes may lead to trouble with the excise authorities.

THE ILLUSION OF THE CHARKA. By Anilbaran Ray. *Arya Sahitya Bhawan, Calcutta.*

The author was a staunch advocate of the Charka in the early Non-Co-operation days. To quote his own words, he 'was the one man in India who carried the loin-cloth even to the citadel of the bureaucracy,' by appearing in that garb before the Governor in the Bengal Council. He has now changed his views, and with the courage of new conviction, writes strongly against the Charka. In his opinion, 'an artificial market is being kept up for Khaddar at a tremendous cost..... Actual facts show that people now do not spin for home consumption but to make some earning through the Khaddar centres. What they earn by spinning they spend in buying mill-cloth, mostly foreign cloth.... The energy and money that is now being spent on the Charka, if applied to the organization of the agriculturists and their training in simple devices and improved methods, will immediately bring much greater profits.... It has been necessary to invest 20 lacs of Rupees to produce 24 lacs of Rupees worth of Khaddar annually!... Even this income is possible only because Khaddar is being made to sell at a price much higher than mill-cloth.... It is really the personality of Mahatma Gandhi with his great sacrifice and moral force, that is preventing people from seeing the utter futility of the Charka.' Mr. Ray goes even so far as to say that the Charka stands in the way of village reconstruction. The book contains rejoinders by several ardent believers like Babu Rajendra Prasad with Mr. Ray's reply. The author presents his case in a well-reasoned manner and his arguments deserve careful consideration. The book ought to be read by all who want to form an independent opinion on a movement which according to many highly intelligent people means the economic and even political salvation of India, and according to other equally intelligent people is as unprofitable as the turning of the Tibetan prayer-wheel.

R. B.

THE CHILD MARRIAGE RESTRAINT ACT: By D. L. Sircar, M. A., B. L.—Pp. 68. Price 8 as.

A timely publication. The author in his preface has traced the history of the Act since the introduction of the Sarda Bill on the 1st of February 1927 and the various vicissitudes the Bill has suffered. The Bill had passed through the hands of two Select Committees and has ultimately taken the form which we now have as Act XIX of 1929. Mr. Sircar has appended to the Act the original Bill of Rai Sahib Harabilas Sarda, his statement of objects and reasons, and also minutes of dissent by some members of the Second Select Committee and opinions of certain well-known persons. The author has also quoted portions from the debate in the Legislative Assembly. From the quotations it appears that the author personally is opposed to this piece of legislation and has not given the necessary and deserving prominence to the opinions and statements in favour of the measure. We expected greater care from the author in editing and having

the body of the Act properly printed for we do not find there that the Act is numbered Act XIX of 1929. Also in Section 2, the definition of "Minor" which forms clause (d) has not been separately printed as such, but appears as it is a part of clause (c). In the marginal notes of Section 3 and 4 the article "a" which does not appear in the Act as published in the Calcutta Gazette has been put before the word "male adult" and in the marginal note to Section 5, the article "a" has been omitted before 'child marriage.' Also wherever the word "minor" occurs the author has used a capital "M." In printing the body of the Act the form as published in the Gazette should be adhered to.

BENOYENDRA PRASAD BAGCHI

RABINDRANATH TAGORE (*For Students*) *Great Indians Series* by M. S. Kesaree, B. A., LL. B., Bangalore City, Price As. 2.

In this tiny booklet the author gives within the scope of 8 pages a very brief survey of the poet's life. The great Indian reformer is not 'Rajaram Mohan Roy' but Raja Rammohan Roy.

S. LIAW

GOBRA : By Mr. A. K. Ray.

Mr. Ray has published the memoirs or autobiography of Gobra, the short name of an interesting official in a clever manner. The book is fascinating reading. Those who wish to know something of 1870 or 80 would do well to peruse the book.

DILKUSHA : By Nadubeg K. Mirza, Bar-at-Law. 1-8.

This is a romance of Sind life, a book to while away a couple of hours with.

WITHOUT PREJUDICE : By S. G. Dunn.

A collection of learned essays on a variety of subjects. We strongly recommend the book to all who want to read masterly English.

CRITIC

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

PEACE, POWER AND PLENTY by S. S. Murden,

JAYA AND JAYANTA by N. D. Kavi

VILLAGE LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN BRITISH INDIA by N. P. Hardikar

STATUTORY GRAM-PANCHAYATS by M. K. Munniswami Aiyar

THE LIFE OF GOTAMA THE BUDDHA by E. H. Brewster

DIALOGUES IN AN ASRAM by A. H. Jaisingani

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

MALABAR AND ITS FOLK by T. K. Gopal Panikkar

THE DELIVERANCE OR THE ESCAPE OF SIVAJI THE GREAT FROM AGRA

THE HISTORY OF RAJPUTANA by G. H. Ojha

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS VOL. XI.

FIELDS AND FARMERS IN OUDH, ed. By Radha-Kamal Mukerjee

TWO VAJRAYANA WORKS ed. by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya

LAKSHMIKANTA by A. K. Ray

THE PRESENT UNREST IN INDIA by A. K. Roy.



The Canker of European Civilization

"An interminable conflict between the possessors and producers of wealth is raging in the West to-day. Reconciliation seems to be an impossibility, for the greed of the man who supplies wealth is not a whit less than the greed of him who accumulates:" with these words Rabindranath Tagore, who writes in *The Bengal Co-operative Journal* on the principles of co-operation, points out the canker of modern European civilization. It is in this imperative demand for material goods and in all that it implies and brings in its train that the weak spot of Europe lies. Rabindranath writes:

In a society in which the urge of greed and the adoration of power assume dangerous proportions—whatever may be the reasons—man's mind is turned away from the path that leads to an all-round self-realization. He desires to be strong rather than self-complete. This is a state of things which greatly promotes the preponderance of cities to the utter neglect of villages. All comfort, all convenience, all manner of enjoyment are concentrated in cities. The sole function of villages is to provide cities with sustenance and in return for this slave-like service, they are suffered to lead a mean and subordinate existence. Society is thus sundered into two sharply-contrasted sections of light and darkness. The city-bred civilization of Europe thus also divides individual wholeness.

The Western nations, under the urge of their city-bred civilization, are dividing human society into two antithetical sections of light and darkness, not only at home but all over the globe. The extent of their desires is so vast that it is impossible to meet them within their rightful jurisdictions. Englishmen must have to exploit India to maintain that costly standard of living which is supposed to be indispensable to civilization. To relinquish India means lowering the standard of their pampered civilization. England is in indispensable need of subject nations for the realization of the power she aims at. This explains why the British live like parasites on India to-day. This also explains why the major powers of Europe are eager to parcel out Asia and Africa among themselves. Otherwise their over-fed civilisation will have to starve. The parasitism of the minority on the majority in Europe itself is due to the same reasons. The means to excessive enjoyment cannot be equally distributed amongst all; if the few are to be inordinately rich, the many must be deprived of their dues. This problem in its most aggressive form offers itself for solution in modern

Europe. At the root of the conflict between labour and capital lies the organized longing of both for unrestrained enjoyment. It has created as great a difference between capitalists and workers as between the ruling nations and the ruled. Such extreme inequality is in conflict with the noblest ideals of humanity. Destructive forces generate and gather, openly or in secret, whenever human unity is thus threatened. So a master may openly injure the slave, but the slave, in annihilating his sense of truth and justice, strikes, indirectly, a more fatal blow. For, physical want may kill the brute; it is spiritual bankruptcy that leads to the downfall of man.

Lord Birkenhead at the India Office

"The note of Lord Birkenhead's political life is the note of an easy flippancy. As the graces of youth vanish, his bankruptcy of the deeper wisdom of affairs and of the disinterested attachment to a considered philosophy of government becomes more and more apparent." Lord Birkenhead's term of office at the India Office has certainly not added fresh facts which will compel us to revise this judgment of Mr. A. G. Gardiner. And in support of this statement, we quote the following passage from a very interesting article on Lord Birkenhead in *The Hindustan Review* by a writer who describes himself as his "boon companion:—"

As for his work at the India Office, it was admittedly open to grave censure, in support of which statement I may rely upon the remarks of the pro-government *Statesman* placed at the head of this survey and also quote the observations of the London correspondent of the *Pioneer*:—"During the time of Lord Birkenhead, especially, the India Council became a farce, and it appeared that the policy of that politician was to make its value appear of no account. Meetings lasted only a few minutes and even the most prominent members were rarely taken into confidence of the Secretary of State." "Two good stories," continues that correspondent, "are going the rounds to illustrate Lord Birkenhead's lack of knowledge of his Council and particularly his indifference towards Indian members. It is said that one Indian member, in conversation with the new Secretary of State was asked if he had had many long interviews with Lord Birkenhead." He replied that he had not. "But you must have had some talks with him," said Mr. Benn. "What was the longest interview you ever had?" "Ten seconds," replied

Lord Birkenhead's adviser. The other story tells how Lord Birkenhead (at a meeting of India Council) made a long and eulogistic speech, welcoming a new Indian member. He dilated in graceful and adequate language upon his abilities, experience and personal charm. He concluded by saying : "Before we begin our deliberations to-day, gentlemen, I should like to shake our new colleague by the hand." Thereupon, he walked round the table and shook the hand of an astonished Indian gentleman, who had been a member of the Council for some years." Some people might think these statements as anecdotes "faked" by his Lordship's detractors. But those who were conversant with the affairs at the India Office, during the period of Lord Birkenhead's term of office as Secretary of State, will have no difficulty in accepting them as absolutely true and not at all fictitious. The present writer—whose duty it was to be in constant attendance on Lord Birkenhead at the time Simon Commission was constituted—can confirm the incidents stated above by recalling the unquestioned fact that not one of the then three Indian members of the India Council had been taken into confidence on the subject, or was even consulted by Lord Birkenhead about the constitution of the Commission. Let us now take into consideration the declaration of Mr. Mullick—who has lately come back 'home' after serving for a term as member of India Council—when he appeared as a witness before the Simon Commission in London. He said that he could quote instances from the diary (which he had regularly kept from the day of his appointment) to show how Indian interests had been sacrificed by the India Council. "Virtually the military and the political departments are dictators, and can get done whatever they want. The Secretary of State did not know the Indian members and once Lord Birkenhead called me Dr. Paranjpye." "Oh ! what a fall was there, *my country women* !"—as the *London Punch* once put it. When questioned by some member of the Commission why he did not protest against his views not being heard, Mr. Mullick said that he had done so in the beginning, but Lord Birkenhead dismissed him with the reply that he could not carry out an individual member's behests !

"Completing" our Education

In his convocation address to the Agra University, published in *The Educational Review*, Mahamahopadhyaya Ganganath Jha stresses one aspect of our attitude to advanced education which deserves the attention of every thoughtful Indian. He writes :

I may emphasize one important aspect of our post-graduate education. Ever since Indian Universities were started in 1857, the idea has been wide-spread that our education cannot be complete unless we go out of India for higher study. It does not matter where you go, so long as you leave Indian shores. I am glad to note that this glamour of the west has begun to show signs of waning ; but it still lingers in some very expensive forms. I am not blind to the fact that there are certain departments of knowledge, for which the necessary equipment is lacking in

this country ; but I am not prepared to admit that this is so in all departments of knowledge. It is an irony of fate that persons intended for executive and judicial work in this country have to go out of this country for acquiring experience before being employed ; while natives of other countries are taken in without being required to acquire some previous experience of the language and traditions and customs of this country, where their life-work is to be ; such is the low position that is assigned to the atmosphere of this country. It is high time that the Universities did a little heartsearching in this very important matter, which is sapping us at our very foundations, as it places our graduates on a distinct level of inferiority, which is far from desirable. We seek recognition at the hands of foreign universities. Has any foreign University, however recent in origin, ever sought our recognition of its degrees ?

Dr. Jha is inclined to think that what we really lack in the country is neither equipment nor teachers, nor the necessary atmosphere ; what we really lack is application. That is to say, Indian students work more energetically and more whole-heartedly in a European than in an Indian University. While Dr. Jha does not deny that most of the men who go to England come out as most estimable men, he pleads eloquently for the removal of an undeserved and unnecessary slur on Indian universities :

All that I am pleading for is that an Indian graduate should not be branded as inferior simply because he is an Indian graduate ; let it not be said that if he does not go out of his University and his country, he remains an inferior scholar ; let the young man be judged on his merits and let him not feel by your treatment that he committed a mistake in being born and bred and educated in this country. By branding him with the badge of inferiority you condemn your own University. We hear much of slave-mentality in other spheres of our life ; to my mind no slave-mentality is more deplorable than that which makes us feel that we cannot become scholars in our own country and under our own teachers. This country has been the home and the cradle of scholars since the beginnings of time, and there has been no break in the system, and yet we are told we cannot become scholars by remaining here.

Year after year we are authoritatively told that Indian students are not welcome ; they are subjected to humiliation ; they have to suffer from colour-prejudice. Yet we spend money in order to win this humiliation. When shall we acquire self-respect and common-sense ?

Foreign Culture in Education

Prabuddha Bharata publishes an article from the pen of the late Sister Nivedita on the true place of foreign culture in education and its relation to a study of and familiarity with, national culture in order to have its full value and meaning :

There is one mistake which our people are constantly making. It concerns the true place of foreign culture in a sound education. The question is continually cropping up, with regard to a hundred different subjects. People think that because we advocate Indian manners, or Indian art, or Indian literature, therefore we condemn European; because we preach an Eastern ideal, we despise a Western. Not so. Such a position would ill become those who have taken on their lips, however undeservingly and falteringly, the great names of Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Vivekananda. Interchange of the highest ideals,—never their contrasting, to the disadvantage of either—was the motto of our great Captain, and the wisdom of this ought to be easily set forth.

Every branch of culture—be it manners, art, letters, science, or what not—has two stages, that of development and that of emancipation, of the required faculty. Through a severe cultivation in the manners of our own people, we acquire gentleness, and express this refinement through any civilization to which, later, we may have to adapt ourselves. No woman can become a gentle-woman of any type, if her ancestors have not attained such inner control, such courtesy, such refinement, in whatever environment belonged to them. Only with infinite difficulty can we raise ourselves above the level of our past though we may express that past in an infinite number of new ways.

A thorough training in our own ideals is the only preparation for an enjoyment of all. A truly cultivated Western man will kneel before the character of Bhishma, as the Indian will clasp his hands before Tennyson or Fra Angelico. We learn our own, in order to enjoy all. Through our own struggle, we appreciate their effort. But we must not seek to reverse the process. We must not seek, through Tennyson to produce the love of the Ramayana. Such shilly-shallying can induce only an imitative and bastard culture. Not by such training of poetic faculty can immortal literature ever again be written by us. Not even can there be perfect appreciation either of our own or foreign greatness.

Fascism and Italian Youth

Fascism and Communism are the two most controversial phenomena of post-war Europe. We are too near the experiments in both to be able to give a final verdict on their merits. But while their value as a complete and ideal system of thought is open to serious doubts, there can be no two opinions about the fact that both Communism in Russia and Fascism in Italy has had salutary effects on the internal affairs of these countries. A writer in *The Calcutta Review* draws attention to what Fascism has done for the youth of Italy.

Signor Mussolini, with wise forethought, is anxious to "form" the boyhood of the nation who to-morrow will have the country's destinies in their hands and on whom the continuation of its present prosperity and prestige must necessarily depend.

He considers that the best means of effecting this end is to integrate and co-ordinate in one vast organization the triple influence of Church, school and family and to hand over to this organization the moral and material training of a youthful army which must be thoroughly Italian in education, in feeling and in will-power. An army! This word has aroused suspicion and indignation among the many enemies of Fascism, giving them an excuse to accuse Italy and Mussolini of dark designs against the peace of Europe and the world! But "army" as it is here understood, means something more and something better than an organization for purposes of war; it means an organization of national energies, for defence if necessary, but also and above all, for keeping the country at a high level of progress, sure of itself and strong enough to go on marching forward in the van of civilization, for its own benefit and that of humanity. So Fascism is educating boys, breaking them into physical exercises, inuring them to fatigue, training them to be soldiers, yes, but also to be good citizens, worthy of the heritage transmitted to them by their fathers and elder brothers who at a heavy cost, snatched victory from the jaws of ruin and defeat.

Military Education for Indian Boys

Dr. Moonje writes in *The Mysore Economic Journal* on the three institutions which the Government of India maintains for the military education of Indian boys:

Of late, debates on the need of providing facilities for military education for Indian boys have been rather frequent in the Legislative Assembly. I was thus offered a chance of visiting the Army Institutions providing such education to Indian boys.

I have just returned after visiting the two King George's Royal Military Schools of Jhelum and Jullunder and also what is called the Prince of Wales Royal Indian Military College of Dehra Dun. The two schools are meant solely for the sons of Indian Officers of the Regular Indian Army who hold or have held the Viceroy's Commissions, including those who have subsequently been granted a King's Commission or Honorary King's Commissions and also of non-commissioned officers and men who are serving or have served in the regular Indian Army. There are about 250 students in each school ranging between the ages of 10 and 15 years. The Jhelum School is meant for Moslem students, such as the Punjabi Moslems and the Pathans and Jullunder Schools is meant for Hindu students, such as Sikhs, Dogras and Rajputs. The object of these schools is to enable the boys to find a career in their fathers' regiments or corps but they are not eligible for direct commissions in the Army.

What is called the Royal Indian Military College at Dehra Dun is designed to provide the necessary preliminary training for Indian and Anglo-Indian youths who desire subsequently to enter the Cadet College in England with a view to obtaining King's Commissions in the Indian Army. Though it is called a Royal College, it is, in fact, a school providing a public school education on English lines. Nominations for admission to

the college are made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief from amongst boys selected according to rules made for the purpose by the Local Governments or Administrations or the Political Officers as the case may be.

After considering the means of an average parent and believing in the urgent need of giving preliminary training of the kind which these institutions run by the Indian Army have made a speciality of their own along with the book education that is given in the ordinary civil schools, I have no hesitation in saying that the model that is best suited for us in every way and equally efficient is that of Jhelum and Jullunder rather than that of what is called the Royal Indian Military College of Dehra Dun. I am immensely impressed with what I saw at Jhelum and Jullunder and I am at a loss to find words to express my full appreciation of the kind of training given in these schools for inculcating the habit of punctuality and regularity, tidiness and cleanliness, cheerful submission to discipline and manliness and self-effacing spirit of service together with a healthiness of mind and body, such as will render them intrepid and patriotic leaders of men in a national army and true, useful, high-minded citizens of India and its Empire. In short, the system of training is effective and what is more it is cheap and within the compass of all of us and yet it fits the boys to face with fortitude and endurance the hardships inseparable from life in the Army and the Air Force.

I strongly recommend that the Provincial Ministers of Education and the representatives of the trustees and the managing bodies of non-official educational institutions should make it a point to visit these schools to study their working and management and particularly their system of physical training, drill and discipline in all their details with a view to establish such schools in their respective provinces. If the preliminary training of the kind given in these schools is made cheaper and generally available to the boys of the middle educated classes, we shall never have the humiliating spectacle of not being able to find 32 Indian boys to stand the test of physical fitness and leadership even to the satisfaction of the British Military Officers of the Interview and Record Board, to fill the 32 yearly vacancies that have been thrown open to Indian boys in the Military Colleges of England.

The Problem of Rural Uplift

A writer gives in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon* an account of his experiences in the work of rural uplift. It is an account, with its lights and shades and not entirely without its humorous and pathetic sides. What he writes on the general aspect of the problem is particularly worthy of attention:

The problem in rural uplift is not so much the four D's of the late Mr. C. R. Das—Debt, Dirt, Disease and Drink. The biggest obstacle to rural uplift is the prejudice and the suspicion of the villager. He does not take any worker into his

confidence. The alarming failure of the Government efforts to improve our agriculture is, therefore, no wonder. The ryot does not believe in new doctrines and new methods; and one single failure in an improved machinery is sufficient to frighten away hundreds of people for years. At the bottom of the whole situation lies the force of habit and custom and the traditions of centuries which cannot be obliterated in a day or a year by a demonstration van or a lantern lecture.

Mahatma Gandhi writes of Mr. Brayne's work as follows in his *Young India*:—"After Mr. Brayne's back was turned upon Gurgaon the people who were working under his inspiration or pressure seem to have gone to sleep. The manure pits are lying neglected, the new ploughs are rusting and co-education is dissolving. . . . The reason for the failure is not far to seek. The reform came not from within, but was superimposed from without." Is there a balm in Gilead for this malady?

Another important factor obstructing the path of progress is the "rural environment." Conditions of life around do not inspire confidence or hope in the minds of the villagers.

The task of reconstruction is, therefore, the most stupendous one. The task for this reason is not one to be neglected or abandoned; for, on this depends the future prosperity of our country. All agencies should, therefore, be at work. The first efforts will, of course, be in the nature of missionary enterprises, involving great sacrifices and scanty results. In reply to a question "When will India be like your country", a Danish Missionary told me, "Not until three centuries of elementary education as in our country." Rural uplift is the most gigantic problem in our national life.

At the present time many efforts are being made by many an agency, but there is very little of co-ordination. We believe that in this nation-building service the Government have a very clear duty. What is wanted is a clear and bold policy. If the Government would declare a bold and clear policy as they have done regarding prohibition, it would go a great way to infuse a new spirit in the whole administration. It would raise up a Brayne in each district! A great impetus will also be given to private enterprises.

The Younger Generation of Zamindars

The following remarks of Mahatma Gandhi are quoted in *The Feudatory and Zamindari India*:

Mahatma Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"Nothing during the recent U. P. tour pleased me more than the way in which several young zamindars and taluqdars had simplified their lives and fired by patriotic zeal were easing the burden of the ryots. I had heard fearful accounts of the alleged atrocities of many zamindars and their mode of levying cesses legal and illegal on all conceivable occasions with the result that the ryot was reduced to serfdom, pure and simple. The discovery thereof so many young taluqdars was a very pleasant surprise to me.

But the improvement has to go further and be

thorough. There is yet even among the best of them a wild gulf between themselves and the ryots.

There is yet a great deal of patronising and self-satisfaction over the little that has been done. The fact is that whatever may be done is no more than a belated return to the ryots of their due. The hideous caricature of *Varnashrama* is responsible for the air of superiority that the so-called Kshatriya assumes and the status of inherited inferiority the poor ryot submissively recognizes as his deserved lot in life. If Indian society is to make real progress along peaceful lines, there must be a definite recognition on the part of the moneyed class that the ryot possesses the same soul that they do and their wealth gives them no superiority over the poor. They must regard themselves, even as the Japanese nobles did, as trustees holding their wealth for the good of their wards, the ryots. Then they would take no more than a reasonable amount as commission between the wholly unnecessary pomp and extravagance of the moneyed class and the squalid surroundings and the grinding pauperism of the ryots in whose midst the former are living.

Importance of Nutrition to India

Indians are notoriously an underfed and under-nourished people. It is from this point of view that an article in *Rural India* by Dr. R. McCarrison deserves particular notice. This article is a reprint of Dr. McCarrison's address to the Rotary Club, Madras. He says :

I have chosen to speak on nutrition, believing that for no country in the world has this science a greater importance than for India and for no part of India a greater importance than for the Madras Presidency. No country has more need to profit by the newer knowledge of Nutrition, and none more opportunity to add to it. Millions of the Indian people are living on restricted diets which are either incapable of maintaining them in a state of normal nutrition and health, or capable only of sustaining them at a low level of physical efficiency. Malnutritional diseases are rife, while the great scourges of the tropics—malaria, cholera, dysentery, leprosy—exact an immense toll from India's malnourished multitudes. In this Presidency alone, "deficiency diseases" of almost every kind abound, and the level of physical efficiency of the masses is, in general, low. But while this is so in certain parts of the Peninsula there are others where the inhabitants are unsurpassed by any race of mankind in physique and capacity for endurance and hard work. Nowhere is the compositions of human dietaries more influenced by racial, religious, economic and climatic considerations, and nowhere have foods and food-habits remained more consistently the same from one generation to another. So it is that the diverse races, comprising the population of India, afford an unrivalled, and almost wholly unexplored, source of information regarding the effects to diet on the physical efficiency of human beings. India has thus not only much to do in applying the newer knowledge

of nutrition and in surveying, in the light of this knowledge, the foods available for the use of her immense populations, but much to learn regarding their nutritional needs, and much—by such learning—to teach the rest of the world.

The Problem before Modern Indian Women

Though India is gradually reshaping her institution after European models, her problems are not and her activities should not be, wholly identical with the ready-made patterns which Europe holds before our eyes. This is particularly true of the women's movement. These special problems are referred to in an article on "the modern Indian woman and her responsibilities" in *The Indian Ladies' Magazine*.

But what concerns me and what would I ask some of my pioneering friends to think about is how the present educated women in India is going to bridge over the gulf that exists between the educated few of her sex, and the hundreds and hundreds of her less fortunate sisters. The thought itself is appalling, and one cannot imagine without a certain amount of concern, the amount of labour, energy and time involved in raising the average standard. I suppose men can do a great deal to help in this fine task, as a critic of mine remarked recently. This is very true. Nothing is so hurtful or repulsive as indifference to a cause. Are the men in India going to help the cause of the Indian woman, or are they going just to smile over her endeavours? Human nature being what it is, men having conservative tendencies are universally the same; and the Indian is no exception; unless he is goaded into action, precious little is done by him.

I am aware I am uttering a statement which might sound very unpleasant. Yet the history of Woman's movement in India has advanced. The Sarda Bill, the four and half Colleges fund, the Hartog committee's recommendations, girls' education in India, the orientations sought to be brought about in the All-India Woman's Conference of Educational and allied reforms, and above all, the growing spirit of alertness of the women themselves—all these have happened in less than four years. Is that not what is call remarkable progress?

And that is why I feel women in India have reached a definite stage, when they ought to be able to take stock of their progress and activities, and see how best they can help their cause to spread and to grow. The problem before the woman of India, is not, as I said before, one of providing university education, but to give education to all—the plain simple education which endeavours to rise the standards of life; the education which gives an understanding of real values, and which helps woman to live and to get the best out of life.

Agriculture vs. Industry

In the *Journal of the College of Engineering and Technology* Dr. H. L. Roy pleads eloquently for the industrial development of India. The economic salvation of India, he argues, no lies longer in the slogan "back to villages", but in the more up-to-date motto, "forward to industries." Agriculture, in his opinion, is already unequal to support the population which depends upon it, and will become more so in the future. He writes:

So from whatever view-point we may look, we find, taking the country as a whole, that more people are already employed in agriculture than should be the case.

It is a false cry to tell people to lower the standard of living—the proper cry for 99 p. c. of the Indian people should be "Raise the standard of living"—"Live and live well."

How to do it? There is already too many people employed in agriculture. To live well the excess number and all future increase in the population of India should seek some other means of livelihood—and, for the purpose, what is more elastic and expansible than industries?

It is unimportant and beside the point to choose between large scale and cottage industries. There are some industries which must be run on large scale operations, *e. g.*, metallurgical industries, jute mills and so forth. There are others which can be run on both large and small scales. Still more, there are some small scale industries which are feeders of or supplements to large scale industries. So all these systems will remain.

India, to exist, must take up industries. There is no denying the fact that India is pre-eminently an agricultural country but that does not mean that Indians should in greater number go in for agriculture. What should be done is to employ science and machinery in agriculture but not more *men*. There is another danger there even. The United States of America is $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as big as India with about $\frac{1}{3}$ the population of the latter. There has arisen a crisis there in agriculture in the form of "surplus farmers."

There is no reason why the same situation should not arise in this country. India, too, will have to find employment for the surplus agricultural people unless the progress in agriculture stops and this is not likely.

What has happened to the conservative and incapable little manufacturers in Europe in consequence of the Industrial Revolution will

happen to the small cultivators in India. Scientific and mechanized large scale agriculture is bound to come to India and we should shape our policies and actions accordingly. It is uneconomic, and short-sighted policy to ask more people to go in for agriculture. The "unemployed bhadrolak" young-men should go in either for Industries or to large-scale scientific agriculture. Merely to swell the agricultural population will lead to nothing but ruin.

India and Germany

The Indian Commerce and Industry has an editorial note on the urgent need for India of a closer relationship with foreign countries, and particularly Germany.

Germany is one of the most advanced countries, commercially as well as educationally. The cultural relationship is not less useful for its own sake. On the other hand, commercial relationship is sure to establish a cultural relationship in no distant time. In fact cultural and commercial relations should grow side by side.

In this connection two names spontaneously come to our lips—Dr. Taraknath Das and Mr. Bose. Both have been pleading for a better understanding between India and the West and bringing before the public schemes for discussion. One of the ideas of Mr. Bose was that Germany-returned Indians should take the initiative in establishing German literary societies in different parts of India.

Dr. Das is in favour of establishing a Central Organization at Calcutta to be called the Indo-German Association, whose membership will be open to Indians and Germans interested in promoting the cultural and commercial relations between the two countries, that is to say to the Indian scholars of various Indian Universities and Indian business men now trading with Germany. An exchange of professors and scholars between the two countries is also contemplated.

Free immigration to the U. S. A. or even to the British Empire has now become almost an impossibility. South America is still open and Indians may easily take advantage of the present situation by sending their sons to South American countries. This requires on their part the learning of Spanish and Portuguese, French, German, Russian, Chinese and Japanese languages are not less important from the business point of view. Dr. Das suggests, therefore, that Indian universities should have schools of foreign languages as German and other European Universities have.



President Hoover and the Orient

President Hoover's message on the anniversary of the Armistice Day was greeted everywhere as a very notable pronouncement on world peace; the very pains taken by the reactionary and 'realistic' press of France to pull its arguments to pieces demonstrated its importance. Nevertheless, as Mr. C. F. Andrews points out in an article in *The New Republic*, there is a serious omission in it, and this omission might well have the unfortunate result of nullifying all the efforts that are being made to-day by English and American statesmen to establish world peace on a sound and secure basis. Mr. Andrews writes:

It has filled me with wonder to discover why a statesman so wise and wide-awake as President Hoover has confined himself to the problem of Europe and made no direct reference at all on such a world occasion to the problem of Asia. For, as far as I could gather, that second half of humanity (which forms in its own dense area a majority of the world's population) did not come within his ken. Europe loomed so large as to block out the light of Asia.

Mr. Andrews finds this omission all the more surprising, because both Mr. Hoover and the American Secretary of State, Mr. Stimson are men with Eastern experience. That at any rate, should have given them a truer perspective of world affairs. Mr. Andrews continues:

Yet the fact is palpably evident to those who have lived their lives in India and China, that since Armistice Day, eleven years ago, there has been raised among the masses of the village people in both these eastern countries a ferment so feverishly upheaving, that it can only be described adequately in the scriptural words as a "shaking of those things that can be shaken, so that those things that cannot be shaken may remain." This quite recent interior revolution has brought with it non-co-operation in India and civil war in China. It has affected a much more populous area of the earth's surface than the birth of national consciousness in Japan which preceded it by two generations.

What has happened, briefly, is this. The moral prestige of the West has suddenly melted into thin air like a morning mist before the sunrise, leaving

these millions of our own common humanity in the East—men and women of the same flesh and blood as ourselves—looking out towards America and Europe with eyes now at last undazzled by any false glamour of Western superiority. They have got over—to change the metaphor—their stage fright. If this transvaluation of values were only intellectual, it might be met by rational processes of mutual accommodation and economic adjustment; but it is essentially moral and spiritual and therefore supra-rational. It has come also with the reflex force of a violent rebound and it has sped with amazing swiftness all over the East and over Africa as well, gaining still further intensive force from the vast drive of the Soviet influences from the North. Such a combination of forces—the aftermath of the World War, the Russian Revolution, the Chinese and Indian upheavals, the African native unrest, the sudden eclipse of European moral prestige—has, perhaps, never happened before in human history since the French Revolution.

History is indeed being written in very large handwriting in the East to-day.

Far more seriously than any mounting up of new naval armaments, the explosive forces generated by the blank refusal even to discuss at Versailles, or Geneva, or Washington, the principle of racial equality, have now grown so vast, and at the same time so inwardly intense, that control and direction are no longer practical or possible unless something speedily is done to mitigate the internal evil. The racially insulting Asiatic Prohibition Law of 1924 still remains on the statute books of the United States; the colour bar legislation still holds its grip upon the industrious African natives in South Africa; the Kenya policy still implies racial discrimination in favour of the European race: insults literally infinite in number carry out into sordid effect these racial policies of governments in daily social practice. Nevertheless, at such a time in world history, we wearily seem to be satisfied with the sedative, "All quiet on the Western front," and so satisfy ourselves with the hope that if the Young Plan goes through successfully and naval parity is reached in January at London, we shall then have almost within our sight "World Peace."

All this is very truly said. Infinitely greater dangers to the future peace of the world lie dormant in the legitimate but baffled aspirations of non-European races to secure a measure of justice for themselves than in the mutual rivalries of Western peoples. These, compared to the problems of the relations of European and non-

European peoples of the world, are, so to say, domestic problems. The peace of the world must be won on the Eastern Front.

A New Idea for Abolishing War

The revelations made during the Shearer trial and a recent biography of Sir Basil Zaharoff have focussed public attention on the sinister influence which great industrial interests engaged in armament manufacture exercise in foreign politics. This has apparently borne fruit in an idea which is its converse: the idea that war might be prevented by an understanding among a score of the most important industrial magnates of the world not to supply the essential products which make war possible. The scheme was adumbrated by an American and is noticed at length, along with the comments on it in the American Press, in *The Literary Digest*:

The novel idea of abolishing war simply by a "gentlemen's agreement" among two or three dozen industrial leaders of the world who "control the ten or twelve basic raw materials necessary for modern warfare," a proposal advanced by Edward N. Hurley, war-time chairman of the United States Shipping Board, appeals to the American press strongly enough to inspire lengthy editorials, but it must be said that most editors are emphatic in asserting that it could never be put into effect. Declaring that industrial leaders can permanently abolish war, because no nation in the world is self-sustaining for warfare, Mr. Hurley submitted his proposal in a letter to Georges Theunis, of Belgium, president of the International Chamber of Commerce, with the request, as the Associated Press tells us, that it be placed upon the next agenda of the Chamber for consideration. Furthermore, "the letter urged that the industrial chiefs of the world take concerted action to control the world's supply of iron ore, coal, rubber, manganese, nickel, aluminium, petroleum, newsprint, tungsten, chromium, and mercury in such a manner that these materials will not be available in sufficient quantity to enable any nation to wage war effectively." Mr. Hurley continued:

"If the leaders of the great industries which own, control, transport, refine and fabricate the 'key commodities,' would not sell them to any actual or prospective belligerent, politicians would hesitate before precipitating wars.

"Ample precedent for such an industrial restriction already exists in the great cartels which already fix the world price on one or more of these essential materials without which war cannot be waged.

"There are two or three dozen men in the world to-day who could meet and form a gentlemen's agreement to control the essential raw materials of the world in the interest of business stability and peace, and there is no force in the world to-day which could effectively forbid their exercising

that control. There might be shrieks and protests from reactionary groups of all nations; but there is no political or juridical machinery anywhere which could be effectively invoked to prevent such a humanitarian undertaking.

"The thing could be done without political influence, in republic or monarchy. No approval from any government is needed. Official disapproval would be a gesture that would be rebuked and would go unheeded, while popular sentiment everywhere was crystallizing in supporting such a supreme act of common sense.

Machinery—a Blessing or a Curse

Crude worship of machinery is a weakness which we commonly associate with Americans. But there is another weakness, on our side, which is certainly not less common and perhaps not less unworthy of patient toleration, and that is crude denunciation of machinery. We might as well regret the use of metals and denounce the introduction of agriculture. Principal A. Baratt Brown of Ruskin College, Oxford, discusses the question in a sane manner in *The Hibbert Journal*:

An inquiry into the balance of advantages and disadvantages following from the multiplication of machinery, he says, reveals the superficiality of the sweeping generalizations which are offered on the one side or the other. Nor is it possible to tabulate a neat list of gains which can be set out under separate heads like the credit side of a balance sheet with a neat list of losses over against them on the debit side. The business of ethical accountancy is not so easily susceptible of neat arrangement. An item which at first appears to be an unmixed evil or an unmixed good turns out on close examination to be less easy to place or to appraise. We find ourselves constantly needing to distinguish and sub-divide and disentangle, and even then the threads of good and evil are inextricably interwoven. Moreover, to return to the figure of the balance sheet, it is not enough to look at the profit or loss account for the preceding year alone—what is needed is a comparative statement by which each of the items as well as the totals can be judged in relation to a period of years. From this standpoint it would be necessary to ask, first, how the machine civilization compares in various points of importance to mankind with earlier conditions of human life and labour, and second, in what respects we have advanced or receded during the actual period of machine industry.

The main evils associated with modern mechanization and mass production appear to follow not from machinery itself, but from the use that is made of it. The very possibility of turning out a vastly increased amount of commodities by mass production methods is tending to fasten attention upon quantity rather than quality. The valid charge against modern industrialism is not that it is increasing the number of mechanical contrivances—for these, whether we

think of labour-saving devices or mechanical means of locomotion, must be reckoned on the whole as a human advantage—but rather that it is increasing the number of useless gadgets and gewgaws on which we waste alike our money, our attention, and our time.

But this, it must be noted, is a question of the education of the demands of the consumer and his attitude to life and life's values, which determines to what use we shall put the machinery at our disposal.

The same consideration applies to the aesthetic aspect of the question.

The machine civilization has produced ugliness and smoke and squalor and multiplied the cheap and nasty. Here again it is profit-making on the part of the producer, and lack of taste or false taste on the part of the consumer that is the actual cause of the evil. And the decline in standards cannot be wholly or even mainly charged to the influence of machine-production.

The growth of a new social and artistic conscience that is increasingly concerned about the conditions under which men labour as well as about the products of their labour is indeed both the hope of a way out of our troubles, and also an evidence that we have not become wholly enslaved to what Dr. Jacks calls the "cult of mechanism."

"It is the *Worship* of machinery, and not the use of it, that does the harm," says Mr. Bertrand Russell, and we may well add that there are other false gods than Vulcan whose worship is in question, and not the least the worship of Mammon and of Mars.

Mr. MacDonald and Russia

France frankly does not like the half-idealistic, half-illogical turn that the two great Anglo-Saxon States have given to the talk of disarmament. Their dislike for the whole project naturally communicates itself to its authors, and both Mr. MacDonald and President Hoover came in for severe criticism at the hands of French journalists. While one of the ablest of French writers on foreign politics trounces Mr. Hoover in the *Echo de Paris*, a warning against Mr. MacDonald and his Russophilism is sounded by M. Edmond Rossier in the *Revue de Genève*. After quoting with approval the opinion of an "Old-School" Englishman "that the arrival of the Labour party in power will be a misfortune for the country," and that "these Labourites are not attuned to the soul of the English nation," he goes on to confirm this critic's fears that the greatest danger to England lurks in the attitude of the Labour leaders towards Russia:

On this point, at least, my friend's anxieties seem not to be exaggerated. I have before me a little book that one would search for vainly in England, for it was printed several years ago and

all copies of the edition that could be seized were destroyed. It is dated 1920. The title is *Parliament and Revolution*. The author is J. Ramsay MacDonald.

What chiefly characterizes this book is the almost unbounded admiration that the writer professes for the Bolsheviks. 'The Russian Revolution,' he says, 'has been one of the greatest events in the history of the world, and the attacks that have been directed against it by the terrified ruling classes and hostile capitalism should rally to its defence all who believe in political independence and freedom of thought.'

Obviously the author believes that the deeds of violence of which the Soviets have been accused were almost all of them calumnious inventions while those that were really committed were the indispensable conditions of a change in regime. The criminal attack of the Allies created the Red Terror and prolonged the dictatorship. Moreover, such methods will be seen to be necessary, since we must, of course, hope that the example of Russia will be followed. Mr. MacDonald admires direct action. He recognizes the right of a minority to create a revolutionary situation, he approves of class war against the members of the bourgeoisie, whom the Red Terror reduced to impotence. All this is merely a means of preparing a better future, because, to Bolsheviks as to all other people, the suppression of newspapers, the prohibition of public meetings, the dissolution of Parliament, are the only path that leads to a free press, free speech, and free democracy.

When the British Prime Minister was writing these words, he was of ripe years and his intelligence was at its height. Has he, in the past few years, so far modified his convictions that he is now able to utter in all sincerity the blessings that the telegraph wires are bearing to us? This will give us some idea of his character. Has he preserved his convictions intact? Is he dissimulating his real feelings and his real plans? That would be investing him with a strange degree of insincerity. In any case, Old England will do well not to put too much confidence in the strange outfit that is now guiding its destinies.

Professor Radhakrishnan in England

Prof. S. Radhakrishnan who is now in England is lecturing on various philosophical subjects. We read the following account of a series of his lectures in the *Inquirer and Christian Life*:

On the foundation of the Hibbert Trust, Professor S. Radhakrishnan, of the University of Calcutta, delivered four lectures on 'An Idealist View of Life' at Manchester University on Thursday and Friday of last week and Monday and Tuesday of this. The Vice-Chancellor (Dr. W. H. Moberly) took the chair at the first lecture.

Throughout the course the audiences were large and highly appreciated the eloquence, humour and learning of the lecturer. Professor Radhakrishnan spoke on the modern challenge to religious beliefs offered by the sciences, the ways of escape provided by dogmatic denial and dogmatic affirmation

the nature of religious experience, and finally the confirmation of intuition in the spheres of intellectual endeavour, aesthetics and ethics.

At the close of his lectures he expressed his pleasure at finding idealistic influences at work in the city, paid a fine tribute to the *Manchester Guardian* and said he was glad to know that Manchester "stands for Free trade not merely in the economic sense but also in politics and religion."

A hearty vote of thanks for his inspiring addresses, and an acknowledgment of the generosity of the Hibbert Trustees in providing them, was moved by Professor Weiss, seconded by Dr. McLachlan and supported by the Vice-Chancellor.

Few lectures given at the University in living memory have awakened such keen interest and evoked such warm enthusiasm.

On Sunday evening, December 15, Professor Radhakrishnan addressed a congregation of seven hundred people at Cross Street Chapel, where a special service for Ramblers was held. He spoke on the lessons to be learnt from nature and pleaded earnestly for the worship of God with heart and soul and mind and strength, for the love of neighbour of every class and race and creed and for the will to peace.

Gandhi in 1903

The following interesting reminiscence of Mahatma Gandhi is contributed by Mr. Arthur Hawks to the *Unity* :

Twenty-six years ago I spent an hour with an unknown lawyer in Johannesburg; and when I mentioned the fact to the Editor of *Unity*, he asked for a few reminiscent paragraphs about one who has since been placed among the six greatest living men—and high, if not first, among the six.

As I was in South Africa in April, May and June, 1903, on what was essentially a mission of unity, perhaps the background of inquiry in which I saw Gandhi may be sketched. The Boer War had ended less than a year before. Friends of W. T. Stead, who admired his stand against that superfluous conflict, thought a South African edition of the *Review of Reviews* might be published, on the lines of the Australian edition of that monthly. Stead sent me to report on the situation.

In South Africa he heard of the still obscure Indian lawyer and went to see him :

In a very plainly furnished office, about twelve feet square, I was received by a little man, apparently about forty years old, with a small black moustache on a face not specially dark in colour; but very bright in understanding. His voice was of that singular softness which seems to distinguish all Indians. From the opening of the conversation I was struck by his exquisite English—as natural in flow as if he had never spoken another tongue—and as mellifluous in diction as it was in inflection.

As to speaking English the difference between so many of our Indian brethren and ourselves, is very much like the difference between most of us in Canada and the French-Canadians in the House of Commons and Senate—they learned

English: we picked it up. Gandhi's speech was also distinguished by an intermittent sibilance, which he may have out-used, though I should expect to hear that he retains it. There would be a slight—a very slight—hesitation; and then before the word came a faint "tss, tss"—the whispest thing you ever heard, though I can hear it yet. It added to the charm of his utterance and, at times, seemed to ward off a temptation to speak keenly of what must have been keenly felt.

Soft voice, mellifluous diction, charm of manner, without a semblance of rancour—these characteristics of a memorable talk remain vividly in my mind and will ever remain. Somewhere a grammar of the divine science of suffering must be available, which we vaunting whites may be allowed to comprehend when we are ready yearly to celebrate the day of atonement we owe to our brethren in several continents over whom we have presumed to lord it as if we alone were of God's lineage. As I had found Boers who discussed the destruction of two republics without vehement resentment so I heard this barrister, the victim of humiliations which would make the Christian rage, tell his story with a calmness, an absence of bitterness, the memory of which makes me understand, I think, how it came about that in my city of Toronto, recently, two Christian missionaries from India, Stanley Jones, the American, and C. F. Andrews, the Englishman, devoted half of their addresses to praise of the man I saw under the British flag, newly raised in the golden city of the Southern Cross.

Natives in South Africa

India must not be given Dominion status until her dumb millions are assured of immunity from the oppression of arrogant Brahmins. What happens in a country to which Great Britain has been compelled to give Dominion status will appear from the following editorial note in *The New Republic* :

While General Smuts has been making speeches in England on the African question, the natives in South Africa have been making themselves heard. The centre of the agitation, which dates back to last June, is the city of Durban. At that time the native labour union, called the "I. C. U.," started a boycott of the Durban native-beer-halls. The movement led to raids upon these beer-halls and to severe reprisals from European civilians. Following these beer-hall riots, the government introduced a bill authorizing the Minister of Justice to deal with seditious propaganda. Apparently, before this bill was enacted, another even more serious incident occurred at Durban in October, when 12,000 natives flatly refused to pay their poll-taxes.

Urged on by the ultra-radical Afrikaners, the Minister of Justice finally decided to raid the native compounds, and in the latter part of November, this raid was carried out with the aid of gas-masks and tear-gas bombs, 600 arrests being made. The effect of the raid has been to drive the moderate native leaders into the extremist camp. Apparently the white men back of the raid wished to increase European fears, so as to

hurry the Union Parliament into enacting legislation depriving the Cape natives of their franchise. These Europeans insist that the present native unrest is due to Communist agitation from Moscow. Undoubtedly Communist agitators take advantage of oppression in any part of the world, but the remedy obviously is not in a policy of force which only increases the influence of the agitators. The real remedy for South Africa's recurrent native troubles is a policy which will give the native population an opportunity for economic and political development. This policy means the repeal of colour-bar legislation, an increase in native-owned land, and granting the natives representation in Parliament.

"Americanizing" Europe

The war has given the last impetus to a movement which Renan anticipated and expressed his fears about more than half a century ago: Europe is gradually and irresistibly being remodelled after the American pattern. American products, says the *World To-morrow*, fill the shops from Edinburgh to Athens; American motor cars make the streets unsafe from Moscow to London; American advertising is as ugly in Constantinople as it is in New York. Lovely Nuremberg is "graced" with the hideous red signboards of an American chain store; Mont St. Michel and Lourdes have lost their charm through the veritable horde of souvenir peddlers who obstruct every wayside; Paris in spots is like the Times Square subway station. But, we are told,

Americanization does not stop even there. Two recent incidents reveal that Europe is bowing to the lowest and meanest in American life. In Paris the cafes and dance halls of the Montparnasse are excluding Negroes. A particularly flagrant instance occurred last summer when a Negro prince from Haiti was asked to retire from the floor of one of the largest dance halls because Americans objected to his presence. Old time Parisians are furious and under their breath curse the "drunk American prohibitionists." But business is business. London, too, has surrendered. Paul Robeson, the well-known American Negro actor and singer, was recently barred from the grill of a prominent London hotel where he was to be the guest of English white friends. And a Chicago Negro newspaper publisher was refused admission to thirty London hotels last summer because of his colour.

Is comment necessary? Why does Europe yield to the meanest American prejudice? Thousands of Americans grow indignant when they hear that Negroes have been told in Brooklyn not to contaminate a white church with their presence, or when a star Negro foot-ball player is left out of a game when the team is to play a Southern university "because he has a cold." Europe to them has always been fairer and more just in

these matters. Suppose we teach Europe another bit of American life which would be very helpful in this situation. When Americans are confronted with critics who do not approve of all they see and hear, their classic reply is: "If you don't like this country why don't you go back where you came from?" Let Europe learn this little *mot* and stop selling its very soul for American dollars.

Self-Government for Korea

The victims of European Imperialism are many, and their voices protesting against the yoke are often heard. But the outer world hears very little of the Japanese domination of Korea. It appears that after keeping that unfortunate country under her iron heels for the space of a quarter of a century, Japan is experiencing the same difficulties in governing the Korean nation as Britain the Indian, and she is adopting the same policy of meting out doles of self-government by small instalments in order to allay the political unrest. We read in *The Japan Weekly Chronicle*:

Admiral Viscount Saito, the Governor-General of Korea, is credited with the intention of introducing self-government into the peninsula. On the occasion of the recent visit of Mr. Matsuda, Minister of Overseas Affairs, to Korea, the Governor-General conferred with him about the matter, and he is now carefully studying a revision of the official organizations governing the Government-General of Korea. In many details, the Government-General is still at variance with the Department of Overseas Affairs, and it is expected that during his present visit to Tokyo the Governor-General will hold further conferences with the Minister of Overseas Affairs in an attempt to bring their views into accord.

According to the *Mainichi*, the general plan of the Government-General is to convert the present Provincial Council (which is similar to a Prefectural Assembly in Japan, though its members are officially selected with three years term of office) from its present status of an advisory body for the Provincial Governor into an assembly vested with the power to enforce its decisions, its members being elected by popular vote. It is further proposed that the present District Council, which is similar to a Municipal Town or a village Assembly in Japan, should be turned into an assembly with the power to enforce its decisions. As it is, the District Council is an advisory body for the mayor or headman of the town or village. The tax qualification attaching to the franchise is, it is further proposed, should be lowered from the present yen 5 to yen 3.

Regarding the reform of the Provincial Council in the way as suggested, however, there seems to be a divergence of views even in the Government-General. At any rate the Governor-General is not expecting the introduction of his reform plan within a few years. He is cognisant of the necessity of taking the dissemination of education among the

Koreans and other circumstances into careful consideration before committing the Government-General to any extensive reform plan. As, moreover, the approval of the Privy Council is required for such a reform, the matter is being handled very carefully.

Even this moderate concession is unacceptable to the Home Government, and we read in a later message that Admiral Saito's proposals have been definitely shelved by the Japanese Government.

Mr. J. L. Garvin on his Editorial Principles

The speeches of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Lloyd George at a luncheon given in honour of the distinguished editor of *The Observer*, and Mr. Garvin's reply to them, quoted in *The Christian Register* give us instructive glimpses into the principles of editing, which must guide a journalist if he would pursue his vocation with honour and with success :

The Prime Minister said of him at a luncheon : "Mr. Garvin is one of the most distinguished of that long line of editors who were men of independence of mind, and who stamped their individuality upon their papers, whose vigour was in no way diminished because they eschewed sensationalism, who fought hard for principles stoutly held, but never willingly damaged a national interest for the sake of partisan advantage." That we say, is a perfect tribute. The praise did not lessen when Lloyd George followed, saying that Mr. Garvin, like "the just schoolmaster, sometimes canes and sometimes commends," but always "without fear of favour malice or ill will", because "he is really independent—indeed of any base personal motive, of any strong partisan bias, and, above all, of any personal rancor." How like a real editor was Mr. Garvin in his reply :

"Such a gathering as this moves me to think what a thing is friendship irrespective of honest difference of opinion, and how much the best ! When a man does his duty, he must face what is inexpressibly painful—the loss of friends. If he has not that courage, he must lose himself." He recounted how when he went to *The Observer*, Lord Northcliffe, then the owner, asked him what was wrong with the paper. "It has no character," was the instant reply. "How would you give it character?" asked Northcliffe. "I would revive the long articles on serious topics, make the views absolutely independent, the news absolutely impartial, and give the public what it does not want." This is what Mr. Garvin has done in a day of tabloid journalism, because he knew then, as he knows now, that "there is a large and increasing number of people who are better worth appealing to than any other."

Civic Education in Russian Schools

One of recentest and best contributions to the educational history of post-revolutionary

Russia is Professor Samuel N. Harper's *Civic Training in Soviet Russia*. In course of a review of this book in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Prof. Lester M. Wilson gives an account of what Russian schools are doing for the civic education of the youth of that country :

Public schools, and there are no others in Russia, play a significant but not a major part in civic education. After a phenomenal increase in number up to the year 1921, the number of schools in Russia fell below the pre-war level, and not until 1926 were as many children again enrolled in the elementary schools as had been enrolled before the War. Moreover, only three per cent of all the teachers in the schools are party members. The schools are not altogether trusted to give sound civic instruction, even with their work in this field carefully prescribed from Moscow and with pupils who are members of the "pioneers" and the "*Komsomol*" performing their civic duty by active organization of their fellow-pupils on communist lines. Through reading circles and newspapers, including the many "wall newspapers," through the cinema and the theatre, through trade unions, and through organizations of women, all of which are abundantly supplied with reading materials from the central organizations charged with the responsibility for civic education, training in citizenship is urged upon the Russian from every side. Mr. Harper reports on the part of non-party members signs of weariness of this too-continuous effort to make citizenship overshadow every other relation. The party leaders are not a little concerned with the fact that as a generation comes on which has never known capitalism and bureaucracy as they existed under the old order in Russia, the revolutionary spirit will die and civic interest will diminish in the absence of the revolutionary stimulus. It is for this reason that the international aspect of communism, with the whole capitalistic world pictured as arrayed against Russia, is so much emphasized in connection with civic education.

Thomas Mann

This year's Nobel Prize for literature has been awarded to Thomas Mann, the great German writer. An account of his works and personality appears in *Current History* for January :

Undoubtedly Germany's greatest living writer today, a number of his works have appeared in English translation in the United States, and his American publisher (Knopf) is legitimately jubilant over this official and international confirmation of his own selective judgment.

Many writers have a complex biography. What is known of Mann's life is simple and uneventful. He was born in Lübeck in 1875, of an old patrician family. When he was 19 years old, his family moved to Munich. There he worked in an insurance office, but on the side he studied assiduously literature and the humanities, which had for him an irresistible attraction. After a

visit to Italy; he worked on the staff of *Simplificissimus*. Meanwhile, however, his literary talents were maturing. In 1894 he published *Gefallen*, which brought him sufficient recognition and encouragement to lead him to devote himself entirely to writing. In 1901 appeared his now famous *Buddenbrooks*, a remarkable character and regional novel laid mainly in Lübeck. An interesting fact about this work was that it was one of the first great novels to make a family group, rather than an individual, the hero. Here we have the foreshadowing of the modern drama of elderly conservatism versus youthful revolt which pervades so many of our modern works today.

But *Buddenbrooks*, notable as it was, was not Mann's only claim to receive the greatest literary honour which any writer can possibly receive today. The Nobel Prize is never awarded on the basis of a single work; it is reserved for those in whose writings are reflected the workings of a great mind absorbed in the gigantic and complex problem of humanity. Mann's literary development was to prove that he fitted within this definition, and his literary record has been one of ever-growing increase in prestige and recognition. In 1903 appeared a series of short stories. In 1915 came a novel, *Royal Highness*. Then, after *Death in Venice* and *Tonio Kroger*, a second long novel, *Der Zauberberg* (The Magic Mountain). This work might be defined as a great intellectual drama of the forces playing on the mentality of the modern man. Laid in a tuberculosis sanatorium in the Swiss mountains, it reveals the vital weaknesses of the diseased society of pre-war Europe, which made the appalling cataclysm of 1914 inevitable. Mann also wrote *Children and Fools*. But *Buddenbrooks* undoubtedly remains his best work.

Mann is only 54 years of age, of a quiet and unobtrusive personality, but, as Bruno Frank assures us, and he should know, with a smoldering undercurrent beneath the surface. Many noted writers have such an undercurrent. I noted it in Selma Lagerlof, the Swedish Nobel Prize winner, when I visited her in Sweden some years ago. Mann today is the recognized leader of German novelists. Strong in characterization, with a *teinte* of irony, he has a deep sense of the tragedy of human life, an almost Dostoyevskian intuition of the abysses of the human soul, combined with deep critical judgment of the vital weaknesses of modern society.

On the Eve

Mr. Upton Close, the well-known American writer, has been to India on a short visit and he contributes a four-column article to *The New York Times* of December 22, 1929, on the Indian situation. He writes:

It is just possible that Dec. 31, 1929, may go down as the independence day of the Indian revolution. So hoped Mahatma Gandhi and the disciples reclining about the pallet on which he squatted and talked to me very recently. From east to west of India I had run across sights—an aged editor seized, newspapers full of jangling controversy, jails over-

full, gangs of roughly guarded men in neck and leg irons, sensational conspiracy trials, the accused starving themselves to death in jail as protest—to send me to the fount of sentiment in India for an authoritative expression on the situation. Twenty days after leaving India I was in St. Paul.

"I, for one," said India's most revered living saint and political mentor of his people, "shall be relieved if Jan. 1, 1930, dawns with our ultimatum unaccepted and India free of all moral commitment to the British Empire. It will mean the more suffering for us. The suffering will do us good—we have deserved it—and I welcome it. In the end, India will be really free, politically and culturally, economically and spiritually."

Proud-faced, alert-eyed Jawaharlal Nehru, idol of "young India," about to receive the presidency of the National Congress, which must accept or reject Britain's overtures, or if overtures do not come, carry out India's ultimatum, nodded at the "free" and tightened his sensitive lips with a bit of grimace. I thought at the word "suffering," "Young India" is not afraid of suffering, as the sights I was seeing demonstrated, but it is not so convinced as its saint of the virtue of long-suffering.

Mr. Upton Close's Interview with Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru

We cannot reproduce here Mr. Upton Close's extremely interesting and vivid article in full. But the following account in it of a conversation with Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru will give a very true idea of the spirit which animates Young India at this crucial epoch:

I conversed long with Nehru the Younger as the sacred stream flowed darkly at the foot of the steep bank at our feet, and the half-moon showed the bridge and minarets of the Taj Mahal upstream. I found that his Oxford dialect and placid, poetic voice hid the soul of adventure that occupies all the young rebels of Asia today.

"Well it's a great game," he said as we rose with the visions of present personal risks and future world upset. "It's a great game—and that's enough to lead us on. I have to go," he read his watch, "to reach the gaol before midnight. One of us was imprisoned there for saying no more than I have said to you tonight. They ordered this young aristocrat to insulting and degrading tasks. He refused and for two weeks now has been in solitary confinement in a dungeon. He can see no one but me—I, a barrister, can see him as his attorney. I—any of us—may be in his place tomorrow. Excuse me—I must not fail him!"

We were ushered out of the villa walls by the be-ribboned guards and took our separate ways in the night.

He had given me a glimpse into the situation brewing for Dec. 31, and into the mind of the young Indian intellectuals. "Are you prepared against that date?" I had asked.

"Not as much as we would like to be." And a few moments later. "But a good deal more than our opponents may suspect."

"What will happen then?"

"Anything, but not nothing."

"If the British promise Dominion status?"

"We will not consider that they have spoken unless they set a definite date, show an acceptable programme, and, in Mahatma Gandhi's words, 'accompany their promises with convincing gestures.' We will be reasonable. If before Dec. 31 Dominion status with the full self-rule required by our constitution is guaranteed us upon a specified, near date, we are willing to grant time for its establishment. But we will demand full share in any commission to prepare the new regime."

"And if the British do not answer, or only vaguely, will it be violence on New Year's Day?"

"Oh, no—not to start, certainly! We must respect our saint, even if our convictions vary. First, it will be non-violent resistance again, in its most intense form—refusal to pay taxes, or use British courts (we will set up our own extra-government courts), Boycott of British goods, possibly mass demonstrations and occupations of public offices."

"And, then?"

"Either the British must abdicate or bring out the machine-guns."

"Supposing it is the machine-guns?"

"His delicate mouth made a sidewise twist. 'After they have shot down our saints, violence, if indignation should bring it, will be on their own heads, don't you think?' he asked, softly. Later, he qualified: 'But they don't want violence any more than we do. We don't want it, because it is the one strategy in which we are weakest. They don't want the issue to go to that extreme, because—they are never sure of the native army. A hundred and fifty thousand men to 70,000 British, you know—good soldiers, and all in their own country. They have arms, and know where others are—and they might resent the shooting down of their saints.'"

"But you are disarmed—the officials search every entrant of India."

"He held up his hand. 'There are ways and ways. There are several million more guns in India than our police like to think, and persons who know how to get them.'"

"May you not expect much from the Labour Government?"

"I am a socialist myself," said this new young leader of India. "That is one place where I differ from the Mahatma and my father. So I am appreciative of Ramsay MacDonald. But his accession to power may be a stumbling block to us. Before that the issue was clear out—the Tories would never recognize us, would always use machine-guns; we knew what to count on—it would be a fight to the finish."

"In the difference between the Mahatma and my father I am with the Mahatma. My personal preference would be for no compromise on the issue of absolute independence from the British Empire. There is this feature: We do not believe that the Labour Government would send a huge military force to Asia under any circumstances."

"Of course, Mr. MacDonald may decide to grant our full demand. But I do not believe even a Labour Premier can bring himself to make an offer which takes the bread out of English mouths—and that is what our ultimatum means—nor do I

believe that if he did so his government would survive the attack of the reactionaries. We must rely solely upon ourselves; we must proceed with plans to meet full opposition. If the MacDonald Government ends the struggle we shall be grateful and he will go down as a great humanitarian as well as the Premier who gave up the British Empire."

Stalin

The latest news from Russia is that Stalin is making a determined attempt to wipe out the *Kulaks*, that is to say, the upperclass peasantry, who still maintain private property in a modified form, and whose opposition to thoroughgoing Communism was one of the causes which led Lenin to promulgate the New Economic Policy. But Stalin, it seems, is determined to succeed where Lenin failed, and this proves the truth of M. Bessyedovsky's remark that Stalin is "the only one of the leading Communists who still believes in a world revolution." M. Bessyedovsky was, till the other day, a highly-placed member of the Russian diplomatic service; and he gives in the *Posslyednia Novosti*, a Russian anti-Bolshevik daily published in Paris, an account of the daily life of Stalin and of the methods by which he keeps himself in power. The following extracts from his account are quoted from the translation given in the *Literary Digest*:

"Stalin lives at Gorky, a suburb of Moscow, in the house where Lenin, when stricken with paralysis, spent the last months of his life. Stalin's house is daily guarded by fifteen members of the OGPU, or Secret Police. Every morning an impeccable Rolls-Royce limousine takes him to Moscow. Of course, in this car there also ride agents of the OGPU. A second car following it is filled with them, and the whole road from Gorky to Moscow is heavily guarded."

"All day long Stalin works. He spends from sixteen to eighteen hours a day in the Kremlin. He hardly has any private life. Three years ago, he decided to get rid of his old wife and to take a young one. But he had no time to go to the registration bureau, and so the divorce was contrived by correspondence."

"What became of his old wife, I do not know. The new wife recently bore him a child. She is a member of the Communist party, as was the former one. Few people saw his old wife, and few see his new one. Stalin keeps her at Gorky in seclusion, as in the Oriental harem. He is a despot not only in politics, but also in friendship and in love. He is pitiless in both these feelings. Here, too, he has the characteristics of an Asiatic satrap who tolerates no obstacles in his path. When his old friend Kamo, with whom he organized armed raids on banks, in the days of Czarism, was recently run over by an automobile in Tiflis,

Stalin, in wrath, sent a telegram to the Tiflis OGPU: 'Shoot the driver at once,' although the driver was not at fault, and although he was also a Communist, he was shot without trial. When Pyatakov, a noted Communist, fell seriously ill from the excess of drinking, Stalin, beside himself with anger, called the physicians and ordered them: 'Cure him in two weeks!' And Pyatakov was cured."

"Stalin has files containing the detailed record of every more or less important member of the party. So long as the member of the party is docile and obedient, his record remains in the desk. But as soon as he begins to display independence of mind, or spirit of criticism, his record is produced. His little mistakes and sins, known, it might seem, to no one, are used as a pretext for meting out punishment to him; and trial, exile, or even execution awaits the unfortunate."

Democracy and Foreign Policy

All the wealth of material relating to the diplomatic background of the war, which is pouring in upon us from all sides, has, if it has done anything, proved the bankruptcy of professional diplomatists. It has shown that without meaning to resort to war they could not avert the catastrophe, and with this growing conviction voice has been given to the demand that there should be a greater measure of democratic control over foreign policy. This demand has been raised in England as elsewhere, and it is given a concrete form in an article contributed to *The Realist* by Mr. Robert T. Nightingale, who proves by statistical analysis that the British Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service have been a preserve for the sons of the aristocratic, rentier, and professional classes. The consequences of this state of affairs is best presented in the writer's own words:

Men who have been nurtured in the British upper class have lived in a world secluded from the common people. Education at a great public school and one of the older universities provides a liberal education that fits men to be good administrators, but it is also a process of initiation into a social caste. Those so reared and trained are imbued with the peculiar prejudices of their walk of life. They are too far removed from the common people to comprehend their point of views. Their perspective is not characteristic of the nation as a whole.

In a democracy the Foreign Service ought firstly to represent to peoples abroad the mental attitude of the nation it stands for, and secondly, to convey to the Government at home the mind of foreigners. It is not qualified to perform either of these functions if it is representative only of a very small section of the life of the nation. With the best intentions, it can accurately interpret neither the broad lines of policy laid down by statesmen nor the inclinations of the people they represent. Unless the diplomatic personnel

is typical of all classes, it will not work with a constant sense that it is the servant of the whole body politic.

In former times the practice of diplomacy was restricted to Courts and the highest social circles, and this was the reason Bagehot gave as justifying the predominance of the aristocracy in British diplomacy. But to-day aristocratic society is in most countries divorced from government. Familiarity with aristocratic habits is no longer a necessary qualification for the diplomatist. Indeed, the problems that have faced the world since 1919 demand treatment by men with qualities entirely different from those associated with the aristocratic frame of mind. The successful diplomatist needs in this age the capacity to mix with men of all classes and standpoints, a capacity which is not to be acquired from an up-bringing in British upper-class society.

Since the Great War there have been in all countries a keener public interest in foreign affairs and a greater popular aspiration towards the maintenance of peace than ever before. In England these feelings have, to a considerable extent, found expression in the form of dissatisfaction with the traditional conduct of international relations and with the old assumptions of diplomatic procedure. One general remedy which has attracted widespread support is the closer association of foreign politics with public opinion. The objects of diplomacy, it is argued, should be attuned to those of the people at large. Projects such as the establishment in the House of Commons of a Permanent Foreign Affairs Committee are now advocated as a means to this end. Another way of bringing diplomacy into closer touch with the democracy would be to make its personnel a microcosm of the nation as a whole. A Foreign Service containing representatives of all social classes should produce a type of official more sympathetic to public opinion.

Amanullah Khan in Exile

A king in exile is always romantic, but perhaps not so tragical as he is popularly believed to be. This, at any rate, is the moral to be drawn from a story of King Amanullah's life in exile, featured in the *New York World* and quoted in the *Literary Digest*. The story is not without its touches of humour, and the idea of the ex-King Amanullah and the ex-Maharajah of Indore trying to outbid each other in the lavishness and the extravagance of their entertainments is as near the farcical as anything about a king in exile can be:

When, last year, he and his queen made their sensational state tour through Europe he seems to have had a premonition that being a king is not necessarily a life job—that his fundamentalist Mohammedan subjects might revolt, as they did, against the western ideas he was trying to introduce to them. So, like an acrobat who stretches a net beneath his trapeze, he took precautions which have netted him \$50,000,000, it is estimated.

As the Ameer is leisurely and incognito retracing his steps through various European capitals, only last year the scene of a triumphant journey, he slowly picks up the threads of business affairs that he began weaving during his previous visit.

On the first visit, Amanullah not only brought Queen Souriya's jewels, valued at \$12,000,000, along, but \$25,000,000 in golden severins in addition. When returning home for the great test of the Occidental theories he wisely left the jewels in a Berlin bank's safety vaults and divided the gold specie over half a dozen European financial institutions.

King Amanullah's precautionary measures were decided by news reaching him at Brussels during the state visit. The mullahs were reported rousing the savage mountain tribes to open rebellion claiming that Queen Souriya had abandoned the faith of her fathers by going about in the presence of infidels without the traditional veil of pious Moslem women.

A photograph of His Majesty Amanullah, wearing a gray cylinder top hat at the Ascot races, widely circulated in Afghanistan, proved the mullahs to be in the right in their contention that the King also had become a backslider from the one true faith.

From the moment King Amanullah no longer felt safe, and Queen Souriya's jewels, valued at \$12,000,000, which had evoked gasps of admiration and astonishment at state banquets in London and Paris and Cairo were quietly left behind in Berlin.

The Afghan Ameer does not differ from his fellow ex-monarchs and potentates who are now roaming Europe. All of them dream of restoration!

In the meantime, awaiting that happy day which may or may not be far off, Amanullah has elected to take up residence in San Remo. He occupies one of the most sumptuous villas on the Italian Riviera, the property of Sir Basil Zaharoff, Europe's multimillionaire man of mystery, who has had more to do with the making and unmaking of the kings than any other man living.

The Afghan couple plan to give a series of entertainments in Paris, London, and Berlin. These affairs will be on a scale which for lavishness and extravagance are to be unparalleled even among European royalty. The blue ribbon of sumptuous entertainment is at present held by the ex-Maharajah of Indore, husband of the former Nancy Miller of Seattle, in their beautiful castle at St. Germain-en-Laye. Amanullah hopes to eclipse all this by a display that will be the talk of the social world of two hemispheres.

American Liberty

The passing of the old United States and ideas of liberty and personal freedom for which it stood is the subject of a regretful article in *The Century*:

While the world has looked on during these last eight months at the reparations conferences in Europe, and the people of this country have observed the moves and manoeuvres of statesmen in Washington on the ancient and abused subject of the tariff, the great fact—known to all who

know a little history and have the disinterestedness to understand what they know—must have become clear that the United States is no longer the country of Franklin or Lincoln, but another and a different country. American members of international conferences are sometimes aware of this great change; but statesmen in Washington, even the generous and liberal Borah, cannot comprehend it. They think they are followers of Jefferson and Lincoln. They are bound by the attitudes of race blocs at home, by the more sinister decrees of great city machines, or by the mistaken traditions of party loyalties. Constitutional and legal as must be their advice and decisions, no help for a tangled social order or a distraught world can be expected from them, save that won by the jolt of events or the insistent pressure of outside information.

Slowly as the decades have progressed, now in quiet times, now in turbulent, the United States of the fathers has passed away. These idealistic leaders of a struggling democracy thought, like the Russians of our day, to set up a new social regime, a country in which lands were as good as free, into which the poor and the dispossessed of every nation were invited, where free trade with all the world was asserted as a fundamental right, where free speech was never to be abridged and where one's religion or want of it was never to be a subject of legislative, judicial or social reproach. There were, to be sure, groups in New England and in the South which denied religious liberty and were shocked at free speech; but their cause was plainly a declining one. Freedom and liberty; personal independence and social equality were ideas of daily assertion and common practice.

For a full half-century the makers of the old United States accepted this faith in personality, freedom of action and the idea that they were building a commonwealth unlike anything that had been seen in the world since the days of the Gracchi. If they wrote articles for the newspapers, they signed themselves in Roman names most significant to read; if they went about preaching the gospel of Jesus, they went without scrip or purse. When the first important political party of the early republic, in a fit of undemocratic anxiety, enacted drastic legislation to control and regulate the words of those who spoke in public, there was an immediate and far-flung uproar which led to the utter ruin of the party; and Thomas Jefferson, candidate for the Presidency, collected a fund for the release of Mathew Lyons, in prison for speaking his mind in New Hampshire, and publicly forwarded it to the proper officers of the law. What candidate of a major party for the Presidency in our time ever publicly intervened to procure the release of a prisoner held on such charges as were raised against the New Hampshire leader? The word liberty has no popular meaning to-day; and the flag of the United States is rarely thought of as covering agitation and revolution. We have gone a long way since 1793 when presidents denounced the denial of free speech and when judges were impeached for ignoring the liberties of plain men and for attempting to review the work of State legislators.

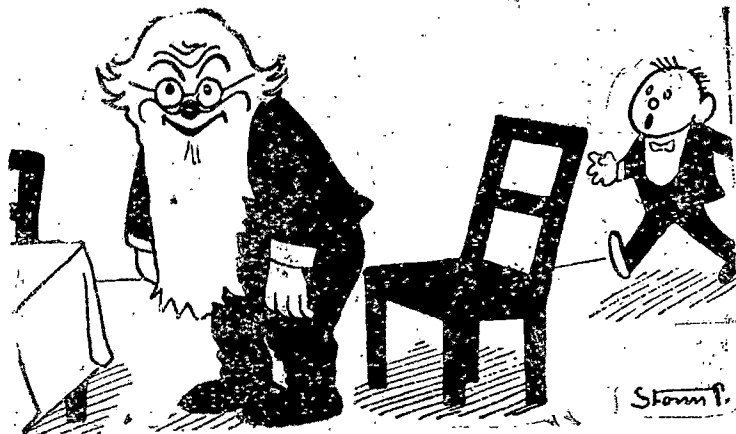
The Humour of the World



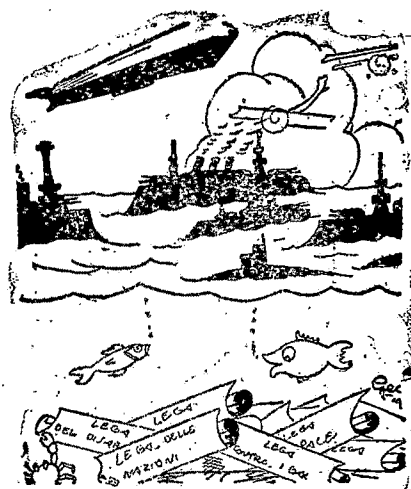
Doctor (to colleague who disagrees): "Oh, well, have it your own way now, sir, but the post-mortem will show you that my diagnosis is right."—*Everybody's Weekly*, London.



"But a motor hearse is very dear."
"But it is quicker and nicer—and you don't lose a mother-in-law every day."—*Moustique*, Charleroi.



Nephew: "Don't sit down! The chair is broken."
Professor: "In my youth boys had more sense of humour."
—*Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.



(LEAGUE OF NATIONS
LEAGUE FOR DISARMAMENT)
Twenty thousand leagues under
the sea.—*Il 420*, Florence



SHIPWRECK OF THE NEW YORK BOURSE.

"But have not you any friends?"
 "Only an uncle in America who is now worse off
 than I am."—*Il 420, Florence.*



WALL STREET CRASH

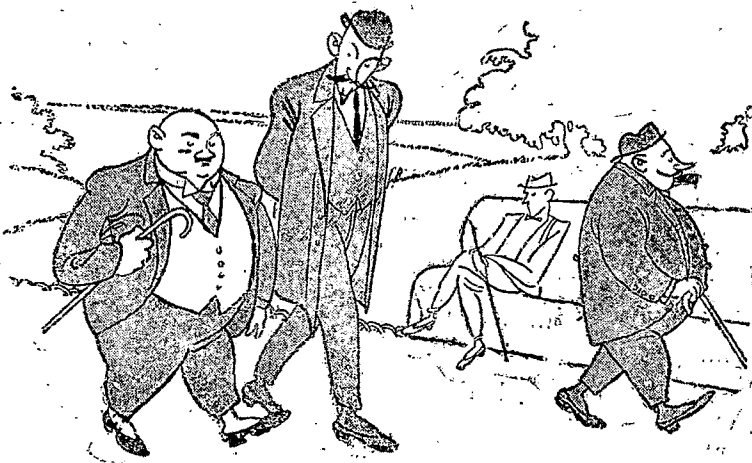
Uncle Sam to porter of Bankrupt Germany: "Save
 me a place, please."—*Kladderadatsch, Berlin.*



Film Director: "Had any ex-
 perience of acting without
 audiences?"

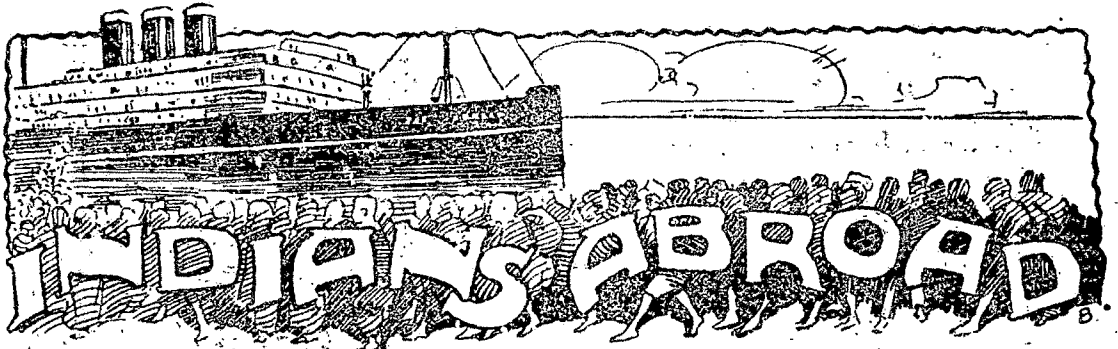
Old Timer: "Acting without
 audiences is what brought me
 here."

—*Passing Show, London.*



"How many people work in your factory?"

"Um—I have 200 employees and about half
 of them work."—*Nagels Lustige Welt, Berlin.*



By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi's Statement About Returned Emigrants from South Africa

At the time of my departure from South Africa I was asked by the Indian public there to enquire into the condition of the repatriated emigrants and to communicate to them the result of my enquiry as early as possible. I arrived in Bombay on 26th October, 1929, and have since that time been busy making these enquiries. During these three months I have travelled more than 4 thousand of miles and have interviewed a large number of these returned emigrants individually and in meetings. Not only had I to travel in Northern India for this purpose but had to go to South India as well. I am grateful to the Government officials—the Commissioner of Police at Bombay, the Protector of Emigrants at Calcutta and the Special officer for South African repatriates at Madras for their valuable help, without which my enquiries would have remained incomplete. I have already drafted out my report but I am withholding it from publications for the following reasons:—

I. The problem of returned emigrants from South Africa is of vast significance and any hasty conclusions may adversely affect the Capetown Agreement.

II. By way of courtesy I must submit my own ideas on this subject to people like Right Honourable V. S. Srinivas Sastri, Sir K. V. Reddy and others and get their suggestions.

III. I have still an open mind on this subject and though the facts and figures that I have been able to gather are sufficient to convince any reasonable person that this repatriation business has proved harmful to the returned emigrants and has brought untold miseries to the colonial-born children, still, I have not made up my mind regarding

the line of action to be taken to remedy this state of affairs.

IV. Though I have intimate knowledge about the condition of returned emigrants in Northern India, my knowledge about the returned emigrants in South India is confined to Madras and its suburbs only.

Thus the present statement is only a tentative one and is subject to revision in the light of new facts and figures that may be brought to bear upon it.

It is most difficult for the returned emigrants to settle in India peacefully. During the last three months of my travel in several parts of India I did not meet a single returned emigrant who is happy with his new environments and who would not like to return to the colony if he could only get a chance; while the number of people who are simply pining away in the hope of getting a free passage to South Africa or any other colony can be counted by hundreds, if not thousands. I have been actually approached by a large number of people to make an arrangement for their emigration to some colony.

It has been a pathetic sight to see some of those healthy labourers of Natal reduced to a mere skeleton by living in the slums of Calcutta and Madras in most unhealthy surroundings. They have cried before me and their cry has made me think furiously about the wisdom of repatriating these people from South Africa and other colonies.

I myself am a colonial born and can therefore easily enter into the spirit of those who are born in the colonies and who are suffering great hardship on account of the indiscretion of their parents who brought them over here without realizing its consequences.

Those who are returning from South

Africa are mostly either illiterate or half-educated and they cannot realize the difficulties that await them in the Motherland. To say that they are coming voluntarily is only a half-truth. No doubt there is no compulsion on them but the temptation of £20 per adult does persuade most of these returned emigrants to leave South Africa along with their children. Things have considerably changed since the time when these people went to South Africa and they can never visualize the sort of life that they will have to lead in India. Mahatma Gandhi rightly observed in the *Young India* of 2nd May 1927:

"There is no doubt that if these repatriates are to be received they must be specially cared for. India, to most of them, is like foreign land."

I have been told that a considerable number of the returned emigrants from South Africa emigrate to Malaya and Ceylon after having exhausted all their resources in India. Now this is a serious development which neither the makers of the assisted emigration scheme nor the returning emigrants themselves, could ever have imagined as likely. Wages in Malaya and Ceylon are much lower than those in South Africa. If on their return these returned emigrants are to be compelled by their circumstances to emigrate to Malaya and Ceylon then they ought to be told of this fact before their departure to India.

The assisted emigration scheme has been in force for more than two years and between six and seven thousand Indians have taken advantage of it. What percentage of these people have been able to settle peacefully in India is a question that cannot be answered off-hand. For that we require a Commission of enquiry to be appointed by the Government of India. It is a fact that Rao Sahab Kunhiraman Nair in spite of his undoubted ability and deep sympathy has been able to look after only a small percentage of the returned emigrants.

I have been receiving a number of letters from my friends in South Africa to let them know the results of my enquiry. I would advise them to be a little more patient. It is a delicate problem and the Government of India should be given sufficient time to consider this question.

I earnestly hope that Sir Mohammad Habibulla will give his serious attention to this question and would appoint a Commission of Enquiry.

If unfortunately the Government does

not accede to this request then it will be my duty to publish my report by the end of April. We must proceed constitutionally and should not begin any propaganda against repatriation before we have exhausted all other sources of bringing pressure on the Government of India and the Union Government to reconsider the assisted emigration scheme in the light of facts and figures that may be established by the Commission of Enquiry.

I may add here in the end that I alone am responsible for this statement, that is the result of an absolutely independent enquiry.

Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi
Prawasi Bhawan

P. O. Khargharh, Via Sasaram, Bihar
7th February, 1930.

The Special Overseas Number of the Vishal-Bharat

The Special Overseas Number of the Vishal-Bharat opens with an article on 'Gautama, Buddha—the creator of Greater India, by Professor Phanindra Nath Bose of Naland College, Bihar. Professor Bose has made an extensive study of this subject during the last ten years and can speak with authority about it. The next article is from the pen of the Editor on 'Creators of Modern Greater India.' The third is a brief account of Mr. Sastri's work in South Africa and is written by Mr. Kodand Rao, M. A., member of the Servants of India Society. Mr. Rao acted as private secretary of the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivas Sastri when the latter occupied the position of the Agent of the Government of India in the Union. Diwan Bahadur P. Keshav Pillai, M. L. C., C. I. E., who led the British Guiana Deputation, tells of his experiences in the West Indies.

Mr. St. Nihal Singh, a writer of world fame, contributes a very important article on 'Indians in Ceylon' that requires the immediate attention of our politicians. Dr. Sudhindra Bose, M. A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Iowa University, gives a brief account of the inspiring work that is being done by the Vedantists in America. Dr. Taraknath Das, M.A., Ph.D., another writer of international fame, impresses upon the readers the necessity of cultural propaganda in foreign countries. Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A. D. Litt. writes a thought-provoking and suggestive article on Greater India of the future. Professor Tarachand Roy, M.A., of the

Berlin University writes about Indians in Germany. Mr. Venkat Pati Raju, C.I.E., who was the President of the Fiji Deputation writes an article on 'Emigration.' Dinabandhu C. F. Andrews and Mr. H. S. L. Polak—the two great workers in the cause of our people abroad, contribute their quota to this number. Mr. U. K. Oza, ex-Editor of the *Tanganika Opinion* writes about his experiences in that territory. Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi, the well-known South African worker, gives a summary of his independent enquiry into the conditions of the returned emigrants from South Africa.

Among other writers of this number the following names deserve to be mentioned :

Pandit Tota Ram Sanadhya, Mr. Chamupati, M.A., Rai Bahadur Ram Deo Chokhany, Mr. Manilal, M. Doctor, M.A., LL.B., Bar-at-Law of Aden, Dr. I. H. Beatie, M.A. (Oxon) of Fiji, Mr. Christopher (President, South African Indian Congress), Mr. P. R. Pather, Mr. A. I. Kazee, Mr. Wodson (Editor—*The Natal Advertiser*), Reverend B. L. E. Sigamony, Mr. C. E. Don (Editor *The Johannesburg Star*), Mr. J. W. Godfrey, Advocate and Miss Fatima Gul of South Africa.

Besides these articles the number contains small sketches and pictures of Raja Mahendra Pratap, Dr. Sudhindra Bose, Dr. Taraknath Das, Prof. Tarachand Roy, Sjt. Nanji Bhai Kalidas Mehta and some others.

The number is well illustrated. Besides containing three coloured plates, it has about 90 ordinary illustrations. The number is full of a good deal of reading material and can well serve as a sort of handbook for our readers on Modern Greater India. It can be had of the Modern Review Office, 120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Only a limited number of extra copies have been published and those interested in the problems of Indians Overseas should lose no time in getting their copy.

This Special Overseas number of the Visbal-Bharat has been dedicated to the sacred memory of Mr. Gokhale. Sjt. Maganlal Gandhi, Kumari Valliamma, Rev. Doke and Harbart Singh, all of whom made great sacrifices in the cause of Greater India.

Indians in British Guiana and Mr. C. F. Andrews

Pandit Sukhdeo Prasad, organizing secretary of the British Guiana East Indian Association, who has come to India by S. S. *Sutlej* that arrived at Calcutta on January 21st, gave the following statement regarding

our notes published in these columns in the *Modern Review* for December, 1929 :

"I have been simply shocked to read the letter of Sjt. Mehta Jaimini about the alleged distrust of Mr. C. F. Andrews by our people in British Guiana. As one who was born and brought up in that colony and who has lived there all these thirty-eight years and as one who travelled along with Mr. Andrews as a secretary, I most emphatically contradict the statement of Mr. Jaimini that our people in British Guiana distrusted Mr. Andrews. This statement is absolutely false and does great injustice to the Indian public in British Guiana who gave Mr. Andrews the heartiest welcome and who put full confidence in him. I am sorry to note that Mr. Jaimini has attributed this idea of distrust to Dr. Singh, the President of the B. Guiana East Indian Association. As one who has known Dr. Singh intimately as a colleague and worker for many years past and who has talked with him about Mr. Andrews on several occasions, I can never believe that Dr. Singh ever doubted the sincerity of Mr. Andrews. I can imagine the great pain that this statement of Mr. Jaimini will cause to Dr. Singh or Mrs. Singh, whom Mr. Andrews regards as his own mother.

As regards the letter of Mr. H. B. Barron, I doubt very much whether the final draft of it was shown to the committee. Both these letters must have created a wrong impression about us—the people of British Guiana and I hasten to contradict them through your esteemed journal."

I gladly publish the statement of Pandit Sukhdeo Prasad and express my regrets for having given publicity to Mr. Jaimini's letter that gave such an incorrect impression about our people in British Guiana.

Indian Emigrants' Conference

The first session of the Indian Emigrants' Conference will be held between 16th and 21st April at Brindawan, District Muttra, along with the Jubilee of the Gurukula Brindawan. Sjt. Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi of South Africa will preside over this conference. It would have been better if Mahatma Gandhi or Right Honourable V. S. Srinivas Sastri could be persuaded to preside over this first session but their hands are full of the most important political work and the conveners of the conference have done well in not encroaching upon their precious time. We, the ordinary workers, must learn the lesson of self-reliance and should be able to do without the aid of our great leaders, who are already being overworked from day to day. Temptation for the glamour of big names to be attached to our conferences has proved harmful to our cause and we are glad that the conveners of the first session of the Indian Emigrants' Conference overcame this temptation.

Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi has been an active worker in the cause of our people abroad for about eighteen years and can well be trusted to guide the deliberations of the conference tactfully. Those interested in the cause of Indians overseas should send their suggestions etc., to his address (Prawasi Bhawan P. O. Khargarh, *via* Sasaram (Bihar) as early as possible. We would specially request our colonial friends to take full advantage of this splendid opportunity to put their case before the Indian public.



Sjt. Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi

An important tour of an eminent Indian scholar

Prof. Dr. Kalidas Nag, Hony. Secretary, Greater India Society, has been invited by several learned societies of Europe and America. To mention amongst others—

1. Carnegie Institute of International Education, New York, which had formally appointed Prof. Nag, their Visiting Professor for 1930-31. Dr. Nag will open his lectures on "Indian Art and Archæology" from Oct. 1930 and stay at the New York branch up to Dec. 1930. After that he may accept lecture engagements in various universities of U. S. A. and return home after visiting some important centres of Latin America and Indian colonies there.

2. The Geneva School of International Studies and some other learned societies of Switzerland had invited Dr. Nag for a course of lectures on "*Greater India*—

studies in *Asiatic Internationalism*" during the summer session (July to September) of the League of Nations.

3. The German Academy of Munich.

4. The Oriental Institute of Czechoslovakia.

5. The University of Prague.

6. The Kern Institute of Layden, Holland had also invited Dr. Nag for lectures.

Dr. Nag will gladly return *via* Pacific route visiting our Indian colonies on the Pacific if the Indian cultural mercantile or colonial groups arrange to invite him and pay his passage charges.

Our colonial friends should not miss this splendid opportunity of taking full advantage of the learning of Dr. Kalidas Nag, who is, no doubt, one of our leading historians and cultured scholars.

Dr. Nag's address in America would be C/o The Carnegie Institute of International Education, New York.

His present address is 120/2 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

Need of an Overseas Department in the Government of India

We entirely agree with the following observations of Sir Phiroz Sethna, President of the Liberal Federation, held at Madras:

"It is the bounden duty of Government to look after the interests of our nationals in other parts of the empire. Have we readily available full information about their present political and economic status in all those lands where they have settled? Have we any efficient machinery for keeping ourselves informed of the political and economic changes that are afoot in the rapidly developing colonial Empire of Great Britain; an agency which constantly studies developments in these regions; determines what changes are likely to affect the interests of our compatriots, and acts with the fulness of knowledge and promptitude of decision which in international affairs holds the key to success. At Delhi and Simla the care of Indians Overseas is entrusted to the Department of Education, Health and Lands. I am not aware of any Government which entrusts the care of over a million of its nationals and the whole field of migrational policy to a department overburdened with other activities such as Sir Mahomed Habibullah's department is. On a short view, my suggestion for reinforcing the official machinery responsible for the care of the interest of Indians overseas may appear extravagant. The public in India have abundant cause to complain of the extravagance of Government and to be chary of suggesting additions to its strength, but in a field of policy so vital to our national self-respect and our interest it is the long view that, I submit, ought to appeal to us and on the long view my suggestions appear to be fully justified."

Sjt. Jawaharlal Nehru on Indians Oversees

Sjt Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress made a brief reference in his presidential speech to our countrymen abroad :

I have not referred so far to the Indians overseas and I do not propose to say much about them. This is not from any want of fellow feeling with our brethren in East Africa or South Africa or Fiji or elsewhere, who are bravely struggling against great odds. But their fate will be decided in the plains of India and the struggle we are launching into is as much for them as for ourselves.

If this statement means that the Congress cannot or need not do anything at all for Indians overseas during the time of the great Struggle in India, we can only say that Sjt. Jawaharlal-ji has underrated the importance of those struggles that are being carried on in the different colonies by our countrymen abroad. Surely they are parts of the big Struggle at home. The least that the Congress authorities ought to do for them is to keep themselves fully aware of those struggles on distant fronts. Is it impossible for the Congress Headquarters to do this, or do they consider it absolutely unnecessary ?

A Letter from Tanganyika

Mr. V. R. Boal, Editor of the *Tanganyika Herald* writes :

The appearance of my name in your article in a recent issue of *Modern Review* has resulted in my receiving nearly three dozens letters from Indian youths desirous to come out in search of employment. I cannot reply to them individually. Will you please inform them through the columns of the *Modern Review* that in Tanganyika there is no room for clerks? The Government departments are full up. In private firms chances are very rare. Planters get their clerical work done by native clerks and the Indian traders' requirements are very small. It gives me much pain to dis-appoint the promising sons of my mother country. But what I am telling you is a fact. You will believe me that even graduates are refused vacancies of fourth grade clerkship, i.e. 150 shillings a month. Taking into account the high cost of living what is 150?—nothing."

Deaths on board the S. S. "Sutlej"

44 Indians died on board the *Sutlej* that brought returning emigrants from Suriman Jamaica and British Guiana. More than a year ago some thirty deaths took place on this very steamer while returning from Br. Guiana. It is necessary to reproduce

the following comments that we made at that time in these columns :

Newspapers have published to-day the following news from Durban :

Durban Sept. 25

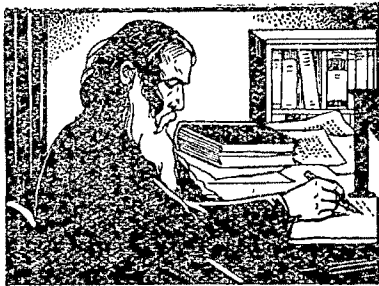
Twenty-four Indians died on board repatriation ship "*Sutlej*" which called here on a voyage from George Town.

The *Sutlej* has seven hundred and seventy-five Indians on board and these were employed at George Town as indentured labour on sugar plantations.—"Reuter."

It is a pathetic news, the full significance of which has not been understood by our papers. There is a barbaric rule—a relic of the old Indenture days—according to which so much space is allowed to the labourers on board the 'coolie' ships and though the indenture system has been abolished this rule still continues to hold good and consequently there is very much overcrowding on these steamers. Last time S. S. the *Sutlej* brought to Calcutta more than 900 persons from Fiji—all packed up like animals. I interviewed Honourable Badri Maharaj and Mr. Gopendra Narayan, who returned by that steamer, about this question and they bitterly complained against overcrowding on board the *Sutlej*. Now comes the news that twenty-four Indians returning from British Guiana have died on board the same steamer. Who is responsible for these deaths? The Government of India or the British India Steam Navigation Company? Imagine the case of those poor people, who were deceived and sent away to British Guiana under indenture and who were returning to their Motherland after a long period but who died in the way on board the steamer! The cable has been sent from Durban and the *Sutlej* has still to make a voyage of 20 days more. We are, therefore, afraid that some more deaths may take place before she reaches her destination. It is the duty of the Government of India to enquire into this case immediately after the arrival of the steamer. The inhuman regulations which allow this overcrowding ought to be removed from the statute book as early as possible.

So this has become a regular scandal with the *Sutlej*! We have already drawn the attention of the Government of India towards this tragedy and we understand that they are considering the question of an enquiry into this miserable state of affairs.

Since writing the above we have learnt that at the instance of the Government of India, the Bengal Government has deputed the Magistrate of the 24-Parganas to hold an enquiry conjointly with the Protector of Emigrants and Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi regarding this tragedy. But Bhawani Dayal-ji has refused to serve on the Committee for it appears to him that the proposed enquiry cannot be a thorough and exhaustive one.



NOTES

Japanese Anti-Opium Measures More Effective Than British

In the course of an article on Formosa in the last December number of *The Atlantic Monthly* Mr. K. K. Kawakami says that when Japan took possession of Formosa, insurgency, brigandage, head-hunting and general lawlessness were not her worst heritage from the Chinese regime. "Dangerous as they were, she was prepared to cope with them. What confounded her was the hydra of opium, holding in its toils the population of the island in appalling numbers." But the genius of Dr. Goto proved equal to the task. He conceived the idea of exterminating the drug evil by weeding out addicts by a licence and ration system, coupled with a government monopoly which would regulate according to actual needs the importation of raw material and the manufacture of refined opium therefrom.

Under this system no one without a licence issued by the proper authorities was permitted either to sell or to obtain opium. An addict could obtain a licence only when the fact of his addiction was established by examination by an authorized physician. The quantity of opium for daily consumption was determined by the degree of addiction, and was designated on the licence, as well as in the pass book with which each licensed addict was provided and which he must produce whenever he wished to obtain his ration from the licensed dealer. The quantity of opium the dealer was permitted to sell an addict at a time should not exceed his (the addict's) ration for three days. The dealer was required to enter in his retail book the names and addresses of the addicts who obtained opium of him together with the quantities and prices of opium sold to each. Should the entries in the dealer's retail book disagree with the entries in the addict's pass book, the police authorities might investigate the discrepancy, thus minimizing the chances of the addict's purchases exceeding his prescribed ration.

Mr. Kawakami explains how this Japanese system is widely different from the system which is in force in all European colonies in Asia—India, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, the Federated and Unfederated Malay States, British North Borneo, Sarawak, Brunei,

Mauritius, Hongkong, Iraq, the Netherlands East Indies, and French Indo-China.

Under the Japanese system both opium dealers and addicts are licensed; under the European system dealers are licensed, but addicts are not. In practical operation the two systems bring about vastly different results.

India furnishes the best illustration of the European system. There the addict neither is licensed nor has his ration regulated by the authorities...The only restriction is that no licensed dealer may, to quote from *The Truth about India Opium* published by the India Office of the British Government, 'sell to any one person at one time more than the quantity of opium which an individual may lawfully possess.' Note the language used in designating an opium buyer. This document significantly uses the term 'any one person' or 'an individual,' instead of 'a licensed addict.' Anyone in India, whether an addict or a non-addict, may obtain opium from any licensed druggist or vendor. True, the quantity he may buy at a time is limited to something between 360 and 540 grains according to locality, but as there is no rationing system enforced by means of licence and purchase book, he may make repeated purchases, at different shops by disposing of the amount of one purchase between times. In India, not even minors are prohibited from smoking opium, while in Formosa no minor is permitted to smoke.

The writer next describes how the system was put into effect in Formosa.

In order to put the licence and ration system into effect, the Formosa Government had to ascertain the number of addicts. This was no easy task, as Formosa under the old regime had never taken a census. But without waiting until the enumeration was completed the government in 1898, licensed 95,449 addicts. In 1900, as a result of a more thoroughgoing survey, the number increased to 165,752. During the following ten years 50,000 more addicts, who had escaped the previous enumerations, were given a licence. Yet in spite of this addition the total of addicts decreased year by year. In 1900 total addicts, as we have seen, numbered 165,752. By 1926 these had decreased to 33,755. As the government issues no licence either to non-addicts or to minors, the majority of the licensed addicts at present are over fifty-five years of age. Only a few less than twenty are between twenty-one and thirty years of age, while about 24,000 are of various ages between fifty-one and seventy. Therefore in fifteen or twenty years hence the opium-using population will become a negligible quantity, thus fulfilling

Goto's prediction that in fifty years Formosa would rid itself of opium addicts.

Opium Revenue of Japanese and European Colonies in Asia

According to Mr. Kawakami, the average yearly receipts of the Japanese opium monopoly in Formosa are about 1 per cent of the total revenue of the island, and this revenue has all along been expended for hospitals and general health measures.

The opium revenue of the British Administration in India is about 3 per cent. of the total, while in the Straits Settlements (British) it varies between 30 and 60 per cent. In the Federated Malay States (British) one-fifth of the total revenue comes from opium, while the Dutch East Indies get 11 per cent. of their revenue from the same source.

Indians in Ceylon

The grievances of Indians in distant countries, some many thousand miles distant from India, have received attention in their mother country; but those of our countrymen who slave in Ceylon, which is separated from India only by a narrow strait, are practically left uncared for. Their sole champion at present is Mr. St. Nihal Singh, who has written on this subject in some Indian periodicals and newspapers. Recently in two articles in *The People* of Lahore he has shown how, with the full knowledge and approval of the British Labour Government, the Governor of Ceylon has sacrificed the interests of the Ceylon Indians. He has done so in order to placate the anti-Indian element in the Island. He has also proved :

That the MacDonald Government has sanctioned proposals that require from Indians the renunciation of citizenship as the price of electoral rights in the Island,

1. That such sacrifice is to be demanded from Indians alone;
2. That Britons in Ceylon will be able to secure the vote without being compelled to renounce their citizenship;
3. That to-day in the matter of the territorial vote Indians are on par with the British and other communities in Ceylon and therefore their position is being prejudiced for the first time;...

In view of the evidence Mr. Singh has adduced, he is entitled to say as he does :

The inference is plain. The Governor of Ceylon has sacrificed the interests of the Ceylon Indians. In view of his African experience I expected him to do no less. What am I, however, to say of the

MacDonald Government following his advice without the alteration of a dot?

And our friends in Britain expect Indians to pin their faith to British Labour's sincerity of intentions towards India!

In this connection the editor of *The People* pays Mr. Singh the following well-deserved compliment :

St. Nihal Singh is carrying on a noble fight for the rights of Indians in Ceylon. He has fought there practically single-handed, and without getting much appreciation from his countrymen at home—who seem to give but little attention to the problem of Ceylon Indians—for the past one year or more.

St. Nihal Singh is perfectly right in judging the intentions of the Labour Government towards Indians by their handling of the Ceylon question.

Reformers are Comrades

In the course of the presidential address delivered from the platform of the All-India "Jat-Pat-Torak" (Anti-Caste) conference Babu Ramananda Chatterjee observed :

Human society in all countries has many problems. These are all connected with one another. The uplift of humanity in any country depends on the solution of all these problems. India, too, has her problems. The fact that during the present week at Lahore alone more than forty conferences are carrying on their deliberations, shows that all kinds of problems in India—religious, social, political etc.—have been engaging the attention of our thinkers and workers. This is a hopeful sign. For it shows that it has been recognized that Reform is one, though its forms and methods are many. It is not at all discouraging that all public workers are not all engaged in all the kinds of reform. For, not to speak of common men, the energy and power of work of even the greatest of men are limited, and the inclinations of different persons are different. It is, therefore, natural for different persons to try to tackle different problems. But whatever problems we may be particularly interested in, we should all remember that all reforms are interdependent, so that there may be cordiality of feeling between different groups of workers and, as far as practicable, active co-operation. Political reform, or, as some would have it, political revolution, which is rapid evolution, depends on social reform and economic improvement and the spread of good education; social reform depends on our possessing political power, which also gives us confidence in our ability to do things; the spread of education depends on a nation being master of its own destiny; economic improvement cannot be effected without the possession of political power; and so on.

These examples being sufficient, he did not proceed to explain in detail how other kinds of reform are also interdependent. He summed up by observing in effect that the circle of reforms is an unbreakable chain. One does not know with what reform to

begin. All reforms have to be carried on simultaneously.

Enthusiasts in each sphere of reform would stand up for the priority of their particular kind of reform and would contend that that should engage the attention of the people first and claim the greatest amount of attention and energy. But it is easy to see that all reforms must go on simultaneously. Only, it is, not possible for the reasons already referred to, for all men to take up the same kind of work. There must necessarily be division of labour.

The speaker then went on to point out that, whether all sincere and earnest reformers in any field of work be conscious of the fact or not, they are inspired by a faith which is or is akin to religious faith.

Whether the reformers in any field of work are all the while or at all conscious of the fact or not, it is a fact that all earnest, self-sacrificing, devoted work of reform, carried on at the risk of much suffering, ending sometimes in death, implies a firm and undying belief in the ultimate triumph of justice, truth and righteousness. This belief is synonymous with or equivalent to faith in the moral government or moral order of the universe. That implies according to my humble judgment the existence of a supreme personality or super-personality whose just, loving and righteous will prevails. I call this faith religion. I know there may be and there have been, among stout reformers, persons who are known as atheists, sceptics or agnostics. But if we analysed the faith that was in them which enabled them to work, it would ultimately resolve itself into a sort of religious faith.

National Colleges

We read in the daily papers of the 12th January last :

Yesterday the convocation ceremony of Mr. M. K. Gandhi's Vidyapith ("University") was celebrated in the College premises, Mr. Gandhi presiding. The annual report showed that the Vidyapith had finished nine years of existence. In future, the report stated, the grants of the Vidyapith would be made in exceptional cases only. During the year under report twenty-one students passed the Vinit (Matriculation) examination, of whom only ten joined college whereas the previous year there were thirty-six students in college. The Kumar Mandir, known as the Gujrati Shalla, had 134 students on its rolls which number had fallen off from the previous number of 200. From the funds of a donation of one lakh of rupees made by Mr. Nagindas Amulakhrai a scheme had been formulated for rural service whereby students who took vows of five years' service after an experience of two years received scholarships.

The report admitted that the students were not yet in a position to earn their livelihood but a scheme had been formed to give them fourteen rupees per month for the first year and then according to the work produced by their labour

they would be given fifty per cent in addition to the market price of their goods. For the second and the third year they would be given another thirty per cent. extra.

The above facts give one serious food for thought. This institution was founded under the best possible auspices and it has received the best possible indigenous guidance, and yet it is withering. The same tale is told in the printed report on "national" education in Bihar, issued by Babu Rajendra Prasad, M. A., five years ago. In no other province of India has non-co-operation in education been led by so capable, so selfless, so hard-working a leader as Rajendra Babu, and yet the number of schools and scholars in the "national" educational institutions of that province had fallen to one-fourth since 1919. In Bengal, the sole remnant now left of the movement,—started as early as 1905—is the Bengal Technical College of Jadavpur, and not a single Art or Science school in the ordinary sense. Why has it been so ?

Nor has the shrinkage in quantity been compensated for by any striking improvement in quality. The report on Mahatma Gandhi's University shows that its students are not even yet in a position to earn their livelihood, or, in other words, they have not reached the level of the regular colleges in this respect. As for pure learning or genuine research, no output of these non-co-operation colleges and "universities" is yet known to have reached the standard of recognition in the republic of letters that transcends the boundaries of our country and tongue. In what respect, then has India been a gainer by the establishment of these national colleges ? In what respect are their pupils better products than the youths who issue from the "regular" colleges ?

As we hold constructive work to be of infinitely greater value and service to the nation than mere destruction, as we have nowhere in history read of pure negation ever producing any fruit, our paper has from the outset opposed the cry of non-co-operation in education. Rabindranath Tagore has faced unpopularity by resisting this tide of popular delusion. And time has shown that we are right.

Professors who do not Profess

It is a regrettable fact that in the appointment of its professors the Calcutta University

has not, in the past, been guided by any clear rule or principle. While the other Universities of India have got well constituted selection committees consisting of experts on the subject with a strong element of absolutely detached members from other provinces, and in England and other European countries the selections for academic chairs are always made on the recommendation of a committee of experts, no such practice has been followed in the Calcutta University. At one time all its posts were filled at the will of one all-powerful individual. Judging by the quality of the research work produced, and in some cases by the sterility of research work even after years of professorial emolument and repose, it is not every such autocratic selection that has proved happy. Sometimes, as their after-history conclusively showed, very competent candidates were rejected in favour of much less qualified ones.

Sometimes, a kind of selection committee was set up in Calcutta, but it very seldom consisted of experts. Thus, when the post of Hardinge Professor of Mathematics had to be filled up on the retirement of Dr. Cullis, a selection committee was set up consisting of a practising lawyer, a doctor, and an official, none of whom could by any stretch of the imagination be called an expert in mathematics. The mathematical work of the gentleman selected by them to succeed Dr. Cullis was very severely criticized in the *Leader* and this criticism, which was quoted in our columns in 1926, remains unanswered.

It was also pointed out that during the first three years of his professorship, this incumbent of Dr. Cullis's chair at Calcutta used to live for ten months in the year at Benares and devote his energies to political work in the U. P. Legislative Council. As the result of these revelations, the absentee professor has now been made resident in Calcutta. And yet he has recently been re-appointed for a fresh term of five years to his "jagir in Bengal."

What is characteristic of the Calcutta University's traditional method of work in all this is that at no stage in the course of this gentleman's previous appointment or re-appointment was any effort made to find out from a properly constituted selection committee whether his past and present achievements in mathematics entitle him to be called to the chair which he is occupying in preference to other possible candidates.

The procedure of other Indian Univer-

sities is different. Recently the chair of Indian History at Madras fell vacant owing to the expiry of the second term of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. It was advertised and a selection committee was formed consisting of an expert historian from Bombay, another from Mysore and a third from Bengal, with the Senior Professor of History, Presidency College, the Head of the Board and the Vice-Chancellor as the other members, *i. e.*, all five experts (three of them entire outsiders) besides the ex-officio Chairman.

At the Allahabad University, again, in a number of Departments (*viz.*, Mathematics, Botany, Zoology, and Politics and Civics), the gentlemen who had been previously Professors of these subjects in the Muir Central College, were in practice acting for seven years as Heads of these Departments under the University, though bearing the designation of "Readers." The University now wishing to have "Professors" as Heads of Departments, did not straight way promote them. It passed a resolution that applications should be invited from *all* the members of the Departments concerned and sent to Committees of experts outside the Allahabad University and even *outside India* for their opinion. So the men who had been officiating as Heads of Departments for seven years with no discredit were along with their official juniors placed before an impartial tribunal and judged solely by their academic qualifications and research work. The decision of these outside experts was given effect to by both the Madras and Allahabad Universities.

This procedure may not be liked by vested interests at Calcutta; but it shows that the Allahabad and Madras Universities are keenly jealous of their reputation and determined to see that their highest chairs are filled only by men whose abilities are beyond question, and they therefore adopt the procedure best calculated to secure this end.

There are professors in Calcutta who, after more than ten years' incumbency of their chairs, have not produced a single paper of real research, and yet they are continued and re-appointed. The achievements of genuine scholars like Sir C. V. Raman or Dr. D. M. Bose are used to mask this fact and justify the hole and corner system of appointment of others not a quarter so worthy.

D. Sc.

Subodh Chandra Majumdar

An exceptionally able man of varied talent and a charming personality has been lost to India by the premature death of Babu Subodh Chandra Majumdar, B. A., Private Secretary to the Jaipur Darbar. He was the sole surviving brother of Babu Srish Chandra (the Deputy Magistrate and Bengali novelist) and Sailesh Chandra (who revived the *Bangadarshan* magazine of classic fame), and married a daughter of Dr. Hem Chandra Sen, the well-known public benefactor of Delhi and brother of Rai Bahadur Sansar Chandra Sen, famous for many years as the Diwan of Jaipur and the trusted confidant of its late ruler. Babu Subodh Chandra served the State with the industry, devotion and ability characteristic of this family. He could put an immense amount of work through in a short time and used to prepare and "note" cases for the administrative heads with remarkable quickness and completeness. He was one of the earliest pupils of Rabindra Nath's school Santi Niketan and used to tell charming stories of its infancy. As a writer in Bengali and supporter of literary movements in Upper India, also, he made his mark.

Our grief is the keener for the fact that he has been cut off in the full maturity of his powers, when many more years of his valued service could have been expected by the Jaipur State and its new ruler, who will assume his powers in 1931.

"Doing" a Country

The late Sister Nivedita used often to tell us that before we can love our country we must know it. That was why she admired the walking tours undertaken every year by the monks of the Ramkrishna-Vivekananda Mission or their lay brethren. But it is one thing to see a country on foot, live with the villagers every night, and meditate on scenes and manners during the daily halts, and quite another to dash through a country in record time like the American tourists. The latter has been the fate of the twenty-seven English Public School boys, under Lord Hyde's guidance, who did India during the last two months. As one of them complained, they "had been passing through a whirlwind of change," without being given adequate time to observe anything carefully or to digest what they had seen. Dashing through

the country by rail or motor and "doing" a new city every day, leaves only a blurred image on the eye and a confused medley of ideas on the mind. Mature reflection requires "wise passiveness." Mere sight-seeing, without the opportunity of reflection, is a waste of time, except for those who crave for a constant succession of evanescent excitements.

It would have been wiser for the conductor of such tours if they had reduced the number of places to be visited to one-third or even less, cut out certain provinces altogether, and given adequate time to the fewer places seen, and included a visit to one or two villages in upper India and the South and a more lengthy study of only one centre of each great religion of our land and only one educational institution in India. Such a programme would have been more fruitful of desirable results in the boys who might afterwards elect to serve the Empire abroad.

We have often felt that great as have been the benefits of the motor-bus (now covering all possible and impossible places in the interior of India), it has put us further away from our real people than the dear old bullock-cart of an age when time was no consideration. *Aste chalo, bhai!*

The Way to Complete Independence

We have often advocated that it is only complete independence which ought to be the political goal of India, though Dominion status might not be unwelcome as a stage in the process, and might possibly prove to be more helpful than the present political conditions in furnishing a vantage ground from which to make an effort to win the ultimate objective. But we have never been able to point the way which will lead to complete independence. We do not also know what the leaders of the Indian National Congress think about the ways and means of attaining it. But that ought not to prevent us from declaring in plain terms what our ideal should be. Our present condition is humiliating enough. We know this; and though, for the moment we may be in the dark about the way out, there is no reason why on that account we should refrain from thinking and speaking about a state which would be more honourable; that at least will protect us from passive acquiescence in our bondage.

The Congress have, as a preliminary step, decided upon the boycott of the Councils, and have authorized the All-India Congress Committee, whenever it deems fit, to launch upon a programme of civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes, whether in selected areas or otherwise, and under such safeguards as it may consider necessary.

The boycott of the Councils will put no direct pressure upon the British Government and the British people. On the contrary, it would afford them a decided advantage in the Councils by removing from them the very men who are most capable and willing to offer opposition to them and by substituting for them men who will be more docile and more yielding to official influence. But the boycotters of the Councils might, by carrying on propaganda for the manufacture and use of Indian goods and by promoting the boycott of foreign cloth and other industrial products and by themselves setting an example in both these respects to their countrymen, bring a good deal of pressure to bear upon the people of Great Britain. And they can bring even greater pressure by preparing and leading the country to civil disobedience.

Both these items of the programme, the boycott of British goods and civil disobedience, must be carried on by non-violent means. There will be no want of people who will try to make them violent. But victory will only be won if, in spite of them, the people of the country remain non-violent and carry out their determination with unperturbed calmness.

The people of India have nothing to lose by manufacturing and by exclusively using cloth and other foreign industrial products which can be made in India; on the contrary, they have much to gain by it. Of course, this will result in some temporary hardship to people engaged in the distribution of foreign goods; but they are, relatively speaking, few in number, and they might keep their profits intact by selling Indian, instead of foreign, products. We ought not thus to regard this temporary hardship to a limited number of people as a national loss or hardship.

It is inevitable that those who will join the campaign of civil disobedience will have to endure much suffering and pecuniary loss. They will have deserved well of their country if they can go through this ordeal with unswerving patience for the sake of the

good of their fellowmen. But if oppression and loss drive them to desperation and violence that springs from a desire for revenge, they will bring more trouble than good upon their country. Civil disobedience ought therefore to be undertaken after a good deal of deliberation and searching of heart.

There are many who say that in times of war if the necessity arises, the whole able-bodied male population of every country joins the army; and since a struggle for freedom has also begun in our country, all of us should give up other work and join the struggle. Had this contention been true, we should have expected those whose education was finished, those who depended for their livelihood upon their own earnings and those who had independent means to give up their professions and trades and join the war of independence. But this did not happen even at the height of the non-co-operation movement. The chances of success of such a movement at this moment is small indeed.

It would, therefore, be extremely unwise to ask the students to leave their schools, particularly as no arrangements have been made to employ all or most of them in some work connected with the independence movement. There is besides another consideration: those who went to the front are generally men between eighteen and fifty years of age. Even then school-boys are exempted. There ought therefore to be no talk of inducing school-boys to leave their schools on the pretext of the independence movement.

And then again, the argument is put forward that our boys and girls should leave the schools because in them they do not get the kind of education which is consistent with the national ideal and that there they imbibe a slave mentality. It is, of course, true that the education imparted by our schools very often runs counter to our ideals, but it is also as true to say that the knowledge they acquire there is very often sound and useful. It might be desirable to establish schools which are better adapted to our ideals and which will provide more adequate schooling, but these have not been started in sufficient numbers, nor has the number of pupils in those that have been started been sufficient to make them a success. One of the reasons for this unsatisfactory state of affairs is that the boys who get their education in these institutions do not find any opening

for earning a livelihood. It is well known that in the Government and Government-aided schools both direct and indirect efforts are made to foster an attitude of the mind favourable towards British rule and the superiority of Western civilization. But these attempts when direct bear no fruit, and indirect efforts leave very little or no permanent impression.

• For all these reasons we are in favour of keeping our boys in schools and colleges till, at any rate, we are able to establish national schools of the right type and in sufficient numbers, and make arrangements in them for imparting education which enable the students who go to them to earn a living. From this point of view it will be all the better for us if we could found schools of the type of the College of Engineering and Technology at Jadavpur (Bengal).

The Congress has, however, not urged the boycott of schools and colleges this year.

The same considerations of practical difficulty have probably influenced the Congress in not deciding upon the boycott of the law-courts, for, though, to those who sincerely crave for independence, it may appear contrary to self-respect to have to resort to British law-courts for justice, we must admit that until we have our own courts with adequate powers, we cannot help going to them.

There is another drawback in the boycott of the Councils which must also be mentioned. Some salutary legislation have been passed, and very likely will be passed in the future, through their instrumentality. Mr. Haji's Coastal Reservation Bill is a case in point. We have to weigh carefully whether it is worth while to pass over as immaterial the immediate set back that this and similar beneficial measures will receive as a result of the withdrawal from the Councils for the sake of the increased pressure—real or imaginary—which our leaders hope to bring to bear on the British people by the policy of boycott. If by so doing we could compel the British people to concede Dominion status to India in the near future, the harm now done by the boycott of the Councils and by the abandonment of those activities by which it is possible to reap some immediate benefit for the country—though they might fall far short of what was desirable or even necessary—might have been more than counter-balanced by the

increased facilities that India as a Dominion could command for safe-guarding the interests of her people. But the time by which Dominion status will be won is more or less problematical, and it might not be desirable to sacrifice the immediate good for the sake of future and more or less uncertain advantages. There is besides another aspect of the whole problem which ought to be taken into consideration. At present the members of the Councils, at any rate, those who are willing and capable, have it in their power to serve the country in a concrete manner and through well-defined channels. Will they all follow the programme laid down by the Congress in its letter and spirit? Or indeed are they all capable of doing so? These are the questions which we must well ponder over before hastily asking our Councillors to resign their seats. We do not for a moment question the mandate of the Congress, which should be obeyed even as a matter of sheer form, but every Councillor should have in his mind a concrete programme of work which he means to follow when he leaves the Councils.

The case might be different with those who are conscientious objectors to the oath of allegiance. But that too is not quite a novel argument. The Independence League was born years ago, and it was two years ago that the Madras Congress declared independence to be the goal of India, yet that has not dissuaded the followers of the Congress from working within the Councils. However, be that as it may, we are prepared to concede the position to those who have a moral objection to taking the oath of allegiance. Those who have not, and those who are willing to give their disinterested service to the country might well remain in the Councils, working there and at the same time carry on the programme of the Congress outside them. On the whole, of the three boycotts, the boycott of foreign cloth, we are inclined to think, is the most feasible and least fraught with harmful consequence for the country. It will, of course, mean the establishment of a larger number of cotton-mills and a greater effort at hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

"Die Deutsche Academie" Announces Three New Scholarships For Indian Students

India Institute of "Die Deutsche Akademie," whose object is to promote cultural relations

and better understanding between Germany and India, is pleased to announce that through the valued co-operation of educational authorities of the State of Wurtemberg, three scholarships have been secured for worthy Indian students, who are to carry on post-graduate studies in Agriculture in the Agricultural College at Hohenheim, Engineering in the College of Technology at Stuttgart and Physics in the University of Wurtemberg at Tubingen.

These scholarships consist of only "free tuition fees," which will amount to about 400 Marks or 20 pounds sterling a year and nothing more. These scholarships are tenable for one year; and on special consideration may be renewed for another year. The scholars will have to bear all other expenses except the tuition fees. Over and above his tuition fees, a foreign student, in a German University, who wishes to live very inexpensively will require at least 150-200 Marks or 8-10 pounds per month.

A candidate for any of these scholarships must be a graduate of an Indian, British or American University and must have *fair knowledge of the German language*. He should give a brief account of his academic career and file with the application at least one testimonial of scholarship from a professor and a certificate about his knowledge of the German language. All applications must reach the Honorary Secretary of India Institute of "Die Deutsche Akademie," before the 1st of April, 1930. A committee of experts will select the three successful candidates—one for Agriculture, one for Engineering, and one for Physics—and announce its choice on or about 1st of May 1930; and the winners of the scholarships will be promptly informed of the decision so that they will be able to make necessary arrangements to reach Stuttgart, before the 15th of October 1930, to begin their regular college work from the winter semester of 1930. All communications are to be directed to:

Dr. Franz Thierfelder
Honorary Secretary,
India Institute of "Die Deutsche Akademie"
Munich (Bavaria), Germany.

A New Journal on Indian Affairs

We have received from Sir Albion Banerji a copy of the prospectus describing his new journalistic venture. The

review, which is named "*Indian Affairs*," and which will be a quarterly, begins its career with the January, 1930 issue. It will be edited and published by Sir Albion who, before leaving India early in 1929, issued a circular letter to leading men of India intimating his intention to edit and publish, after settling in London, a quarterly magazine devoted exclusively to India on the lines of *Foreign Affairs* published in New York. The Review was to be committed to no one Party or set of opinions, and the design was to provide a medium through which current organized activities in the political, social, civic and economical spheres and Indian culture generally could be brought to notice, specially of England and also of America and the Continent, so that there might be a correct opinion in the countries concerned of the present-day life of India and the real nature of the problems by which her people are confronted. The Review is to be a medium of ventilating responsible opinions of all parties and will give information on the concerted action for social and civic advancement which is so marked a feature of the India of to-day.

The Indian leaders whom Sir Albion addressed gave the proposal unanimous and warm support. It was recognized that there was an urgent need for such a Review to put before the British public, as well as those keenly interested in the welfare of India in other countries, the definitely Indian point of view represented through responsible Indian writers and thinkers in the political, social, civic, economic and cultural spheres, and it is on these lines that the new journal will be conducted. We wish it a long and successful career.

Congress Condemns the Attempt on Viceroy's Life

The Congress accepted a resolution condemning the attempt to blow up the Viceroy's train near Delhi. Of such attempts it is almost superfluous to say that they deserve condemnation, while as against the bringing forward of such a resolution before the Congress it might also have been argued that that too was wholly unnecessary, for, the Congress is pledged to non-violence. But this conviction of its superfluity seems hardly to have weighed with those who rose to speak, and finally voted, against it. Their speeches and the noisy interruptions to the speeches

of the supporters of the resolution during the debate, on the contrary, left the impression that they did not disapprove of violence and assassination as an instrument of political action.

The relatively small majority by which the resolution was declared carried gives ground for thinking that the temper of the country is drifting towards violence, and the number of people who favour force is increasing. We cannot look upon this as a good sign. In extenuation and explanation of this attitude it can, of course, be argued that it is the Government which is largely responsible for creating it. They never care to answer the arguments put forward in books and periodicals against the abuses of the Administration; they never care to point out the fallacies of those who advocate self-government for India; perhaps that is not possible; what they do is to gag forcibly the press and the thought of the country when they are inconvenient. The violent methods of the government naturally provoke a parallel reaction in public opinion and lead those who neither think deeply nor act wisely to believe that force can only be met by force. But in so doing the believers in force forget that the organized and mechanized force at the disposal of the Government requires, if it is to be met effectively, an equally well if not better organized force, and there is of course no question of such a force being available for the support of the national demand.

So, though in other circumstances, we would have been inclined to the view expressed above, that such a resolution was unnecessary, in view of the rising tide of violent thought in the country and particularly as the Congress met after the refusal of the leaders to participate in the Round Table Conference and for the purpose of declaring complete independence as the political goal of India, we are of opinion that the resolution was both opportune and necessary.

Independence and Violence

We need hardly enter here upon a philosophical and ethical discussion of the relative merits and demerits of violence and non-violence as an instrument for gaining national independence. History tells us of many countries which have won their freedom by fighting, entailing bloodshed and loss of life on

both sides. But what has happened in the past is not necessarily right and expedient. Our judgment on such episodes will always depend upon the circumstances of the case. With regard to India it need only be said that it is inexpedient. As things are, not only have the Indian revolutionaries no *adequate* resources to meet the military power of the Government, they have *no* resources at all.

But there is a difference between India and the countries which have won their freedom by fighting and we would ask all people to bear this in mind. Every country to which freedom has come as a result of fighting, had among all classes of its population, both educated and uneducated, a certain proportion of men who had knowledge and experience of military life, and this fact was a sufficient guarantee that after freedom had been won by fighting, exclusive political power would not pass into the hands of those who were backward in culture and education. Let us now turn to things as they are in India. Here, the rules governing the entrance to a military career are such that few persons of the educated and cultured classes adopt it as a profession, and consequently the knowledge and the capacity required for making war is not cultivated to any considerable extent by the members of these classes. This will leave us, assuming we are resolved upon war, entirely dependent upon less cultured and less educated elements of the population for a successful conduct of the war, and it will be these men, least capable of wielding it, into whose hands, at the end of the victorious campaign,—assuming again that we are successful—political power will inevitably pass. The present leaders of the Congress, the Liberal League, the Moslem League, the Hindu Mahasabha are men of advanced culture and great political ability. But there are none among them who have any practical experience of military affairs, while on the other hand there are none among the men who at present serve as soldiers and officers in the Indian army, who can compare for a moment in general education or political capacity with the present political leaders.

For these reasons, the winning of independence at the present juncture by fighting would be tantamount to an acquiescence in the domination of the backward classes and the abdication of political power by precisely those men who by education and

experience are best fitted to exercise it wisely. The social and economic results of such a regime can easily be imagined from the example of Afghanistan when in that country the rule of Bachha-i-Sakau was substituted for that of Amanullah.

The Independence Day

The Independence Day was celebrated all over India last Sunday, the 26th January. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, as President of the Indian National Congress, has issued a statement congratulating the nation on the spontaneous and enthusiastic manner in which it has celebrated the day, and reiterated its determination to sever the humiliating foreign connection. We cannot, of course, placed as we are to-day, sever that connection at our will. But there is no denying that the most powerful link in our chains is our passive consent to our subjugation. We shall perhaps have won half the battle when we shall no longer look upon it as natural and inevitable. The pledge which we reproduce below and which the leaders asked us to take on that day is meant to break that spell and to present the case for India to the world as effectively, comprehensively and yet tersely.

"We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any Government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain *Purna Swaraj* or complete independence.

"India has been ruined economically. The revenue derived from our people is out of all proportion to our income. Our average income is seven pice (less than two pence) per day, and of the heavy taxes we pay 20 per cent are raised from the land revenue derived from the peasantry and 3 per cent from the salt tax, which falls most heavily on the poor.

"Village industries, such as hand-spinning, have been destroyed leaving the peasantry idle for at least four months in the year, and dulling their intellect for want of handicrafts, and nothing has been substituted, as in other countries, for the crafts thus destroyed.

"Customs and currency have been so manipulated as to heap further burdens on the peasantry. British manufactured goods constitute the bulk of our imports. Customs duties betray clear partiality

for British manufactures, and revenue from them is used not to lessen the burden on the masses but for sustaining a highly extravagant administration. Still more arbitrary has been the manipulation of the exchange ratio which has resulted in millions being drained away from the country.

"Politically, India's status has never been so reduced as under the British regime. No reforms have given real political power to the people. The tallest of us have to bend before foreign authority. The rights of free expression of opinion and free association have been denied to us and many of our countrymen are compelled to live in exile abroad and cannot return to their homes. All administrative talent is killed and the masses have to be satisfied with petty village offices and clerkships.

"Culturally, the system of education has torn us from our moorings and our training has made us hug the very chains that bind us.

"Spiritually, compulsory disarmament has made us unmanly and the presence of an alien army of occupation, employed with deadly effect to crush in us the spirit of resistance, has made us that we cannot look after ourselves or put up a defence against foreign aggression, or even defend our homes and families from the attacks of thieves, robbers and miscreants.

"We hold it to be a crime against man and God to submit any longer to a rule that has caused this fourfold disaster to our country. We recognize, however, that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. We will, therefore, prepare ourselves by withdrawing, so far as we can, all voluntary association from the British Government, and will prepare for civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes. We are convinced that if we can but withdraw our voluntary help and stop payment of taxes without doing violence, even under provocation, the end of this inhuman rule is assured. We, therefore, hereby solemnly resolve to carry out the Congress instruction issued from time to time for the purpose of establishing *Purna Swaraj*."

"India in Bondage"

The application of S. Sajani Kanta Das, the printer and publisher of Dr. J. T. Sunderland's "India in Bondage" against the order of the Bengal Government forfeiting the book has been dismissed by a special bench of the Calcutta High Court. The Chief Justice concluded his judgment by saying :

"People who are so unfortunate as to be unable to advocate change in the form of government without attempts to bring into hatred or contempt or to excite disaffection towards the Government established by law have not been specially favoured by legislature either by the terms of the section itself or by the explanations. They may take their grievance, if any, to the legislature but the section while it stands must be interpreted according to the plain and natural meaning of its words."

We welcome this authoritative exposition of the law as removing a good deal of ambiguity that has hung over the interpretation of Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code. We have always believed that it was meant for comprehensive use, and the opinion of so eminent a legal authority as the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court sets all our doubts at rest. As to the contrast between the advocacy of a change in the form of Government and an attempt to bring it into hatred or contempt, it is a distinction which is perhaps not too fine-spun to be beyond the cognizance of law, but for all practical purposes we might ignore it, for, so far as our knowledge and experience goes, we do not know of anyone who has been able to advocate a change in the form of a Government and at the same time been fortunate enough to exude a spirit of love and charity towards its existing form.

The Viceroy's Speech and After

His Excellency the Viceroy's address to the Assembly will be welcomed by every section of Indian opinion for the sake of the clearness with which it defines the exact meaning and scope of the declaration of Oct. 31, 1929. Our scepticism about that declaration was based less upon the absence, in that particular document, of concrete assurances about the concessions Great Britain was prepared to make to the national demand than upon a consideration of the previous history and the present character of the British rule in India, which made a genuine offer of Dominion status on the part of Great Britain an impossibility. Every subsequent statement explaining, perhaps we should rather say explaining away, that seemingly magnanimous gesture has made it difficult to entertain any illusions about it. Last of all comes the Viceroy who says :

"I have never sought to delude Indian opinion into the belief that a definition of the purpose, however plainly stated, would of itself, by the enunciation of a phrase, provide a solution for the problems which have to be solved before that purpose is fully realized. The assertion of the goal, however precise its terms, is of necessity a thing apart from that goal's attainment. No sensible traveller would feel that a clear definition of his destination was the same thing as the completion of his journey, but it is an assurance of direction and in this case I

believe it to be something of tangible value to India that those who demand full equality with the other self-governing units of the British Commonwealth should know that Great Britain on her side also desires to lend her assistance to India in the attainment to that position.

"With the unity of purpose thus assured they could approach the question of its complete attainment with a feeling of confidence that on the main purpose they do not differ."

This clearness in the enunciation of the not at present to be thought of ultimate goal is matched by an equal clearness in the enunciation of the procedure to be followed. Lord Irwin says,

"The existence of these difficulties cannot be seriously disputed, and the whole object of the conference now proposed is to afford an opportunity to His Majesty's Government of examining in free consultation with Indian leaders how they may best and most rapidly and most surely be surmounted.

"The conference, which His Majesty's Government will convene, is not indeed the conference that those have demanded and who claimed that its duty should be to proceed by way of a majority vote to the fashioning of the Indian Constitution which should thereafter be accepted unchanged by Parliament. It is evident that any such procedure would be impracticable and impossible of reconciliation with the constitutional responsibility that must rest on His Majesty's Government and upon Parliament."

With this authoritative exposition of the policy of the British Government before us we have no longer any justification for believing that the course before us is not clear. In fact, in commenting upon His Excellency the Viceroy's speech and after thanking him for having cleared the atmosphere, Mahatma Gandhi has in his straightforward and terse fashion laid down the conditions on which Nationalist India is prepared to co-operate with the British Government. They are:

(1) Total prohibition ; (2) Reduction of the ratio 1s. 4d ; (3) Reduction of land revenue by at least 50 per cent. and making it subject to the legislative control ; (4) Abolition of the salt tax ; (5) Reduction of the military expenditure by at least 50 per cent ; (6) Reduction of the salaries of the highest grade service to one half or less so as to suit the reduced revenue ; (7) protective tariff for Indian cloth ; (8) Passage of the Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill ; (9) Discharge of all political prisoners save those condemned for murder, withdrawal of all political prosecutions and abrogation of section 124A, Regulation III of 1818, and the like and permission to all Indian exiles to return ; (10) Abolition of the C. I. D. or its popular control and (11) Issue of licences to use firearms for self-defence, subject to popular control.

This is not an exhaustive list of the pressing needs, says Mahatmaji, but "let the Viceroy satisfy these very simple, but

vital, needs of India. He will, then, hear no talk of civil disobedience and the Congress will heartily participate in any Conference where there is a perfect freedom of expression and demand."

Independence and Repression

Meanwhile, there is another aspect of the Viceroy's address which deserves attention. The movement in favour of complete severance of the British connection has already given rise to the cry for repression. The first official utterance on this subject came from the Governor of Burma. We had, at the time the pronouncement was made, reason for believing that it was no expression of personal opinion of Sir Charles Innes but had behind it the support of the Government of India, or at any rate fell in line with its considered policy. The Viceroy's address refers to the same subject though in a dignified and restrained manner. His Excellency says :

"It has, however, recently been announced that the immediate goal of some who claim to represent India is the repudiation of allegiance to the British Crown.

"It has further been made clear that those who desire to achieve that goal contemplate resort to unconstitutional and unlawful methods of civil disobedience and, with reckless disregard of the consequences, public profession has been made of intention to refuse recognition of India's financial obligations to which her credit has been pledged.

"I am confident that the great preponderance of Indian opinion, which is both loyal and sane, will, when it understands its implication, condemn decisively a programme which could only be accomplished through subversion of the Government by law established, and which would strike a fatal blow at India's economic life through refusing recognition of India's financial obligations.

"It remains my firm desire, as it is of His Majesty's Government, following the recently professed wish of the House of Commons to do everything that is possible for conciliation in order that Great Britain and India may collaborate together in finding a solution of the present difficulties.

"But it is no less incumbent upon me to make it plain that I shall discharge to the full the responsibility resting upon myself and upon my Government for the effective maintenance of laws, authority, and for the preservation of peace and order."

Having never advocated violence, in any form, for gaining political ends we have no hesitation in joining His Excellency's condemnation of forcible methods. But in India peace and order has a special meaning.

What is peace and order for her. present rulers is often neither peace nor order for her people. That a new heaven and new earth is not going to be made for India by these talks of peaceful co-operation is amply proved by the following extract from Sir James Crear's reply to Mr. Bhargava's question in regard to the grant of an amnesty for political prisoners :

"Government are aware that in some quarters there is a feeling that an amnesty should be granted to prisoners who committed certain offences against the law with a political motive.

"They find it difficult, however, to appreciate how the Government can be expected to consider any action on these lines in the conditions that unfortunately at present prevail—the existence of an active movement for the attainment of independence, threats of civil disobedience on a large scale and numerous inflammatory incitements addressed, for the most part, to young men and intended to convey to their minds ideas of violent action and revolution.

"While the Government have no desire to concern themselves with mere expressions of political opinion which are not believed to be leading towards revolutionary action, their policy has been directed to checking the dangerous activities mentioned above and to this policy they must obviously adhere.

"According to reports received by the Government of India, several sedition cases have been started in the whole of India since the Viceroy's announcement on October 31. No instructions have been issued asking the local Governments not to start such cases."

This shows that the Government is going to take the independence movement seriously. But this consideration ought not weigh with us if we are sincere in our wishes to gain our freedom.

Congress and Untouchability

Last April, the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress appointed a sub-committee consisting of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Sjt. Jamnadal Bajaz to work for the removal of untouchability. We have just received a copy of the report giving an account of the work done by it in the nine months from April to December, 1929.

The programme of the sub-committee was first to get temples, wells and schools, freely opened to untouchables, and secondly, to instruct them in sanitary living.

The sub-committee resolved to concentrate their work for the time being on the first item, and with this end in view special meetings were held in April in Bombay where

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya spoke on the temple entry question exhorting the caste Hindus to admit the so-called untouchables freely to all Hindu temples. He emphasized the necessity of a broader interpretation of Hinduism in all the speeches which he made during his extensive tour of Southern India.

As a result of these and subsequent activities of the sub-committee, and of the efforts of its members, workers, and sympathizers fifteen temples have been opened to untouchables. Five other temples have also been opened through the efforts of other organizations or individuals working on similar lines.

Through the efforts of the Secretary of the Committee all twenty-seven municipal wells have also been thrown open to untouchables at Wardha.

As regards the future of the movement the Committee is

confident that if sustained and vigorous efforts are made by Hindu Congressmen on proper lines, the problem of untouchability is capable of being solved for all practical purposes without recourse to direct action which may involve the Hindu society in an internecine struggle at a most critical juncture in the history of the nation. If, however, this is not accomplished soon, we may be unable to avoid a vast and embarrassing domestic struggle for which the Hindus may have to thank none but themselves. For "it is impossible" to quote the words of Mahatma Gandhi, "to avoid an exhibition of impatience and worse, if after having awakened them (i. e. the so-called untouchable classes) to a sense of their awful position, we do not succeed in easing it for them before it becomes too late."

The Kumbh Mela

The Kumbh mela at Allahabad this year strikes a thoughtful visitor from another province as an object lesson not only of the triumph of science but also of the superiority of sane public-spirited corporate activity over mere repetition of more or less worn out political slogans. There have been days when a million people—men, women and children, mostly poor, gathered from various parts of India and speaking widely diverse tongues,—have assembled on the sand bank, west of Allahabad fort, bathed at the sacred spot where "the two consorts of the ocean mingle their streams", and left for their distant homes. There have been days when the railway has brought into Allahabad or sent away in one day over a hundred thousand pilgrims, with the utmost regularity, without any mishap.

This has happened, though not on the same vast scale, day after day for an entire month. The total number of visitors has not been less than four or five millions, taking into account repetitions of visit by the same person.

And yet, no epidemic has broken out, no act of violence (except a mass movement by 5,000 holy friars armed with quarter-staves, tongs and other spiritual weapons) has been allowed to disturb public order among this "gathering of the nations." The Hindu character for gentleness, the religious nature of the occasion, may explain this peace to some extent. But surely the marvellous sanitary success demands the proper meed of praise for the organizers, their forethought, their co-ordination of effort and wise enlistment of aid from non-official societies for public service. The young men of the Seva Samaj ("Service of Man" societies) have worked hand in hand with the Government police and doctors. Distant provinces have co-operated by widely notifying to intending pilgrims from their provinces to "protect themselves from cholera" and providing for preventive cholera injection at their railway stations, often hundreds of miles away from Allahabad

Historical Records Commission

Among the deluge of congresses and conferences in Christmas season, one is apt to overlook the Indian H. R. Commission, which met for its 12th Session at Gwalior on December 21 and 22. This year's gathering was in many respects unique, all the universities, practically, being represented.

Among the permanent members of the Commission present (excluding *ex-officio* representatives) were Sir Jadudath Sarkar, Mr. G. S. Sardesai, Principal Rawlinson and Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan (the last a new appointment).

The temporary members included such distinguished historical research workers or teachers of history in Colleges as Father Heras (Bombay), Dr. R. C. Majumdar (Dacca), Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (Calcutta), Prof. S. K. Bhuyan (Assam), Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji (Lucknow), Mr. Justice James (Patna), Lala Sitaram Kohli (Lahore), Dr. Balkrishna (Kolhapur), Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and Prof. Nilkantha Sastri (Madras) and Professor M. Habeeb (Aligarh). To these may be added other representatives from the Universities of Allahabad, Agra, Benares, and Delhi, and for the first time from the Andhra, Osmania and Annamalai Universities. Berar was represented by two keen students of its past, Messrs. Yadhav M. Kale (late President, C. P. Legislative Council), and Yashwant Khushhal Deshpande of Yeotmal.

The most valuable work of such gatherings lies not so much in the papers read and the resolutions arrived at in the formal meetings—which can be always had in print and at a distance—as in the informal conversations and group discussions, in which fellow-workers exchange ideas and the young learn from the old.

A number of important and interesting points were settled at the Members' meeting, and historical research in Maratha history specially would be facilitated if the Bombay Government acts up to Sir Jadunath Sarkar's useful suggestions which the Conference adopted and strongly recommended.

This year's Conference revealed a very pleasing change in the attitude of many Indian States, which have now given up their old suspicions and spirit of jealousy, and have begun to display great eagerness to reconstruct their history on authentic materials and to publish their records. They are eager to search for, and acquire either the original copies of records wherever available. There is a most admirable intellectual awakening in the entire Maratha country and Central India which bodes well for Indian historical research in the near future.—*Daily Papers*.

We are sure the above report will gladden the hearts of Indian historical workers. The Records Commission was created by the Government of India in 1919 as a small committee of historical experts assisted by the experience of the central and provincial record-keepers, with the object of advising the Government of India on all questions relating to the preservation, disposal, calendaring and publication of *its own* records. Such a strictly official advisory body expanded, under the pressure of circumstances and in response to a widely felt public demand, into a larger and very elastic body of workers on historical records regularly meeting for mutual consultation and exchange of ideas. It has, this year, developed still further so as to embrace the Indian States, and this is a most highly desirable growth, for it must never be forgotten that the Indian Government's own archives contain only a fraction of the "State papers" and other documents dealing with the British period of Indian History and none at all dealing with the Muhammadan and Maratha periods (with the exception of the Poona dāftar). These gaps must be filled up from the record-offices of the various Indian States and of private families in those States whose ancestors were once makers of Indian history. This is a consummation most devoutly to be wished.

Educate our Masters

Prof. R. MacGregor Dawson has recently written a book on the Civil Service of

Canada in which he throws light, from the experience of a self-governing Dominion, on the vexed question of the relation between popularly elected ministers and a permanent civil service. He writes :

"Many of the most skilled Civil servants must be left free to cope with the problems which they alone can solve, while the function of the lay political superior [i.e., the minister responsible to the Legislature] will be reduced to that of supervision of a very vague kind. More and more power must pass, as it has been passing for years back, into the hands of the permanent officials; greater and greater allowance must be made for the growing authority of knowledge which they alone can command and which they alone can apply intelligently. This development may even go so far that within certain well-defined areas ministerial responsibility may be virtually abolished. Work of a non-controversial character, or work of a very special nature which would demand a judicial detachment from outside influence, or work demanding unusual administrative or technical skill, may be cut off almost entirely from ministerial and parliamentary control."

The *Times*, without going so far as that, admits that up to a point the Canadian Professor's argument states a case that cannot be ignored, but the Legislature that controls the purse-strings and the Press and organized interests that can stimulate the Legislature to exercise its rights, can ultimately overturn the expert civil service or disturb its proper functioning.

The conclusion seems to be that if ministers are to rule the civil servants, the latter must "educate their masters",—which is the essence of democracy if it is to endure.

Indian Discontents

Dr. Edwyn Bevan has recently published a thought-provoking book entitled *Thoughts on Indian Discontents*, in which he dispassionately discusses the Indian problem of to-day, which is serious enough. "It is generally agreed by people acquainted with the situation, that we must expect in the near future a hostile movement greater in range and intensity than any since the Mutiny" of 1857-'58.

The *Times* endorses this serious view by the following arguments : "Three things have lately stirred the depths of India's ocean of humanity—the War, the development of factories and urban industries, and political agitation. The propaganda is all

one way; there are no pro-Government speakers, or more correctly, no pro-Government speaker is allowed freedom of speech on public platforms, except under police protection, which makes the case worse. The War has scattered in Indian villages and bazaars numbers of ex-soldiers and men of labour corps who grumble, and boast of superiority to Europeans. In the towns are now large masses of factory workers, squalid and poverty-stricken. The Communist agitator is always at work, though he is perhaps not so formidable in himself. Unrest is not by any means confined to the unwarlike classes."

The establishment of Self-Government in India being the avowed policy of Parliament, the chief difficulty to its immediate realization is that "the British do not see an India into whose hands they might resign control" of the country's entire government and defence. "There is no Central Federal authority. This is to be created. Constitution-making is only too easy; but the idea that Britain's difficulties would be over when that has been done, will not hold good.... A semi-independent client State may give far more trouble than one directly administered by England" in the East. Witness Oude under the protected Nawabs, or Bengal under Clive's Dual Government. "An Indian representative Government might work with British financial and military support. Alone it could not," the *Times* adds. The problem is further complicated by India's difference from the European countries and Japan in social life, economic condition and mental outlook and beliefs. It is only the patient and sympathetic co-operation of many agencies and races, looking before and after and working that can take us to the final goal.

The Twilight of the gods

The Great War has given an impetus to the school of pessimistic thought represented by Spengler in Germany. They hold that every civilization is doomed by nature to grow, mature, flourish and then die as inevitably as a fruit or a flower or any individual living being. This has been the history of the extinct civilizations of the ancient world, and nothing can avert such a fate from modern European civilization, in spite of its being international and seemingly

world-conquering. Germany, they argue, has fallen from the pride of place, but she has her consolation; victor and vanquished will alike go down to the grave in one death-grapple, and the world's stage will be occupied by actors of another race and clime!

The latest recruit to this school, Professor Hermann Kantorowicz, sees the following "Shadows over England,"—why England, over the whole world and human civilization.

It is possible, and even probable, that the flames of an ever-rising nationalism will unite in a new conflagration, in which the last bulwark of European thought—England's power—will find its end together with civilization in general. In that case Grillparzer's saying will be justified—that the way of the new culture is from Humanism through Nationalism to Bestialism.... Economically England shrinks daily, being beaten in wealth by America, in organizing power and technical capacity by Germany, in population and extensibility by Russia.... Unemployment looks like a permanent phenomenon, yet emigration fails.... Religion is dying out and.... gives way to an extreme pacifism and internationalism. Its population figures show an alarming decrease of vitality, and the distribution of the people between town and country grows ever more unsound. Its insular security is undermined by submarines, mines and aeroplanes.... The colonial epoch seems to have finally run its course for all nations, but the greatest dangers await the State which has the largest colonial possessions. (*Times* summary.)

"The future of Oxford as a cultural centre stands or falls with Greats [i.e., the classics or literature and philosophy as objects of the highest study] in its rivalry with science." (W. J. K. Diplock.)

If such be the condition of England, what of India to-day? What is our future in this ever-moving world which considers even England as an obsolete and spent force?

Parochial Patriotism

For some years even before the Great War, the races of Southern Europe, particularly the Spaniards and the non German peoples included in the old Austrian empire and the Balkan peninsula, had been seized with an irremediable unrest due to the growth of excessive localism, which weakened the central government, dissolved confederacies and shifted the centre of political gravity from one point to many,—often at

jar with one another. Old landmarks were swept away; the dreams of nationalists of the old school were shattered by an intensive local application of their principles which they had never anticipated. Geography and race-history have fostered this reactionary spirit in the countries named above, while unitary races like the English, the French, the Germans and the Italians have been free from it. In Spain geography has prevented that complete fusion of original races which is the greatest glory of France.

Mr. Cecil Jane's recent study of the South American republics (Spanish by race) illustrates this fact luminously. "The cause of unrest is to be found in excessive localism. Most of the revolutions [in Spanish America] have begun in provinces which from their physical nature allow in practice the maximum opportunity for their breeding and preparation, and which in theory give them birth in a jealousy of the centre [*i. e.*, the Federal Government] which only their decentralized position could foment. With revolution distance means fertility... Men whose strength has lain in local support... have, in the obscurity of a remote province, gathered the necessary force to overthrow the central government.

"The cause of unrest, fostered by a spirit of localism, is a clash of ideals,—the ideal of liberty and the ideal of efficiency. The Spanish race's love of personal and local freedom was born in the seclusion of the provinces of Spain ["Catalanism" is an

ominous word], and later it bred a localism which produced that political instability. The colonial system fostered this individualism and a small political unit, each of which strove for that ideal liberty for which there is no place in an imperfect world. The ideal of efficiency... rests on an acknowledgment of the fact that government is a necessity, and on the consequent desire that government also should be ideal... The clash of ideals so opposite makes it hard for an earnest government... to perform its functions successfully.

The development of communications and of education... will ultimately break up the spirit of localism. The clash of co-existent ideals is changeable only when the *temper of the race be changed.*" (*Times* summary).

There is much food for thought to modern India in the above.

The "Notes" in this Issue

Owing to the serious illness of the editor, the notes in this issue could only be partly written by him, and comment on many important topics that have been engaging public attention during the past weeks had of necessity to be postponed for future treatment. It is hoped to deal with them at length in our March issue, if necessary and practicable.





RELATIVITY BETWEEN LIGHT AND DARKNESS

By S. K. Dhar

Prabasi Press, Calcutta



VOL. XLVII
NO. 3

MARCH, 1930

WHOLE NO.
279

The Philosophy of Human Beauty

By Dr. J. T. SUNDERLAND

IT is our good fortune to live in a world where beauty abounds. We can scarcely open our eyes without seeing it. Day and night are alike full of it; so are all the seasons.

Beauty takes many forms. There is the beauty of the inanimate world, as skies, seas, sunsets. There is a beauty of the vegetable world in all its vast and varied and wonderful range. There is the beauty of the animal world, from the infinitesimally small, revealed only by the microscope, up to man. And then finally, there is the glorious world of human beauty.

I think it is plain that all this marvellous beauty, of sky, and earth, and ocean, and human form divine, would not be here if it had not a valuable purpose to serve. I cannot think its creation has been a mistake. It would seem that the Divine Author of all things must Himself care for beauty, or else He would not have so filled the world with its enchanting presence.

And if God does love beauty, why should not we? If He has given us faculties to recognize and enjoy this fine side of the world and of life, shall we impoverish ourselves by not using them? Shall we willingly cut ourselves off from one of the sweetest and most unfailing sources of happiness that

we can know in this world? For surely, as the poet Keats has sung,

"A thing of beauty is a joy for ever :
Its loveliness increases ; it will never
Pass into nothingness, but still will keep
A bower quiet for us, and a sleep
Full of sweet dreams and health and quiet
breathing."

All kinds of beauty are not on a level. In what kind should we most interest ourselves and learn to find most delight? In other words, at what point does the world's beauty rise to its best? Is it in a rose? Is it in an apple orchard in full bloom? Is it in a rainbow spanning a storm cloud? Is it in a broad expanse of water, under moon and stars? I think we must answer: In none of these; but in the perfect human face and form.

Why then should we not most admire human beauty? And why should we not all desire it for ourselves and for those whom we love? Is there any human desire more legitimate?

Surely it is worthy of any woman's ambition to be beautiful. I do not say to be a pretty doll. I do not say to practise artificial deceptions which in the end repel. But to have a face and a form beautiful with health and symmetrical development, and animated

and irradiated by intelligence, by the graces of culture, by a beautiful soul,—that is surely worthy the effort of any woman.

Rightly understood, beauty is also a worthy object of man's desire. A fine form, an erect carriage, a noble bearing, a well-developed physique, a modulated voice, a face expressive of intelligence, gentleness, courage and strength,—surely these are not to be lightly regarded by any man.

I think that any of us who are parents ought to teach our children not to despise beauty, but to put high store upon it, and to strive to attain it. However, let us not make the mistake of fostering in them the shallow notion that it is a thing merely of the skin and the hair and the physical features, much less of the fashion plate. Such so-called beauty is as thin as every other kind of veneer. It profanes the high thought of beauty to see in it nothing beyond these surface things.

Beauty is of two distinctly different kinds. One is the beauty that can be put on and put off; the other is the beauty that is a part of ourselves.

Doubtless the beauty which can be put on and put off has its place. I would be the last to speak disparagingly of it. There is such a thing as beautiful clothing. There is such a thing as beautiful adornment of the person. The reasonable use of these is not to be despised. I would not be willing to say that the most exquisite handiwork of men, or the most precious treasures of the mine or the sea, can find any more fitting service than that of lending added charm to the human person.

But there is another kind of beauty that rises as much higher than any mere externality, as the mind rises above matter. It is the beauty that is in us and of us. Stopford Brodke hints at it when he says: "The outward form takes its glory or its baseness from the inward spirit."

The difference between the two kinds of beauty may perhaps be illustrated in this way: Here is a tree. That form of beauty which is superficial and external comes to the tree and attaches to it externally, artificial foliage, wreathes, garlands, Chinese lanterns, wax fruits, and such like things, and thus makes a spectacle, which for the moment may be very attractive. But there is in it all no life; and it is deceptive and transitory.

That form of beauty which is internal and

natural comes to the tree through rain and sun and proper soil and renewal of life from within. As a result we soon see the inward life of the tree manifesting itself outwardly; buds swell on every twig; flowers burst into bloom, forming a robe for the tree more gorgeous than Solomon's; then follows the dress of green, exquisitely wrought; and in the autumn luscious fruit loads its boughs. Thus we have a beauty that lasts the whole season through, and advances from grace to grace and from glory to glory. And the next season it does the same; and the next, and the next, on continuously. And why? Because it is *of* the tree. It is the coming forth to expression of what is in the tree, as its deepest life.

In the same way, the beauty which should be most prized by us in connection with ourselves and other human beings, is not that which is attached to us, at one particular time or another, as dress, or adornings; it is that which is of us,—the spontaneous and necessary expression of the life that is in us. Such beauty will endure, and will grow richer with the years.

The process of reaching out and getting beauty of some external kind and attaching it to ourselves can never be more than to a limited degree satisfactory. It has to be done over and over, and for ever over and over. It is costly too. Few men could afford to own trees if they had to go to the expense of keeping them decked with leaves and flowers and fruit brought from the outside and hung upon their branches. It is not less expensive to be obliged to depend for personal beauty upon that which we must buy and attach to ourselves, instead of having a well-spring of beauty within us.

Worst of all, any externally beautiful things that we can get and attach to our persons, as clothing or ornaments, fail utterly to make *us, ourselves*, beautiful. If we, in our real selves of mind and spirit, were unbeautiful before we obtained the adornments, we are just as unbeautiful after. Fine clothing or ornaments may draw attention for the time being away from our unbeautifleness, but it remains just the same; and all who come near us know it, and we know it, and God knows it.

We ought to desire more than a diversion of eyes from our ugliness. We ought to want real beauty,—beauty so true and

deeply that it will stand the test of time, of our neighbours, of our own eyes, and of the scrutiny of Him who cannot be deceived.

How can we all become really beautiful?

Human beauty has a threefold basis,—physical, intellectual, and moral. Growth in beauty must be based upon threefold culture,—of the body, to give it health and symmetry; of the intellect, to give it knowledge and alertness; of the moral nature, to give it strength and grace. Let us see what these involve.

That beauty has a physical basis will be generally confessed. It will not be quite so generally confessed that that physical basis is a purely natural one, lying wholly in good health and a perfect development of the body. In the past there has been wide-spread dependence placed upon the artificial as a producer of physical beauty, as for example, artificial smallness of the feet; artificial slenderness of the waist; artificial whiteness of the skin; cosmetics, etc.

There have been times when the idea widely prevailed that a pale cheek, a languid air, a condition of semi-invalidism, are signs of beauty in women. In our times we are getting the truer thought that the elastic step, the glow of health on the cheek, the ability to walk and ride and swim, and drive a horse or an automobile, and climb mountains, and bear a part in the world's work are far more beautiful. It is coming to be seen that the best cosmetics are fresh air, sunshine, exercise, nutritious food, regular sleep taken between ten o'clock at night and seven in the morning, regular work done every day, worthy objects to live for, and a quiet, regular, active, natural and useful life.

Wrote Dr. Dudley A. Sargent, Physical Director at Harvard University:

"Women have begun to realize that the surest road to beauty of face and figure, as well as health of body, lies through the path of physical culture. Outdoor games, such as tennis, golf and horse-back riding, have served to make the college and society girl stronger, while her sister of the shops and factories finds recreation and muscle-nourishment in the factory gymnasium and public gymnasium. By these modern changes, woman is gradually coming into her own. Her sex is becoming strong and well developed. While man has had the advantages of centuries of training along this line, woman's ambition was latent; but now that she has started towards the intended goal, her development and progress will

be rapid. Perhaps she will yet overtake man in a field which he has been wont to claim as all his own."

The first direction, then, in which we who care for beauty in man or woman must learn to look for it, is not to the fashion plate, or to the drug store, but to the bath, to the proper ventilation of our sleeping apartments, to the number of hours we spend each day in the fresh air and the sunshine, to the provisions we make for our physical health and development as human beings.

And the first direction in which we who care for the beauty of our children must learn to look for that, is, to their habits,—to see that these are regular and natural; to their sleep, to see that it is plentiful and at timely hours; to their work and study, to see that these are done under conditions of health; to their play, to see that it is not cut off; to their conditions of life generally, to see that they are simple and rational.

It has been said that if the laws of God which pertain to the health of the body were perfectly obeyed by even a single generation, the next generation would be physically beautiful. This is an over-statement, but it is certainly in the direction of the truth.

The ancient Greeks were doubtless the most beautiful race physically that the world has ever seen. Why? Not simply because they were wise enough to cultivate physical beauty, but because they were wise enough to cultivate it in the only way in which it is possible to cultivate it successfully, namely, by so training their youth as to develop to the very utmost their physical vigour, activity, strength, endurance, bodily symmetry, health. They knew that the true way to make either trees or human beings beautiful is to fill them with abounding life.

This brings me to the second source of beauty, the intellectual.

Human beauty must have more than a mere physical basis, else would a wax figure be as beautiful as a live person.

It is well known that peoples in low states of civilization are seldom fine-looking,—are seldom possessed of anything that we would call beauty. Why? The principal reason seems to be the stolidity, the dullness of mind of these peoples, which makes them unattractive whatever may be their physical features. There is no mind-beauty to shine

through the physical, to light it up. So, too, in civilized lands, persons who live low down in the senses are never beautiful with any kind of beauty except the lowest, the coarsest, the most transitory.

How much mind has to do with beauty, we see every day. We all know persons whose skin is fair, whose features are symmetrical, who, judged by physical standards alone, should be pronounced fine-looking. Yet they are not. Why? The trouble is, there is no irradiation of the countenance by a fine intelligence behind it and speaking through it. The eyes are dull. The face is hard and heavy, if not coarse and sensual.

On the other hand, we all know very plain and ordinary faces, distinctly homely faces, if judged simply by physical standards, that somehow we never think of as homely. Indeed, we have the distinct impression that they are beautiful faces. What is the explanation? When we meet them their eyes are lighted with thought, their countenances beam with intelligence, the spiritual so transforms the physical that the plainness of the features disappears, and beauty sits in its place.

Said one lady of another: "She is accounted very plain; but I have seen her so absolutely beautiful as to draw everybody in the room to her. When she is happy, and speaking with animation, her face kindles with a perfect radiance."

Ruskin, in the second volume of his *Modern Painters*, where he discusses the principles of beauty, puts great stress upon the importance of the intellectual element,— "the operation of the mind upon the body; the intellectual powers upon the features, in the fine cutting and chiselling of them, and removal from them of signs of sensuality and sloth by which they are blunted and deadened, and the substitution of energy and intensity for vacancy and insipidity." By reason of the lack of these mental qualities, he declares, "the faces of many fair women are utterly spoiled." The mind, he urges, gives "keenness to the eye and fine moulding and development to the brow."

Many a young lady of twenty dreads to grow older for fear her beauty will wane, and thus she will become less attractive. Alas, the fact that she thinks of beauty as only physical shows that probably she will grow less attractive as she grows older. What a pity it is that she does not understand that the finest beauty is of the soul, and that this beauty she may have and keep

and get more abundantly, and thus be more attractive at forty than at twenty, and preserve her charm right on in spite of the years! Beauty that draws its chief life from the active mind and the noble spirit is almost independent of years; indeed, it is likely to rise to its perfection only with considerable fulness of years.

It has long been known that the most attractive women of history have not generally been young women. It seems also to be true that they have not usually been women of great physical beauty. Their power has oftenest been mental. Their fascination was of the mind.

Closely connected with the intellect as a source of beauty, stands the moral nature. It is not simply the intellect that speaks through the face; the whole character does so.

Says Amiel:

"Why are we ugly? Because we are not in the angelic state; because we are evil, morose, unhappy. Heroism, ecstasy, prayer, love, enthusiasm, leave a halo around the brow, for they are a setting free of the soul, which through them gains force to make its envelope transparent and shine through upon all around it. Beauty is, then, a phenomenon belonging to the spiritualization of matter. Intense life and supreme joy can make the most simple mortal dazzlingly beautiful."

We have an old proverb, "Handsome is who handsome does." This is more than a neat way of saying that a good deed makes us forget whether the doer is handsome or ugly. There is something in the habitual doing of good deeds, at least there is something in the doing of good deeds coupled with habitual thinking of good thoughts from which good deeds spring, which tends to make the face grow kindlier, more refined, more spiritually attractive, and therefore more beautiful. I am sure that this is so.

Many a person longs to be beautiful, Oh, with such a passionate longing! Many a young woman feels her life blighted because she is not beautiful. But it is the shallow beauty of the external that she thinks of. The deeper beauty which comes from intelligence, and especially the deepest, highest, most captivating, most enduring beauty of all, that comes from the graces of the spirit, she forgets. Yet this highest beauty waits all the while to be hers if she will have it.

Nobody likes wrinkles. We usually think of wrinkles as signs either of ugliness or old age, or both. How may they be

prevented? By preventing the causes, which are generally mental or moral, not physical. Wrinkles begin inside. Though they seem to be located on the surface, their roots are really in the brain. There are as many different kinds of wrinkles as there are different sorts of character. Most wrinkles are simply creases in the skin made by habitual or fixed expressions of countenance; and expressions of countenance are created by thoughts and feelings. The way to prevent ugly wrinkles, therefore, is to prevent ugly thoughts. There is no other way. Skilful massage of the face may do something, but not much. The massage which is effective is of the mind,—that which drives out ill nature, impatience, worry, anger, bitterness, envy, irritation; and gives peace, content, the forward instead of the backward look, kind feelings, hope, faith; for there was—

"Never thought but left its stiffened trace,
Its fossil footprints in the plastic face."

Said a certain lady: "I would as soon think of leaving my room in the morning before putting on my dress, as before putting on my face." How may an attractive face be put on? Not primarily by the aid of the looking-glass. That way lies failure. There must be something deeper. Begin the day by summoning kindly feelings to the heart, and sunny and brave thoughts to the mind, and your face will not lack charm. Fill your heart with sunshine, and soon enough you will have a face to match it.

Frances Willard, one of the queens among the women of America, has told us in the story of her life, how in her childhood she longed to be beautiful, and it was a great trouble to her that her features were plain, until a wise older friend changed the whole course of her thoughts by showing her that beauty of mind was worth far more than were any graces of the body; and from that time it was her constant longing and prayer to be made beautiful within. With this aim before her she grew up into one of the noblest women of the world and one of the most winsome.

Sometimes beauty comes to human beings by paths of which they little dream. Persons cry out selfishly for beauty; but alas! God gives them duty instead. Bye-and-bye they learn to forget themselves and to bend lovingly to their tasks. Then out

of their self-forgetting, out of their love, out of their duty-doing, a higher beauty is born for them, infinitely higher, a beauty which all men love, a beauty which awakens envy in nobody, a beauty which endures, a beauty which makes them akin to the angels and to God.

Says Schopenhauer:

"The face of a man gives us fuller and more interesting information than his tongue; for his face is the one record of all he has thought and endeavoured."

Says Thoreau:

"We are all sculptors and painters, and our material is our own flesh and blood and bones. Any nobleness begins at once to refine a man's features, and meanness or sensuality to embrate them."

Writes Ruskin:

"On all the beautiful features of men and women, throughout the ages, are written the solemnities and majesty of the law they knew, with the charity and meekness of their obedience; and on all unbeautiful features are written either ignorance of the law, or the malice and insolence of disobedience."

Says Emerson:

"Beauty is the mark that God sets upon virtue."

Again Emerson:

"You shall not tell me by languages and titles a catalogue of the volumes you have read. You shall make me feel what periods you have lived. A man shall walk, as the poets have described that goddess, in a robe painted all over with wonderful events and experiences;—his own form and features by their exalted intelligence shall be that variegated vest."

There are no such records as those inscribed upon the human body but especially upon the human countenance, were we only skilled to read them.

What tragedies look out of human eyes! What reminiscences of joy lurk in the curves that circle about human lips! What stories of toil, of endurance, of sorrow, of suffering, of defeat, of victory, of loves and hates, of ecstasies and despairs, are written in the lines that deepen and deepen with the years on human foreheads and cheeks!

Great qualities of mind and heart often shine through the features and make even the plainest face seem dignified and attractive. We have a marked illustration of this in Abraham Lincoln, whose face was plain and homely to an extraordinary degree, and yet who to those that knew him well came to seem almost beautiful. Socrates was a

notable illustration of the same in the ancient world. Thousands of others might be found, both men and women.

In cases of men of noble character even the furrows on their brow are not lines of ugliness which repel, but of daring, tenderness, strength and greatness which charm and win.

Writes an American poet:

"They are grand old men whose faces hang on my study wall.

I have done with the old beauty, of the flawless marble face, unscarred by thought or struggle or experience.

I want a new and nobler beauty:

I want the tragic beauty of countenance that tells of the conflicts and triumphs of life;

The palimpsest on which we may decipher all that is best in human history;

The beautiful lines and curves laboriously wrought by persevering love;

The face on which great souls have been trying for years to stamp themselves, and which grow more beautiful to the end—

Such are the faces of my grand old men.

"Men create themselves—it is only babes that God creates.

A new idea harboured and entertained will remake a man.

A great idea will make a little man great, it will write itself upon his blank face and transform its meanness and pettiness.

Let us open our doors to the spirit that made the grand old men."

There is no other such sculptor of the face, as the human spirit within. The mind toils all its earthly years to carve and mould a body after its likeness; and nobody and nothing can defeat its purpose. As a vacant mind makes a vacant face, so a sensual disposition carves its sensuality on the countenance; a cold heart creates a hard and steely look; cruelty in the heart writes its cruelty on the features; moral badness within soon finds a tell-tale outside—just as scrofula in the blood breaks out in sores on the skin.

On the other hand, nothing carves the lines of serenity and dignity on the countenance so surely as great and noble thoughts and deeds. Let a high purpose or a splendid enthusiasm burn habitually in the soul, and how certainly the face will become glorified by it! Let kindness be in the heart, and no power can keep the face from revealing its sweet presence.

We sometimes imagine that pain and sorrow destroy beauty. Yes, sometimes they do. If they are borne complainingly, and with a bitter spirit, they only too soon make the fairest faces look lined and old and ugly.

But if they are met bravely uncomplainingly and sweetly, they give to the human face a deeper and diviner beauty than perhaps it ever otherwise obtains.

I have known a woman who for seven years never walked a step, but lay in her bed weak and suffering, or at best sat up and was wheeled about in an invalid's chair; but all the while she was the centre, the delight and the inspiration of a large circle of friends. Though well-educated in earlier years and passionately fond of literature, she was not able to read much; but what she did read was of the best, and others gladly read to her; so that her mind was always well and freshly stored with the best thoughts of the best writers; and all this intellectual treasure she gave so freely and with such charm to others, that her room became a sort of literary *salon*, attractive in the highest degree to all who came within its influence.

She never spoke of her sufferings, indeed she seldom spoke of herself at all, so interested was she in others. Her radiant spirit made all who approached her feel that they were in the presence of health, not illness.

Many who were in sorrow sought her, because nowhere else could they find such tender sympathy and such reinforcement of hope. She took pains to find out and to remember all who were sick within the circle of her acquaintance, made daily inquiries concerning them, and planned to get their wants looked after, or, if nothing else was needed, to have a handful of flowers sent to each.

Her bedside was the brightest spot in the neighbourhood. Few entered her presence without getting from her some high and inspiring thought, and nobody left it without carrying away something of her courage and cheer. Children danced with joy at being allowed to visit her; her greeting was always so bright, and she was so sure to have a flower or bit of confection, an orange or a story for them.

I always think of her as possessed of great beauty. Now, after twenty years, I ask why, and I know the true answer is, Her beauty was of the mind and heart. True, she had luxuriant hair and fine eyes, and features of pleasing outline; but in these respects hundreds of others were her equals. Her superiority was of the soul. The grace

and charm within, shining out, refined, ennobled and glorified her face, and made everybody think of her as extraordinarily beautiful.

It has been said that loveliness is only the outside of love. Certain it is that love in the heart has a magic power to make the face lovely. Where is the boy or the man who loves his mother as a son should, who does not think her beautiful? I suppose the real reason why we always picture the angels in heaven as beautiful, is because we think of them as loving and good.

True religion is a great beautifier of the face, because it creates love and trust in the soul. False religion makes faces hard, gloomy, ugly, because it creates fear in the soul.

Pity and kindness are great beautifiers. Hope is a magical beautifier. Courage tends to mould the features into lines of high dignity and charm. Faith, trust and reverence are all wonderful transformers of the countenance, because they transform the soul. Do not all those who really live near to God, have shining faces?

Sometimes you go to a photographer and sit for a picture. You want it to be a representation not of your ugliest but of your most attractive self. What does the photographer do? Does he make a negative and

then print impressions immediately from that? Not so. He does what he calls "touching up" the negative, before he prints from it. Very likely in this process he may take out strength lines, character lines, if he be a bad artist. But if he is a good artist—a true artist—he takes out only ugliness lines. He notes these lines and wrinkles and expressions that have been put into your face by passion, by worry, by anxiety, by selfishness, by unkindness, by indulgence of your lower appetites; and these he rubs out—as much as he can—thus giving you as far as possible a picture of your better self—of your face unmarred by your soul's deformities.

But how very serious is the thought that your soul is all the while writing its character and its history on the very flesh and bones of your face! The artist can touch up his negative: can he touch up your character? It is something to get the physical marks of passion, greed, worry, impatience, uncharitableness out of your photograph. But how much better if you can keep the ugly passions themselves out of your souls.

This is the great matter of human concern in this world. Here is the supreme task of human life. We must create for ourselves Beautiful Souls.

Value of Cultural Propaganda in International Relations

BY DR. TARAK NATH DAS, PH. D.

SOME time ago the *Times* and the French papers in general, gave prominence to the news item that Dr. Stresemann, the late German Foreign Minister, had asked for 21,000,000 marks (£1,050,000) for "cultural propaganda" in connection with the Foreign Office. In defending the programme of "cultural expansion policy" Dr. Stresemann remarked *"that it must not be forgotten that foreign policy to-day must, very rightly be a policy of culture in a much greater degree than before the war."* Dr. Stresemann further pointed out that *"as a young Deputy he had supported the view that the German Reich must do more in the way of a 'cultural propaganda' in the East—for instance in Turkey. Whoever liked the culture, the*

language and the science of a country would feel closer to that country politically."

All nations, specially Great Britain and France, are actively engaged in 'cultural propaganda' for their benefit in international politics. But these nations with their characteristic shrewdness carry on this work of "cultural propaganda" secretly or through private institutions, morally and financially supported by the Government or far-sighted statesmen and businessmen. The outstanding example of a very far-sighted project of carrying on cultural propaganda to promote British interests in international politics is the "Rhodes Scholarship Scheme" maintained by the Cecil Rhodes Foundation. If any one carefully studies the life of Cecil

Rhodes, specially his will, he will be convinced that the vast project of selecting about one hundred most intelligent American University men annually to be trained in the Oxford University was conceived for the purpose of cementing closer relation between the United States of America and Great Britain. The ultimate object of this scheme of Anglo-American solidarity is to promote British interests in the form of world domination through the utilization of American power.

In this connection it must be noted with all fairness that Cecil Rhodes was one of the greatest men of the world. He was undoubtedly the most far-sighted British statesman with a constructive programme for British political and cultural supremacy. He used his vast fortune not for personal aggrandizement but to make the British people great. It will not be out of place to quote a portion of the speech of Viscount Grey, the present Chancellor of Oxford University, delivered on May 8, 1929, on the occasion of the opening of the Rhodes House. The *Times* of May 11th reports :

"The Chancellor, Lord Grey of Falldon, on behalf of the University, expressed thanks for the gift of the library. It would, as had been said, help to relieve some of the difficulty of congestion from which the Bodleian, in common with its great colleague, the British Museum, suffered. There was a real and urgent problem, and though this gift might not solve it, it would be a step towards solution. It would contain a collection dealing with past history and present progress from which those whose ambition it was to serve the British Commonwealth of Nations or the great American Republic would be able to draw inspiration and get information. The collection under that roof must do something to further the spirit of enterprise and patriotism which Cecil Rhodes had so much at heart. He trusted it would be remembered by all who used the building that but for the life and work of Cecil Rhodes it would not have come into existence.

Cecil Rhodes possessed certain qualities which he trusted people would always bear in mind in connection with that building. In the first place, he set before himself a great object in life. Making a great fortune had not for a moment distracted him from his goal. He had regarded it as a means to something greater and of more value to mankind than any individual fortune. He had a great imagination, but always realized that it must be kept within the bounds of practical effort. He had cared for personal success, prestige, and renown only so far as they contributed towards his great object. He also had the great quality that he could stand adversity. He had had his period of that at the time of the Matabele rising, when his prestige was clouded and his power diminished, but his spirit was never quenched and his grip on the object he had in view never relaxed.

Full of patriotic feeling and with a great belief in the destiny and qualities of the British race, his was no narrow nationalism, and he believed that if the British race was to do what it was qualified to do it must be done in association with other great nations.

However great the call of public affairs or the events in which a man might be involved he needed some centres of private affection. Rhodes had found his in his college and university, for which he had a deep affection. It was fitting, therefore, that there should be a memorial to him at Oxford, and he thanked the Rhodes Trustees for the magnificent building erected."

British statesmen are not unmindful of promoting cultural relations with other countries. For instance, the British Institute in France has raised a fund of more than £75,000 and established several scholarships and a British library. In Italy, British Institutes at Rome, Florence and other cultural centres are doing splendid work. To bring Latin America and Spain into closer cultural relations with Great Britain special professorships of Spanish literature have been established in various British University centres.

In Egypt, British educational institutions are doing their work to promote British interests. The University of Hongkong and the St. Johns University at Shanghai and other British institutions have done splendid work to promote British influence among the Chinese people. The British statesmen have agreed to spend several millions of pounds sterling due from the Chinese Government on account of the Boxer Indemnity, to educate Chinese scholars in British Universities. Only the other day, the British people, through the Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin and the Rt. Hon. Ramsay MacDonald presented an English library to the Japanese people to promote cultural relations between the two nations.

The only place where the British people do not see any necessity of promoting cultural relations is India which is kept under subjection for the benefit of the British people in general and British commercial interests in particular.

In the field of promoting cultural relations, the United States of America through her distinguished citizens of immense fortune, her scholars and Government, has done most wonderful work towards better understanding among nations and to spread American influence in all parts of the world. It is enough to mention that there are various American institutions in Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and other European countries.

which are doing very good work. It is necessary to mention that possibly no other institutions have done as much for the awakening of the people of the Near East as the Robert College at Constantinople, and the American University at Beirut.

Individual Americans as the Hon. Charles E. Crane of Chicago and others, and American institutions are spreading American cultural influence all over the Near East and Persia. American people have done more for India culturally than the British who for centuries have derived vast fortunes from India. America's cultural work in China is being carried on a very large scale. It was the American Government which first took the initiative to utilize the Boxer Indemnity money due to the United States for educating the Chinese in the United States and to establish the famous and up-to-date Tchung Hua College (now practically a University of American type) near Peking. Literally thousands of Chinese students, during the last two decades, have enjoyed the opportunity of receiving higher education in American universities. The present Foreign Minister of China Hon. C. T. Wang, the Minister of Communications, Mr. Sun Fo (son of the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen), the present Chinese Minister to Great Britain Dr. Sze and scores of other Chinese statesmen are America-trained and pro-American.

The work of the Rockefeller Foundation in the field of medical research, establishment of a first class medical College and hospital in China at the expense of millions of dollars is possibly a very potent factor in spreading American cultural influence. The anti-opium work carried on by American medical missionaries, and American educational institutions as the Yale in China, the Canton Christian College and others have done great service to China and to America in cultural fields.

American cultural influence in Japan is so tremendous that in spite of disagreements between two Governments on various political questions, American-Japanese relations remain cordial. During the early days of the Meiji era it was the Americans who aided in organizing the Japanese educational institutions and thousands of Japanese have been educated in American Universities. Practically in all Japanese universities and colleges American history and government is being taught while in America in all important educational institutions special attention is

given to the study of Japanese history and government.

For some time America neglected the work of cultivating cultural relations with the South American countries, but now steps are being taken to promote this work, because closer cultural relations between the United States and the Latin American countries will result in friendlier relation and will counteract various sorts of anti-American propaganda carried on by European powers (especially the British) interested in undermining American influence. The first indication of this policy is an announcement made in New York that an Argentine American Institute will be established to supplement the work of the already existing Argentine-American Institute at Buenos Aires established in 1927. Plans are being matured so that larger number of Latin American students will go to American universities than ever before. American universities are encouraging study of Spanish language as well as the history and economics of Spanish-American countries. American professors with the aid of the Carnegie Foundation and other similar institutions are visiting the Latin-American countries to come into personal contact with the cultural leaders of these lands.

During the recent years France's efforts to spread her cultural influence among other peoples have been somewhat unique. Practically in every important city in the world to-day there exists at least a small organization to spread French language and thus French influence. To encourage the study of French language in Great Britain, the United States, and other countries the French authorities offer special recognition to students who have specialized in French language. With the object of making Paris the cultural centre of the world the French Government recently donated land free to various Governments, which wished to establish special quarters for their students in Paris.

Fascist Italy has inaugurated special courses in Italian history and culture for foreigners in connection with various Italian universities. These courses are given during the summer when even the tourists can take advantage of the opportunity if they want to do so. Fascist Italy under the direction of Signor Mussolini conceived the idea of establishing *Casa Italiana* (Italian House), in connection with Columbia University of

New York as Italian cultural centre in North America. Italy's example has been followed by other nations. Italian professors are being sent to various parts of the world, especially in those countries where there is a large number of Italians. Italy did not ignore India in her programme of cultural propaganda and sent her best scholars to India and presented a library of Italian literature to the Visva Bharati, although India has not adequately reciprocated this offer of cultural co-operation.

It should be noted that of all the peoples of Asia the Japanese are doing some systematic work in the field of spreading their own culture. Although Japan once learned many things from China, yet during the last quarter of a century more than 50,000 Chinese students have studied in Japanese institutions. In Shanghai, the Japanese have established a college which is a credit to any country. In every important western capital there is a Japan Society or Japanese Association. In Paris, the Japanese have built their own house to provide accommodation for Japanese students and in Berlin through Japanese initiative a Japan institute has been established.

During recent years the crust of cultural isolation of India has broken down to a great extent. It has taken more than a century to have this re-awakening. Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen, Swami Vivekananda, Sir. J. C. Bose, Rabindranath Tagore, Dr. Brojendranath Seal, Prof. Raman, Prof. Shah, Mahatma Gandhi, Lala Lajpat Rai, the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa, Sastri, Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Prof. Radha Krishnan, Prof. Das-Gupta and others have contributed their shares. It must be said that India has done very little for cultural expansion during the last few centuries although Indian culture once spread in Europe, Africa, all over Asia and possibly in the South American continent. The Indian people have not done their share to aid those Indians, mostly workers, who during the recent years ventured to foreign shores to make their living; and at the same time possibly unconsciously laid the foundation of a new and future Greater India. No systematic work has been done by Indian political or cultural bodies to aid the millions of Indians who are struggling against serious odds. India even failed to send teachers, doctors, worthy business men to elevate these pioneers of Indian colonies. The Greater India Society started by the

enthusiastic and able Dr. Kalidas Nag and others are doing splendid work in giving a new consciousness about the Greater India of the past—India's national heritage in the field of universal culture. Let us hope that the activities of this Society will result in laying a firm foundation for nurturing the weak and somewhat helpless Greater India of to-day, so that there will be a glorious Greater India of the future.

In the field of cultural expansion, quality counts for more than quantity. So a Jagadis Bose, a Raman, a Rabindranath, a Gandhi are worth more than millions of Indians. Similarly, Indian students, educators and intellectuals and business men in foreign lands are more valuable cultural assets for India than mere emigrants. But to be honest one must recognize that India's cultural assets in foreign lands are not adequate. Indian professors, even the best of them, are quite content in staying at home and writing some text-books. They do not do their duty to themselves and the nation that maintain them, when they live as isolationists and do not go abroad to establish newer and closer contact with the rest of the civilized world. Indian universities have lower standards than Universities of Great Britain, France, Germany, United States and Japan, because India's educational leaders are in most cases isolated culturally and they lack courage to demand for such measures and work for such improvements which will make Indian universities culture centres of the world.

Indian professors should go abroad; and steps should be taken to establish exchange professorships in Indian universities. Let the cultural world of India work with a programme that in every first class University in all lands there will be at least one Indian professor and scores of Indian scholars.

Indian students in foreign lands are cultural ambassadors of the nation and they can and should act as national agents for cultural expansion. Organized effort amongst Indian students can accomplish a great deal; and the best example of it is the activities of the Hindustan Association of America. Indian students in America are poor and fewer in number than Indian students in England, but they have done much to demonstrate by their educational achievement and personal life that India's claims for nationhood should be respected. They have done more to discredit such anti-Indian propaganda as carried on by Miss Mayo

than others. This association of Indian students was organized about twenty years ago by half a dozen Indian students and has grown into an institution, an asset to the cause of cultural expansion of India. Similar cultural organization of Indians should be set up in every civilized country of the world.

The majority of Indian politicians do not fully recognize the value of cultural propaganda and thus prove their shortsightedness. Indian universities and Colleges should give special scholarships to worthy young men and women from Indian colonies. Indian universities should send their best scholars and professors to foreign educational centres. Indian universities should establish special

chairs to teach the history and civilization of other peoples; and they should do their best so that responsible Indian scholars may have the opportunity of teaching Indian history and civilization in important foreign universities. Cultural co-operation is undoubtedly a more solid foundation for international co-operation than mere business relations or political associations. Thus far-sighted Indian leaders and scholars should take the necessary steps to establish India's international relations on a cultural basis. They should utilize Indians abroad in an effective fashion for this purpose and protect their legitimate rights as India's most valuable assets.

With Sastri in South Africa

By P. KODANDA RAO

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

“WE leave Capetown pleased with our labours and if Indians in South Africa will play the game, the future is full of hope.” This was the gist of an unpremeditated speech made by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri on the spur of the moment in response to the persistent call for a speech from him at the farewell reception given to the Indian delegation by the Indians of Capetown. The proceedings of the Round Table Conference were kept a dead secret. Even the cunning cross-examination of the pertinacious press-reporters failed to ferret out any hint from the members of the Conference. The Indian farewell reception was to be a silent spectacle, except for the discussion of the weather, the tea and the cakes, and the midsummer X'mas that had just passed. Nevertheless, despite undertakings to the contrary, Dr. Abdur-Rehman manoeuvred a speech from the leader of the Indian delegation, Sir Muhammad Habibullah, who severely confined it to returning thanks to the hosts. Then arose an insistent demand from the disappointed audience for a speech from Mr. Sastri. Mr. Sastri was well on the move towards the

exit door in company with Colonel Creswell, the Minister of Defence, when he was persuaded to halt for a brief while. And then he made that *impromptu* speech referred to above. The speech was received with wild cheering for the message of hope that it contained. In another hour or two, thanks to Reuters, the tense anxiety with which the results of the Conference were awaited in India, England, the Union of South Africa was relieved and congratulations came pouring in from all quarters. Indians in the Union experienced the joy that a man under a suspended sentence of death feels when he obtains a discharge. The vow of silence was broken, and that was a breach of discipline! Would the “indiscretion” embarrass the Union Government and imperil the agreement? The fears proved in the event unfounded. On the other hand, the speech was necessary and justified in every way. But it required the unerring political instinct of a master mind to make just that speech, and say no more and no less. Mr. Sastri became the beloved of the peoples of the Union, both Indian and European.

In India the public reception of the Capetown Agreement would turn largely on the

opinion of Mahatma Gandhi, who, more than any other Indian, understood the conflicting interests in South Africa and could appraise it in proper perspective. If he approved of the Agreement generally and gave a lead to that effect in good time, much amateurish, captious and arm-chair criticism would be choked off. It was necessary that Mr. Gandhi's opinion should be published simultaneously with the Agreement. Mr. Sastri travelled down to meet Mr. Gandhi who was then touring in the Central Provinces. In the brief intervals between the latter's numerous engagements crowded into a few hours the Mahatma had to cut out a meal also to steal some time! Mr. Sastri explained the situation. Mr. Gandhi's favourable opinion was published simultaneously with the Agreement on the 21st February, 1927.

The old repatriation scheme demanded of the Indian a specific and irrevocable surrender of his South African domicile, and that stung the sense of self-respect of India. The assisted emigration scheme obviates this humiliation. Domicile need no longer be surrendered, and can be resumed within three years.—just like a European emigrant. The upliftment section of the Agreement is a unique achievement, which now constitutes the Magna Carta not only of the Indians but also of the Bantus of South Africa. The publication of the annexure containing a summary of the conclusions arrived at by the Conference was a wise procedure: it would minimize, if not obviate, disputes about private understandings and interpretations. All these bear the impress of far-seeing statesmanship.

THE AGENT ARRIVES IN SOUTH AFRICA

For a member of the "Servants of India Society," and its President at that, it is one thing to accept a place on the Round Table Conference with freedom of thought and action, and quite another to become a regular servant of the Government of India, subject to its discipline and orders. Mr. Sastri's health was causing grave anxiety. The place of the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa was no bed of roses: it would severely tax even the most robust health. But Mr. Gandhi's insistence that Mr. Sastri must be the first Agent was echoed both in India and in South Africa. Mr. Gandhi and the Government of India, whom he had solemnly promised to displace on account of

its "Satanic" nature, sat hand in hand and cheek by jowl in this matter! Reluctantly Mr. Sastri bowed to the unanimous will of the people and resigned himself to the life of an exile, personal as well as political.

When he arrived in South Africa the situation was anything but encouraging. True, the Agreement went through the Union Parliament unscathed; true, the Union Government had promptly passed legislation to implement these sections of the Agreement which promoted assisted emigration and restricted further immigration of Indians. But no action had been taken with regard to the section of "upliftment" of Indians. Eight-tenths of our nationals in the Union are concentrated in Natal, and therefore, the main burden of uplift falls on that province. The sympathy and support of the Natal Provincial Government and of the Durban Corporation are essential for the purpose. Unfortunately, they were not forthcoming at the time. Natal felt many grievances against the Union Government. Natal is almost entirely British and the Union Government was Dutch; Natal owes allegiance to the South African Party led by General Smuts, while the Union Government is of the Nationalist persuasion and is led by General Hertzog. In Natal the Indian population is about equal to the European population—a potent cause for the violent anti-Indian feeling in that province. The white people of Natal felt that, without their express consent being sought and obtained, the Union Government had been generous with their promises of Indian upliftment at the expense of the Natal. The Natal Provincial Council had formally repudiated the Agreement by a majority of seventeen to three! Under these circumstances, the Union Government felt it impolitic and useless to put pressure on the Natal Government. It wisely kept silent.

In certain quarters there were suspicions and doubts as to why, instead of sending a junior member of the civil service for the comparatively minor post of the Agent of the Government of India, the Indian Government, backed for a wonder by Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian people, sent out so eminent an Indian as Mr. Sastri. Had Mr. Sastri any ambitious instructions up his sleeve?

The Indian community was divided into two hostile camps. The South African Indian Congress had tentatively and cautiously accepted the Agreement, while the Transvaal

British Indian Association had repudiated it and the Congress as well. And all the earnest efforts of Mr. C. F. Andrews to bring the Association into line with the Congress proved futile.

As for Mr. Sastri himself, though, thanks to the efforts of the Commissioner of Asiatic Affairs, the Grand Hotel of Pretoria agreed to accommodate Mr. Sastri and his Indian Private Secretary, not all the persuasion of the Commissioner would induce any hotel in Johannesburg or Durban or Pietermaritzburg to follow suit.

THE CONVERSION OF NATAL

After taking stock of the situation in Pretoria, the seat of the Union Government, Mr. Sastri entered Natal in the middle of July 1927, a fortnight after his arrival in the Union. The Indian Congress had arranged a grand reception in the local Town Hall which was attended by a large number of Europeans also. It was presided over, in the absence of the Mayor on other duty, by the Deputy Mayor, Mrs. Seidle, who struck the first welcome note when she said that Durban would stand by the Agreement faithfully (though later events belied that promise as far as the Durban Corporation was concerned). At this reception Mr. Sastri made his first great speech in which he set out his policy. Whatever his personal opinions, he would not, as Agent of the Government of India, travel beyond the four corners of the Agreement, and the agreement contained no reference to the political franchise. If occasionally young Indians spoke of the franchise, he pleaded with the whites to exercise some little toleration and forbearance, for it was only natural that the South African Indian should feel inspired by the recent attainment of full Dominion status by South Africa and by the development of responsible institutions in India. He would stand by the Agreement, the whole of it and nothing beyond it. With solemn and impressive eloquence he adjured the Natal whites, who are more British than the British themselves, not to forge and betray the honour of the Union Jack and its traditions of chivalry, fair play and freedom of oppressed nationalities while they remembered its might and majesty and the political gains and advantages it brought to them. With the Indians he pleaded that they should get the utmost advantage out of the Agreement, that they should utilize to the full such facilities for education as then existed and as

might in the near future be made available, and that they should exercise some measure of self-help. The speech was electrical in its effects. His good faith was at once acknowledged and he won the confidence and trust of Natal.

His Royal Highness the Earl of Athlone, the Governor General of the Union, is not a mere figure-head. His great and unique, though unobtrusive, services towards the reconciliation of the two contending factions over the flag controversy which very nearly developed into a civil war, were publicly acknowledged by General Smuts and the Prime Minister in Parliament. Happily His Royal Highness was in Durban when Mr. Sastri newly arrived there. Soon Mr. Sastri had an opportunity of meeting the Administrator of Natal, His Honour Sir George Plowman. Subsequently Mr. Sastri was given special facilities to meet the Executive, and later the Provincial Council of Natal and of expounding to them the nature and contents of the Agreement and the obligations under it. Mr. Sastri visited almost every centre in Natal where Indians are to be found in numbers and explained the Agreement to large, and in several cases record, audiences of Europeans and Indians. Many a European, who had hitherto been fed exclusively on anti-Indian propaganda, learnt for the first time that there was another side to the question and that the Indian had a case, and that the Agreement was a fair compromise and not a one-sided surrender to the Indians. In little over two months Mr. Sastri had the gratification of realizing the first fruits of his labours. On the 22nd of September, which was his birthday, he was authorized to announce that the Natal Administration had, in pursuance of the Agreement, decided to appoint the Education Commission adumbrated in it. No birthday present was more welcome to Mr. Sastri. His hope and faith that Natal "may travel from repudiation to tolerance and so through to complete consent" had come true. In the normal course of things the task properly belonged to the Union Ministers: it was for the Government that concluded the Agreement to defend it in public and get their people to accept it. But in this case, the job had to be done by Mr. Sastri. So deep had the anti-Indian prejudice sunk into the minds of the white people and so contrary was the avowed policy of the present Government when it came to power in 1924 that no responsible

minister yet finds it safe and prudent to go to the country and publicly defend the uplift of the Indians and is, therefore, content to emphasize the success (from the European point of view) of assisted emigration.

THE TRANSVAAL

The task of reconciling the whites of the Transvaal to the Agreement was even more difficult. The Britishers in Natal were susceptible to appeals to their Empire sentiment. They were thrilled to be reminded of their mighty and glorious heritage, and they paused to listen and dwell on the obligations that were part and parcel of that heritage. It was a potent instrument, this appeal to their Empire sentiment, in reconciling them to the uplift of the Indians amongst them, and Mr. Sastri knew how to use it to good purpose. The whites in the Transvaal are Dutch and to them the Empire was an anathema. It was difficult to find a responsive chord among them. The Dutch people and the Dutch press have on the whole bestowed only sullen acquiescence and frigid toleration. If they did not repudiate the Agreement, it was because it was their leaders who now form the Government that concluded it. Though no serious frontal attack against the Agreement has yet developed, a more or less continuous anti-Indian snipping has been kept up in that province. And again and again Mr. Sastri had to hurry up there and intercede in order to stave off an impending danger.

THE AGREEMENT AND PARTY POLITICS

Although Mr. Sastri's exposition of the Capetown Agreement helped largely to dispel the misconceptions regarding it, and as a consequence made it less unacceptable to the dominant community, still it was not safe from party politics and party controversy. The South African Party were not represented at the Round Table Conference: which seemed to justify their taking a purely party attitude towards its results and of opposing them and of denouncing them when they came to power. Natal, the stronghold of the S. A. P., was, as has already been indicated, opposed to the Agreement and was chafing under it. Though happily it encountered no serious opposition or challenge in Parliament General Smuts, the leader of the S. A. P., sat a silent spectator, inscrutable as the sphinx. The S. A. P. were not of one mind in the matter, and there was no

small danger of the anti-Indians weighing down the scale in the balance.

There was yet another and graver danger. The Government of General Hertzog had, in putting their seal to the upliftment section of the Agreement, reversed their former policy towards Indians and gone back on their election promises. From the purely party point of view, apart from the merits of the Agreement, it was a sore temptation to the S. A. P. to show up the Government for their change of front. Once the Agreement was dragged into party controversy, the discussion would not be confined to the inconsistency of the Government, but would extend to the merits of the Agreement; and the embers of the anti-Indian agitation which Mr. Sastri's labours has helped to still, would soon be fanned into a blaze. The general elections were looming ahead, and anything is possible at election time.

These two dangers to the Agreement could be staved off if the leading members of the two political parties could be prevailed upon to give the Agreement not merely gingerly toleration but cordial support. Mr. Sastri celebrated the first anniversary of the publication of the Agreement with a dinner at which were present the leading members of the Cabinet and of the Opposition, except General Smuts. While Dr. D. F. Malan, the Minister-in-charge, was rather cautious and timorous, General Hertzog, the Prime Minister and Mr. Patrick Duncan, the chief lieutenant of General Smuts, gave it their hearty blessing. The English press in the whole Union followed the better example. It was a welcome chorus, and most heartening.

The absence of General Smuts at the anniversary dinner was significant and was a portent that the Agreement was not wholly secure from party criticism and exploitation. In October 1928 he made a public attack on the Agreement; rather he pilloried the Nationalist Government for having fallen an easy prey to the diplomacy of Mr. Sastri, and given away more rights to the Indians! Next morning the *Cape Times*, the leading British journal in the Union and in sympathy with the political party of General Smuts, came out with a slashing attack on him for his mischievous action, and protested that, if the Nationalists had done one good thing during their regime, it was the Capetown Agreement. This was no isolated instance. On numerous occasions leaders of political thought, members of Parlia-

ment and the English press have sworn to and sworn by the Agreement. Speaking at the farewell meeting organized by the Indians in Durban in honour of Mr. Sastri, Senator Sir Charles Smith, Chairman of the South African Party in Natal, said publicly that it was unthinkable that any party in South Africa would ever think of going back upon the Cape Town Agreement.

CHANGE OF HEART

Nevertheless, the South African Party at its last annual conference held in Bloemfontein, passed, at the insistent pressure of its Natal members, a resolution on the Indian question in the following terms:—"The South African Party favours the maintenance of restrictions on Asiatic immigration and of Government assistance for permanent repatriation." There is no mention of uplift! Strange are the exigencies of politics. If the position of Indians in the Union is not to slide back but to improve, something more than the Government's signature to a bond is necessary—a change of heart among the European citizens. That is the only permanent security.

Having known the Indians amidst them principally as either coolies or petty traders who undercut them, the Europeans had formed a low and contemptuous opinion of Indians as a community, unworthy of their appreciation and respect. The higher aspects of Indian civilization and culture were a sealed book to them. Mr. Sastri opened their eyes to these treasures of the East. In numerous addresses to crowded audiences at schools and colleges and universities, at city halls and church gatherings, even from the pulpits of European churches Mr. Sastri expounded, with a clarity and eloquence all his own, the philosophy and the literature of India, and described her peoples and her institutions. He was no apologist, no propagandist, for India. If Mr. Sastri admired the British Empire, he was no less proud of the rich heritage of India. His fair and impartial statements, his balanced judgments and his persuasive eloquence captivated the intellectual aristocracy of the land, and won its willing homage. His own character and personality gave concreteness to what his words conjured up. His was an unprecedented triumph of personality over race prejudice, of culture over politics. Doors which were closed to him when he arrived

in the country were now open and those who barred his entrance felt proud if he entered. The Bishop of Johannesburg, that uncompromising champion of Christian relations between the races, had anticipated this, and had Mr. Sastri as the guest of himself and his wife. The first hotels in the land competed for his patronage. When it was feared that Mr. Sastri would not consent to prolong his stay in the Union beyond the year he had stipulated for, the press joined the Indians in persuading him to change his mind. When he toured in the country the mayors of each town he visited received him with civic honours and presided over his meetings, and in some cases entertained him at lunches and, in one instance, made him the guest of the City. Even the Dutch Reformed Church, conservative in its race prejudice, fell under his spell and prevailed upon him to speak to a large public meeting on Christianity as he saw it. When at Klerksdorp in the Transvaal the Deputy Mayor attempted unsuccessfully to break up his meeting, the indignant condemnation of his conduct testified to the enthusiastic appreciation of Mr. Sastri's services not only to the Indian cause but to South Africa as well. The citizens of Cape Town raised funds by public subscription for a bust of Mr. Sastri executed by a talented European sculptor. And when finally, after eighteen months of strenuous service, he left the country to return to India, numerous and remarkable tributes were paid to his popularity, his hold on the affections of the peoples of South Africa and his great services to the country.

This was in the main a triumph of personality. But it was not without a favourable reaction on the Indians as a whole. The Lord Bishop of Natal was not speaking only for himself when in his address to his clergy and laity at the Diocessan Synod, he said, "We, English people, cannot—can we?—afford to despise any longer a people out of whom has come one whom many of us have had the privilege of meeting, the present Agent in South Africa of the Indian Government," and when he exhorted the churchmen that in case of need they "must stand by him and give him the help and the encouragement which he will look for and welcome from us for his people's sake." When the South African Indian Congress held its annual sessions in Kimberley and in

Durban, representatives of the European press attended; and the proceedings received wide publicity and notice. In response to invitations, several Departments of Government were represented at the meetings, and they offered explanations, or took notes for submission to higher authorities. For the first time meetings organized by Europeans in honour of Mr. Sastri were thrown open to Indians. When the Indo-European Council of Johannesburg gave a farewell dinner to Mr. Sastri, more than a score of local

cheerfully and thankfully acknowledged on all hands that there has been a change of heart in large sections of thinking people. This is perhaps the most valuable part of Mr. Sastri's services. Whether this improvement will last will depend on the continuity of cultural contact between South Africa and India and the facilities that the Europeans are provided with for such contact. Since returning to India Mr. Sastri has pleaded for some of our first-rate men and women of culture to visit South Africa, where they are assured of a cordial welcome.



The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri

Indians dined at the Carlton Hotel which once had refused to open its doors to Mr. Sastri himself. At his instance, the Orient Club, the splendid country club of the Indians of Durban, made it a feature of its activities to invite prominent Europeans to its Sunday lunches. Its invitations were readily and eagerly accepted. Mr. Sastri was able to entertain local Indian friends at European hotels in Capetown and in Natal. The word "coolie" is no longer the synonym for the Indian, and paragraphs of wanton offence to the Indians have ceased to be the delight of the leading newspapers. It was

JOINT COUNCILS

As the local Indians are denied the political franchise and social intercourse with Europeans, their point of view has very little chance of reaching and influencing the enfranchised class. In the time of Mr. Gandhi the Indian cause had many friends among Europeans, some of whom had so far identified themselves with it that they suffered imprisonment for it. Unluckily, however, when the anti-Indian agitation was at its worst in the first half of this decade there was hardly a European in South Africa who would interpose a kindly word for the Indian. And in South Africa a word of defence or remonstrance from a European carries greater influence with the politically dominant class than the anguished cry of the injured Indian or the Native. A group of Europeans who were willing to meet the Indians and understand their point of view, and if convinced, publicly espouse their cause and in turn, explain to the Indians the view point of the Europeans and prevent unfounded misconceptions would be an invaluable asset to the Indians. The Native has such friends in the Joint Councils of Europeans and Bantus. A parallel organization to bring together the Indians and the Europeans was conceived very soon after Mr. Sastri's arrival in Durban, but the time was not ripe for launching it. It was, therefore, left on the simmer. In about a year the situation had so far improved that some Europeans themselves felt the need for such an organization and sought Mr. Sastri's assistance to form one, which was readily forthcoming. Two Indo-European Councils have been formed, one in Johannesburg and another in Durban, which have already justified themselves by their excellent work. For instance, the Indo-European Council of

Johannesburg under the chairmanship of Prof. J. M. Watt of the local University, interceded publicly and effectively in rescuing the Indian waiters and barmen from a law that proposed to deprive them of their means of living; and the Bishop of

Johannesburg, another member of the Council, went so far as to administer a public rebuke to the Government for contemplating this grave injustice to the Indian waiters.

To be concluded.)

The Aristocrats

By SITA DEVI

ANANTA Guha was born at the time when fickle Dame Fortune was already beginning to desert the Guha family. At one time this family had been famous in the countryside for its wealth and its pedigree alike. But Ananta's grandfather had gone in for various kinds of business, thereby decreasing the family fortunes considerably. His son Adinath became inordinately close-fisted. He would never spend a rupee, if he could manage with eight annas. But this did not improve matters much. When Ananta grew up, he found that his family fortunes consisted of a huge dilapidated building, some landed property and a colossal pride of family.

Ananta's mother was cast down at this adversity. The house had once been full of attendants and servants, but now it had become mute as the grave. She had to do all the housework besides looking after the child. Her mind lost all peace. She did her best to make her husband share this feeling of disquiet, but he was not a person to be easily perturbed. He would only laugh and answer, "My dear, though you grumble now to carry this child about, you will be glad afterwards. This very child will bring back Dame Fortune to our house. Have not you seen his horoscope? If we could but bring him up properly, all our troubles would be over."

They tried their best to bring Ananta up properly. His mother sold her few remaining ornaments, the father mortgaged the house and thus raised some money. With this Ananta was sent to the town, to continue his studies. He knew very well from the beginning, what was expected of him. He

would have to replace the crumbling ruins with a brand new house, and for her few ornaments he must pay back to his mother just as much as she could possibly wear. His brain seethed with ideas of making money. He never wasted any time. During the vacations, whenever he came home, mother and son would talk only about this.

"As soon as you have graduated," his mother would say, "I shall arrange your marriage. You will see what kind of a girl I choose. The person, who can give a houseful of furniture, a boxful of jewellery and a sackful of money, can have my son as his daughter's husband. None else should dare to look at him."

The son assumed a humble pose. "Oh go on, mother," he would say, "who is going to pay so much for your son? A graduate is nothing rare nowadays. In every lane in Calcutta, you will find dozens of them."

"That may be," the mother would answer. "But none of such good family as you! In this family one son is equal to ten thousand rupees. No daughter-in-law came in here with a smaller dowry. Do you know how my father became ruined? Just on account of my marriage. But nobody ever heard him grumbling. He had done something worth doing."

Ananta had faith in his mother's words. So gradually he came to regard himself as a valuable property.

He graduated in good time. His mother at once engaged professional matchmakers to find out a suitable match for him. They were instructed to find out first of all, whether the bride's father was rich, then to enquire after other things.

There is no famine of bride in Bengal any time. Whatever you might look for you are sure to find sooner or later. So rich fathers too were found in many places.

Negotiations were opened in a certain quarter. The girl was not bad looking, and was about fourteen years of age. "If they admit to her being fourteen," said Ananta's mother Mahalakshmi, "she must at least be sixteen or seventeen. Why, she is quite a woman! I wonder whether she would submit to discipline. She may bring on an estrangement between our boy and ourselves."

"No fear," said Adinath. "In our family, no one ever went by women's advice. If they agree to our terms, I won't object to the girl's age."

The girl's father agreed to the terms. Mahalakshmi nearly went wild with joy. The day appointed for the wedding seemed too far off, she wanted to drag it nearer by main force. As she could not do that, she began to indulge in day dreams to her heart's content. She made a list of all the ornaments she would order as soon as she had got the marriage dowry in hand. Her husband had spoken truly. Her son was really going to revive the family fortunes. The bride's father had agreed to pay them five thousand rupees cash and jewels and other presents worth another five thousand. The girl was his only daughter, so they could look forward reasonably to costly gifts every year at festival times.

But man proposes, God disposes. Things did not work out quite in the way Mahalakshmi had been dreaming of. Adinath started on the appointed day for the bride's house with his son, a crowd of friends and relatives, and a brass band which rent the very heavens with clamour. Mahalakshmi remained behind, talking to the assembled ladies of the neighbourhood and making arrangements for the reception of the bride. She wanted to show all the jealous old cats of the village that they could still manage a reception worthy of their name.

Ananta was due to return with his bride today. The house was chokeful of relatives and guests. Mahalakshmi kept a sharp look upon all the arrangements, and her voice rose gradually to an astonishing pitch. Her excitement knew no bounds. A band had been stationed at the main gate. Their instruments gave out shrill notes every now and then and fell silent again. They waited

for the arrival of the wedding party to play with full vigour.

Of Mahalakshmi's own people, only her brother's wife had come with her child. She was received very cordially. The two sisters-in-law sat talking. "I say, sister," the new-comer asked, "is it true that the bride is not good-looking?"

Mahalakshmi flared up at once. "Who has been telling you such lies?" she asked. "Has she gone and seen the bride with her own eyes?"

"Rumours are always noised about," said her sister-in-law. "You need not get angry over that. They must have heard that Ananta is getting quite a round sum, so they have conjectured that something must be wrong with the bride."

But this served to increase Mahalakshmi's temper. "Why should they dare to conjecture any such thing?" She cried out with asperity. "Is my son so worthless that nobody can pay five thousand for him? Is there such another family in the whole countryside? Girls, beautiful as goddesses have been married into this family and brought dowries worthy of princesses, too. Did not the old cats look, then? They are dying of jealousy, that's what's the matter with them."

At this juncture, the band struck up with great enthusiasm, putting an end to all arguments. Everyone ran to have a sight of the bride.

During the clamour and confusion of receiving the bride according to orthodox rites, Mahalakshmi had no opportunity of asking her husband anything. The bride could not be called beautiful, but neither was she ugly. Ananta's face looked very gloomy. Mahalakshmi thought that he must have been disappointed in the bride's looks. She laughed to herself. How long could a woman keep her good looks after all! Once she became a mother, beauty would vanish like a dream. Take her own case, for instance.

After the neighbours and guests had departed, Mahalakshmi found herself at leisure. She entered her bedroom and found her husband lying down with an ominous frown on his face. Her heart gave an uneasy leap, in anticipation of some impending calamity. She went hastily to the side of her husband and asked, "What's the matter? Why are you lying like that?"

"I hope, you won't shriek and storm, when I tell you," said Adinath. "In my opinion it's no use publishing one's own folly to the neighbours. Let's keep it to ourselves."

Mahalakshmi's anxiety knew no bounds. "First tell me, what has happened," she urged.

"I did not get the dowry money," said Adinath.

Mahalakshmi's brain seemed to catch fire. "Then why have you brought over that scarecrow of a bride?" she shouted. "Could not you have brought your son back alone?"

"No, I could not," said Adinath. "The bride's father was ill, he wept, taking me by the hand, and promised to pay me in full within three months. If he could not, he bound himself to take back his daughter. We would be free to marry our son again. After such talk, what else could I do but consent? To come away, would have been too heartless and mean. We have our family tradition to consider. In other respects, they have kept their word. The presents and jewels are all right."

This did not pacify Mahalakshmi by any means. "What do I care, if they are?" she cried. "It won't gladden my eyes much to look at your son's wife glittering with jewels. I sold all my jewels to educate my son, and hoped he would amply recompense me. But, what a fool you are! I feel like hanging myself. I shall kick out that swindler's daughter, first thing in the morning."

Adinath got fed up with his wife's display of temper. "What's the hurry?" he asked. "If they don't pay up after three months, you may do whatever you like. Since I have given my word, I shall keep it."

"Have they kept theirs?" asked Mahalakshmi angrily.

"Other people have always learnt manners from us," Adinath said, "we never learnt from others."

Mahalakshmi raged and stormed but she could do nothing against her husband's wish. The bride's reception passed off somehow. The girl understood her position clearly enough, but she could only depend on destiny. She wrote piteous letters to her father's house, requesting them to fulfil their word, else untold sufferings lay in store for her.

But suffering is the birthright of most

Bengali girls, and the new bride Lalita did not escape it. Ananta was not very loving in his treatment of her, but neither was he wantonly cruel. He would even caress her sometimes when the mood took him. So on the whole, Lalita had no great faults to find with him. But her mother-in-law was the real source of danger. Her sharp and cruel words seemed to pierce the poor girl's heart through. She could only weep. She had nothing to do with her father-in-law, she never saw him. The gentleman was sore against the girl, because she had entered their noble family through fraud, without paying adequately for this high privilege. He did not really recognize her as his son's wife in his heart of hearts. So he remained supremely indifferent and disdainful in his attitude.

But matters did not rest there. After the three months had passed the money was not forthcoming. Instead, news came that Lalita's father was dying. He promised to pay them fully, next year, if he was spared. Now he wanted them to send Lalita to him as he was very anxious to see his child.

Needless to say, this grievous news did not give rise to a tempest of sorrow in this noble family.

"The liar, the swindler!" cried out Mahalakshmi. "Let them take away their girl, for ever." She was ready enough to chase her daughter-in-law out with a broomstick, only her husband's zeal about aristocratic deportment kept her from doing it. Ananta did not say either yes or no. He was a good son, and he could never contradict his parents. When his wife actually left, shedding tears of anguish, his heart ached for a time. But he was himself soon, hardening his heart with the thought of his father-in-law's perfidy.

Ananta did not have to suffer from the pangs of separation for a long time. A second bride soon made her appearance and drove away all darkness from his hearth and heart. Her name was Meghamala. She was much better looking than Lalita. Ananta's price had gone down somewhat in the marriage market as he was no longer a bachelor, still his noble family stood him in good stead and he fetched a fairly good price. His second father-in-law was a man of means too, and he did not create any trouble at the time of paying down all he had promised. Mahalakshmi bought ornaments

to her heart's content. From the first she took a liking to Meghamala. Though the girl came of quite an ordinary family, her training had been good. She regarded her mother-in-law with veneration like a goddess. So the days passed on quite smoothly. Ananta secured a good job in a bank through the recommendation of his father's friends. He was a thrifty man and soon began to lay by money. He could not bring over his wife to Calcutta as his parents were still living. He went home on week ends and enjoyed the society of his young wife. The rest of the week, he spent in a hostel.

Nobody enquired after Lalita and she too remained silent. They heard through people that her father was dead. Sometimes a mild young face, and a pair of dark, tearful eyes would intrude themselves into Ananta's mind but not for long.

His second wife Meghamala had really brought him luck. The fortunes of the family continued to flourish more and more. Mahalakshmi got a boxful of jewels and the old house, which had been falling into ruins was thoroughly repaired and repainted and became quite new in appearance. The host of servants returned again. Mahalakshmi had nothing left to do, but criticize her neighbours and their affairs. Everyone feared her sharp tongue and her unbounded leisure.

Ananta always found his mother holding a court of social justice, whenever he came home. It seemed not to matter at all to the dispensers of justice that the culprits were all absent. They went on condemning right and left and felt thoroughly satisfied with themselves.

Ananta never liked to see time or money wasted. But he hesitated to say anything to his mother, lest she should take offence.

But this sight proved too irritating for him at last. "Mother," he said, "haven't these old women anything to do? I see them wasting your time with their endless gossip, everytime I come here."

Mahalakshmi yawned long and loud and said, "I have nothing to do, my dear boy. I have not even a grandchild to play with and carry about. You are my only son and have been married these three years. But there is no sign of a baby yet."

Ananta himself had been feeling rather troubled on this matter. His mother's words served to increase the perturbation

of his spirits. Meghamala tried her best, but could not remove the gloom from her husband's countenance that evening.

Ananta returned to Calcutta, but could not forget his mother's remarks. She had spoken truly. Was he never going to become a father at all? That would be a terrible calamity. The noble family would end with him. Was this a punishment meted out to him, because he had driven out his innocent first wife? If Meghamala really turned out to be barren, he might have to marry again. Poor Meghamala! How unfortunate these women were! They seemed to be born for suffering, though in most cases, the fault was not theirs.

But Meghamala was young as yet, he could afford to wait a few years more. If he could get his parents' consent, he would bring his wife over and consult a specialist. If they advised any kind of treatment, he would stand for it. Could not he bring Lalita back again? But his second wife would hardly consent to live with a rival. Still there was a chance of a rival appearing, even if she did not consent. So an old one was better than a new one. He must find out whether Lalita was alive and where she was.

These thoughts he kept to himself. But Meghamala was an intelligent girl, and she could see very well that something was preying on her husband's mind. It was not difficult to conjecture what that thing was, because though Ananta remained silent, not so his mother. Her disappointment was becoming more and more stormy in its outbursts and she collected all the amulets, medicines and charms she had heard about and loaded the poor girl with them. Meghamala began to get more and more depressed.

Suddenly Adinath fell ill. For a few days Meghamala got a respite. Nobody had any attention to spare for her. Ananta secured a month's leave and came home to look after his father, for there was no other man in the house.

Their village was a fairly large and modern one. It had a school, a charitable hospital and a competent medical practitioner. He was called in. Adinath grew better at first, then he relapsed again and then again gained a bit. Matters went on thus for the first week.

One morning, the doctor called Ananta aside and said, "Look here. Ananta Babu,

I want to say something to you. Your father is an old man and he is getting weaker every day. I don't even suggest that he would not recover if he stayed on here. But in the case of old people, it is no harm being extra careful. If you want to take him to Calcutta, do it now. For, if you delay long, it may become impossible to remove him."

Ananta felt his heart sinking. Though the doctor did his best to hide his real meaning, Ananta understood well enough that his father's condition was becoming serious. The doctor was not feeling sure of himself. Ananta at once wired to one of his friends in Calcutta to engage a house for him. Himself, he started for the railway station to arrange for a reserved compartment for himself and the family. Everyone had to go. Mahalakshmi insisted on accompanying her husband and as Meghamala could not be left behind alone, she too got ready to go. Her services were sure to be required for the invalid.

Fortunately, Ananta was successful in securing both the house and the reserved compartment. They started for the railway station, the invalid in a palanquin, and the womenfolk in a hackney coach. Their luggage was brought over in a bullock cart. Even now, Ananta could not help thinking of the enormous expenditure he was being put to.

They reached Calcutta safely and Adinath was given the best medical treatment available. But his end had come. A few days later, he passed off, leaving all ties and pride of family behind. Before his death, he was heard to bewail his hard luck, in not being able to see the face of a grandchild. Meghamala's heart became heavy with premonitions of disaster.

Mahalakshmi's wails of sorrow filled the whole house. There was no consolation for her anywhere in this terrible bereavement. The world became dark to her.

"Let's go back to the village, mother," said Ananta. "What's the use of tarrying here longer?"

Mahalakshmi objected vigorously. I won't look at that house again," she wailed. "The jealous old cats have got their heart's desire now. Their eyes burnt with envy when they saw me covered with jewels. Now they will be satisfied to see me a widow. I don't want to give them that satisfaction."

"But the house will fall into ruins, mother," said Ananta. "Please don't be so unreasonable. We are unlucky to lose father but still we

must carry on. It would never do to let everything go to the dogs."

Mahalakshmi became somewhat calm and said, "You are my all, my darling. I don't want any other property. If you live, I am satisfied. For whom shall I go and look after the property? You have no children. When we are all gone, those rascally relatives will come into everything. We need not take care of the house and lands for them. Let everything fall into ruins."

Ananta seemed to receive a blow right on his heart. True it was, what his mother said. For whom was he amassing wealth and building up a fortune? Their home has remained a desert without children.

"What have you decided?" asked Meghamala at night. "Shall we return or stay on here?"

"I don't know what to do," said Ananta. "Mother is wholly opposed to the idea of going back. But go we must, at least for the purpose of celebrating the *shradh* ceremony. Then if she insists on coming back, we shall come back. It would be good in one way. I wanted to keep you here for some time in order to consult some specialists."

"What for?" asked Meghamala with a sad smile. "Because I have no child?"

"It's no laughing matter," said Ananta gravely. "I am the only child of my parents. If I don't leave any child behind, the family would disappear. That would be a calamity. Our family is the noblest and the most ancient in our country."

"What can a specialist do for me?" said his wife. "I don't think I shall ever be a mother. You had better marry again."

She had spoken half in jest and half in earnest. She wanted to know what Ananta intended doing. But as soon as she had spoken, she repented. The expression on Ananta's face boded little good for her.

"If fate ordains it," said Ananta, "I might have to do it yet." Meghamala had no reply to this.

Ananta's heart was full of care. After his father's death, a messenger had been sent to Lalita to acquaint her with the news. But the messenger came back with the information that the family had left that village. Their house had fallen into ruins. The old folks were dead. The sons had gone away to other places in search of employment. Nobody knew where Lalita was or whether she was still alive

Ananta felt very much depressed. It would have been much to his advantage if he could have brought Lalita back. If he married again, it would mean much censure and calumny in society. Nobody would understand his necessity, but everyone would condemn loudly. It would be difficult too, to secure a good bride. Nobody would wax enthusiastic over a bridegroom, who had already two wives living. His noble blood would not help him much. He would only get a girl, whom no one else would accept. And it would be no easy job for him to live with a totally unsuited wife after having lived with such a wife as Meghamala. Besides, what would happen to poor Meghamala? She might do something very rash in her sorrow and disappointment. If he could have brought Lalita back, all his difficulties would have been solved at once. His own conscience would have been satisfied and he would have received praise from all quarters instead of censure. Even Meghamala would have preferred this to his marrying again, for Lalita's claim was prior to her own. Meghamala's parents had given her in marriage, knowing of the existence of Lalita, so they too could not have objected much. Lalita was a very charming and sweet girl, though she was not a beauty. He might even have persuaded his two wives to live together. But no trace of Lalita could be found. Once she had been driven away with insults, but now her husband's house opened its door wide in welcome to her. Still she did not return. Among the teeming millions of India, she seemed to be lost for ever.

Ananta paid a visit to his village in order to perform his father's *Shradh* ceremony, then he returned to Calcutta with his wife and mother. The days passed on. Ananta did not grudge any expense for Meghamala's treatment. Mahalakshmi too was indefatigable in her search for charm and amulets, which would remove the curse of barrenness from her son's wife. But Meghamala herself felt more and more hopeless every day.

Still she was very young as yet, so Ananta tried to keep up hope. He was ready to wait a couple of years or so, then he must make Meghamala see reason and permit him to marry again. He would never neglect her one single bit. She would remain the real mistress of his home. The new wife would occupy quite a subordinate place.

Mahalakshmi too was in falling health. She was suffering from various complicated diseases, but stubbornly refused to be treated by any doctor. So matters went on for some time.

Suddenly, one day she took a turn very much for the worse. Ananta had gone to his bank and the servant too had gone out and was not likely to return before the evening. The only persons in the house besides the invalid, were the old maidservant and her frightened young mistress.

Meghamala was trembling with fear at her mother-in-law's condition. "Please call some one," she requested the maidservant, "so that I can send to the bank for my husband."

"Whom shall I call?" asked the old woman. "I don't think I shall find anybody at home now. Everyone has gone out to work."

"What shall we do then?" asked Meghamala in perplexity.

"Look here," said the maidservant. "There's a lady doctor living at the corner of the street. She enjoys a very good practice. Shall I go and call her?"

Meghamala breathed with relief. "All right," she said. "Run for her. I shall send her her fees, as soon as your master returns."

The old woman hurried out as fast as she could. She returned within half an hour, accompanied by a young lady, who was very tastefully yet soberly dressed. The maidservant carried a small handbag.

When she saw Meghamala the lady doctor asked, "Who is ill? Your servant could explain nothing clearly."

"Come into this room, please," said Meghamala. "My mother-in-law is ill."

The lady doctor went in. Mahalakshmi raised no objection to her, because she was a woman and quite a young one at that. She looked very amiable and good-natured. She examined the old lady deftly and asked her a few questions. Then she sent the old maidservant to her house, and had the necessary things and medicines brought over. She stayed for nearly an hour, and left after Mahalakshmi was feeling somewhat better. She instructed Meghamala to send for her again, if the old lady became worse. Even if she were not at home, there were a couple of nurses living with her who would come and help.

Meghamala told her that as soon as Ananta returned, she would send the doctor her fees.

The young lady laughed and said, "You need not worry about that. It can wait." She left, as if in a hurry.

Meghamala returned to her mother-in-law. The old lady had become extremely restless. "When will Ananta return?" she asked continuously.

Fortunately, Ananta came back rather early that day. Meghamala ran to him saying, "It's a mercy that you have returned early today. I was in such a state! Mother was about to collapse and was saved purely through the grace of God. The maidservant called in a lady doctor, who helped us a lot. Come and see mother, she is very restless. I have not paid the lady doctor her fees yet."

Ananta had come back as he was feeling very unwell himself. But he forgot about his own indisposition now and ran to see his mother.

"So you have come at last?" said Mahalakshmi. But you are looking very unwell."

"Never mind about me. I hear that you have been very ill. Now, do you realize the effect of leaving diseases untreated?"

"I am old, my dear," said Mahalakshmi, and cannot last for ever. I would count myself fortunate, if I could go before you."

"Let this lady doctor treat you," said Ananta. "Since you won't allow anybody else to come near you. She lives near by, and will be able to come whenever needed."

"Very well," said his mother. "The girl seemed a good one. She reminded me of someone."

Ananta came out of his mother's room. "I won't take anything now," he said to Meghamala. "I am feeling very feverish. I shall go and lie down for a bit."

"Good God," said Meghamala, "misfortune never comes alone. Now, both of you are taken ill. How am I to look after you both?"

"It's no use grumbling against fate," said Ananta. "People don't get ill intentionally for the fun of it. You will have to manage somehow."

His temperature rose steadily, and did not show any signs of going down the next day. Poor Meghamala was at her wit's end. She did not know whom to attend. She was extremely unwilling to leave her husband, yet if she left her mother-in-law entirely in

the charge of the maidservant, the old lady became furious.

Ananta noticed her plight and said, "We must not think of economy now. Call your lady doctor and ask her to get a nurse for mother. The maidservant is useless and I don't blame mother for getting angry with her."

Meghamala sent for the lady doctor, Miss Mitra. When she came, she requested her to get a nurse for the old lady, and then ran back to her husband. Ananta never liked to be left alone.

The lady doctor went and sat down by Mahalakshmi's bed. "Come, my dear," said the old lady. "I liked you at first sight. What's your name? I cannot call you doctor, can I?"

"My name is Latika Mitra," said the young lady.

"Are you married?" asked her patient. "No? You are too busy, I suppose, with your practice? Why have you put on glasses at this age? Is your eyesight very bad?"

"Yes, it is rather," said the girl. "How are you today?" she asked, giving Mahalakshmi no chance to gossip further.

Meghamala came in again. "How is Ananta now?" asked Mahalakshmi.

"The temperature has risen again," said Meghamala sadly.

"Is he running a high temperature every day?" asked the lady doctor.

"Yes," said Meghamala. "He is taking lots of medicine, but nothing seems to do him any good."

"Go away for a long change of air," advised the lady doctor. "That is the best treatment for these cases. He ought not to live in a town." She turned to Mahalakshmi and said. "It would do you good too."

"My health does not matter a bit, my dear," said the old lady. "Ever since I heard of my boy's illness, my blood has turned into water. I would be fortunate if I could go before him. He is the only child I have got."

The old maidservant came in and said to Miss Mitra, "A small boy is asking for you."

The lady doctor got up in a hurry and said, "I must go now, I shall send the nurse, next morning."

"Who is the boy?" asked Mahalakshmi. "You said, you are not married."

The young lady looked rather embarrassed

as she answered. "Oh, that one is a boy I brought up." She left in a hurry.

"Never trust these hussies," said Mahalakshmi, with a wry face. "You never know, what they really are."

Ananta showed no signs of improvement. His doctor too advised him to go away for a long change.

Ananta's heart was broken. He knew perfectly well what his disease was and that there was no chance of recovery. Even the fear of approaching death could not make him forget the disappointment of dying childless.

As he lay thinking, Meghamala came in and said, "Mother was asking me to take you to her room. That room is much better ventilated than this one. She can go about now, but you are confined to your bed."

Ananta had ceased to object to anything. "Very well," he said.

Coolies were called in and the exchange of rooms was soon effected. Next morning Meghamala was busy preparing food for Ananta. Ananta lay alone, thinking of the few days he had left on this earth. Who was going to look after his invalid mother and his young wife?

Suddenly, he looked up at the sound of footsteps. Was this a spectre he was looking at?

A girl had come in. She too started violently at the sight of the figure on the bed. "Was not your mother here yesterday?" she asked.

"Yes," said Ananta. "But we have exchanged rooms last evening. But who are you? Are you Lalita? Or is this a hallucination?"

The girl took off the coloured glasses that covered her eyes. "Yes, I was called Lalita once," she said. "But now I am Latika

Mitra, a lady doctor. Tell me where your mother is. I must go and see her."

"It is strange that mother did not recognize you," said Ananta. "She had been seeing you everyday."

"How could she?" asked Lalita. "Did she ever look at my face in those old days? Only once, perhaps she looked, when I entered your house. Then she got busy abusing me. My face was always veiled. Besides, it's nearly ten years now. People's appearance changes a lot. Then there are these glasses."

Suddenly, a small boy rushed into the room. "Mother, how absent-minded you are!" he cried. "Look, you left your bag at home!"

Lalita snatched the bag from his hand. "You are a little busybody," she said, "who asked you to come here? Go away now."

"Let him remain," cried Ananta eagerly. "I want to look at him well. Lalita, whose child is this?"

Lalita looked out of the window at the street outside, but made no reply.

Ananta tottered up from the bed and approached her. "Why have you hidden him so long?" he asked. "Do you know, my whole life has become futile for want of a child? I cannot die even with an easy mind."

"But you never thought twice before rendering another life futile," said Lalita.

"I am amply punished for that sin," said Ananta. "Be merciful now and come back. Give me my child."

Lalita's face hardened up suddenly. "Who said he is your child?" she cried. "He is an orphan whom I brought up out of charity."

"You are lying," shouted Ananta in a broken voice.

"Maybe I am," said Lalita. "But how are you going to prove it?"

She walked out of the room with firm steps, holding her boy by the hand.

True Sources of Maratha History

BY SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, C. I. E.

§1. WHY AND HOW FAR IS GRANT DUFF'S HISTORY OUT OF DATE.

THE close of the nineteenth century witnessed a revolution in the writing of Maratha history surpassing even that caused in the history of Muhammadan rule in India by the publication of Elliot and Dowson's translations of Persian sources and the historical works in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series. This has been due not only to the great change in the method of the historian since Captain James Grant Duff wrote his excellent *History of the Mahrattas* (3 vols., 1826), but also to the discovery of new materials of the most varied and valuable kind. The net result is that today Grant Duff's account of the earliest or kingly period of Maratha History (i.e., 1625-1707) has to be entirely rejected, the pre-Panipat (or early Peshwa) period considerably rewritten and many gaps in it filled up and the post-Panipat (or later Peshwa) period, 1761-1817, also modified and supplemented, though to a lesser extent. But even in this last and most recent portion of his subject, several very important topics, such as Nana Fadnavis's diplomacy, Mahadji Sindhia's career, the Anglo-Maratha relations before Wellesley's time, have to be treated anew, from an inside knowledge of things by us, so as to replace Grant Duff's meagre and rather elementary sketches of them.

Grant Duff's work is weakest and has been most severely damaged by the progress of research in those portions of it which deal with the Muhammadan Powers of India and even the early or kingly period of the Maratha State, the original sources for which are mostly in the Persian language.

The modern historian cannot remain satisfied with later compilations and secondary sources; he must go to the very fountain-head of information,—to the written words of the men who made the history or their contemporary recorders. He also tries, as far as humanly possible, to concentrate on each event light from every side, instead of accepting the testimony of one party only.

Our age recognizes the supreme value of "unedited documents," of State-papers and other contemporary records, as distinct from narratives in the form of literature and compilations. Grant Duff, no doubt, worked almost entirely on unprinted materials, but they were not always contemporaneous with the events they describe nor sufficiently comprehensive. The events of the later Peshwa period, which he treated at greatest length in his book, were so recent that it was impossible for him or his informants to look at them with the proper detachment and perspective which the lapse of time alone can give. Therefore, though he had the advantage of personally consulting many officers and nobles of the recently fallen Maratha empire, and of getting access to the records in its State archives, yet he worked under a great handicap for this very reason. Moreover, his Marathi materials were all in manuscript and written in a difficult cursive hand (called *Modi*); they had not yet been arranged, nor selected and edited by competent scholars, and their very unwieldy mass and orderless condition made it physically impossible for him to examine them adequately.

Many very important sections of historical papers in Marathi have come to light since Grant Duff wrote his book. As for the Persian, French and Portuguese sources, his materials were extremely meagre and usually secondary. Sir George Forrest's work in the Bombay and Imperial Record offices has placed before us the inner counsels of the English Government in India and the course of their diplomacy; Julio Biker has published the treaties and foreign correspondence of the Portuguese State in India, while the Pondichery administration under the inspiration of M. Alfred Martineau has done the same thing for the contents of the French archives.

The time has, therefore, come for rewriting the history of the Marathas.

§2. OLD STATE RECORDS IN PRIVATE POSSESSION

The modern historical student, who thus feels himself compelled to discard Grant

Duff as entirely out of date, will naturally want to know the nature, range and location of the new materials available today.

Here it is necessary to remind the inquirer at the outset that not all the State-papers, not even the most valuable State-papers of the Maratha empire were kept in its Government record office. As readers of L. von Ranke know, it was the practice in Europe down to the eighteenth century for official papers relating to a particular department to go to the private residence of the head of that department and usually to remain there ever after. "A large part of the State-papers accumulated during their administration... constituted a part of the family endowments (of these officials). Thus, to a certain extent the private collections of Rome (of which Ranke is here speaking) may be regarded as public ones." (*History of the Popes*).

This practice prevailed in India in an even more extensive form by reason of the fact that most offices in the Maratha State in the course of time became hereditary. The records preserved in the Peshwas' public offices and now housed, along with papers of various other classes and sources of origin, in the Alienation Office, Poona, have therefore been found to be surpassed in historical importance by several private collections.

§ 3. MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF MAHADJI SINDHIA

The first and foremost among these latter in variety and value is the Menwali daffar, i. e., the State-papers, reports etc., which reached Nana Fadnavis during the many years when he was the virtual head of the State, and which he stored in his village retreat at Menwali, whence they were rescued, printed in part and finally deposited in the Museum at Satara by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis. This collection contains historical materials of first-rate importance, such as full series of despatches from generals and ambassadors, reports from agents and spies, news-letters etc., addressed to the Peshwas' Government from various camps and courts like those of Mahadji Sindhia, Abalya Bai Holkar, Tipu Sultan, the Mughal Emperor, the Governor-General of Calcutta. Certain sections of these have been printed, some serially in the magazine *Itihas Sangraha* (now defunct) and four volumes privately at the expense of the Gwalior Government. The unpublished portion is even larger and richer in its contents. They throw light on

such comparatively dark patches of Maratha history, as the Malwa campaigns (before Panipat), the revival of the Maratha Power in North India in the decade following Panipat, the early career and financial management of Mahadji Sindhia, etc. These are the Marathi records that have a prior claim to publication.

The second greatest private collection of Marathi records, viz., the archives of the Patwardhan Sardars in the South Maratha country, have been printed almost to the end (1803) in twelve volumes, thanks to the lifelong devotion of a single poor school-master, Vasudev Vaman Khare. It contains reports of the Peshwas' Court, news from Northern India, the doings of the Maratha chiefs in various fields of their far-flung empire, for over forty eventful years, with a copiousness and unbroken continuity which is the delight of the historian.

Another equally valuable and equally well-preserved private collection is now in course of publication, thanks to the liberality of Sardar Anandrao Bhao Phalke of Gwalior. This is the family property of Sardar Purushottam Rao Gulgule of Kotah in Rajputana.

During the first stage of the Maratha occupation of Malwa under the great Peshwa Bajji Rao I., a Brahman named Balaji Yashwant Gulgule of the Ratnagiri district, had come as a civil officer in the train of the Maratha invaders in 1733. When Gwalior territory and the neighbouring parts of Rajputana were assigned to Sindhia as his special sphere, Gulgule became his revenue collector and agent (*Kamavis-dar* and *vakil*), at Kotah. His son Lalaji Ballal Gulgule, who succeeded to the office in 1760, continued for more than forty years afterwards as an important pivot of Maratha affairs in Central India and even extended his influence to Delhi, Oudh and Bengal. The mass of correspondence and news-letters addressed to this family and carefully preserved in their Kotah mansion up to now, is of very great value for the history of the early Sindhias (especially Mahadji) and enables us to look at the affairs of the Maratha empire from a fresh point of view different from that of the Brahman ministers who dominated the Poona Government. The Persian records of this family include many letters from French commanders like De Boigne, Perron, Bourquien and Dudreneec. In short, this is the most detailed

source of information for Maratha affairs in Northern India during the second half of the eighteenth century, a subject on which the records preserved in Maharashtra throw only scanty and often borrowed light. It should, however, be remembered that no history of Mahadji Sindhia would be even half complete unless one uses the copious MS. materials in Persian and the contemporary English documents in the Imperial Record Office (only a fraction of which has been printed).

§ 4. PUBLIC RECORDS OF THE MARATHAS WHERE PRESERVED NOW.

These are the most important and extensive collections of Marathi historical papers in private hands. As for public records, Sindhia, Holkar, Gaikwad and the chief of Dhar have practically none earlier than the nineteenth century relating to their States in their own possession; nothing of the eighteenth century has survived from the State-papers of the Bhonslés of Nagpur. The Government archives of the Peshwas were taken over by the English at the conquest of 1817. These are very copious and valuable in respect of several incidents and periods of Maratha history, but their contents are of the most miscellaneous and diverse kind and utterly barren of information regarding the reigns of Shivaji and his sons (1650-1701), which was only to be expected from the nature and origin of this body of records. Of this immense mass of papers filling 13,000 bundles each with a thousand to two thousand separate sheets, only a very small fraction consists of historical documents or State-papers proper.

The Peshwas' daftar, anciently stored in the Shanwar palace in Poona City, was dispersed among the residences of certain persons after the fire which destroyed the palace in the reign of Baji Rao II. and was collected from these private houses by Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1817 in a state of great disorder but tolerably complete. It formed about 13,000 bundles, and consisted of the records of the Peshwas for 88 years, from 1729 to 1817, with a blank of seven years (1757-1763), the records of which were burnt when Poona was taken by the Nizam's army.

§ 5. OTHER CLASSES OF RECORDS IN THE ALIENATION OFFICE, POONA

The subsequent accretions to this nucleus of Peshwas' papers in British hands at Poona were principally:

(2) The records of the British Resident at the Peshwa's Court in Poona, from 1785 to 1818. (Mostly in English and Persian).

(3) The Deccan Commissioner's records (1818-1826), 171 bundles. This section contains many reports from news-writers (*akhbar-navis*), the other papers relating mostly to religious and social matters, grants, etc.

(4) The records of the Agent for the Sardars, who replaced the Deccan Commissioner, on the abolition of the latter office in 1826, and used to decide suits between sardars (1827-1856), 76 bundles, (mostly useless for public history).

(5) The daftar of the Angria family of Kolaba (1790-1840), 761 bundles. The records of this State previous to 1790 were burnt in a fire at Alibag in 1792. The State lapsed in 1839. These records form classes similar to those of the Peshwas' daftar; there are besides certain special accounts relating to the provisions department (*Modikhana*), the fleet (*Armar*) and several forts.

(6) The Konkan daftar from Ratnagiri (1754-1818). (Mostly useless.)

(7) The Satara Rajahs' daftar

(a) 1703-1818 in 56 bundles

(b) 1818-1848 in 3,471 bundles and 39 bags,

(c) The records of the British Resident at Satara (1818-1848).

(8) The Jamar daftar or papers collected from private owners by the Inam Commission, 8,535 bundles and four bags.

(9) The papers relating to the Inam Commission Inquiry, (1843-1863) in 2,370 bundles.

(10) The records of the Haqq Commission Inquiry, (1849-56), 103 bundles.

(11) Land Alienation registers of certain districts in Maharashtra and Gujrat, in 198 bundles.

(12) Records anterior to British rule collected from the districts, 153 bundles. (Mostly village revenue accounts, etc.)

In this way the number of bundles has grown from 13,000 to 35,629,—out of which 8,559 are in English and 27,045 are in Marathi and 25 in Persian. (These figures are approximate, as the bags were

subsequently divided and several bundles rearranged).

§6. CLASSES AND CHARACTER OF THE CONTENTS OF THE PESHWAS' DAFTAR

The Peshwas' daftar consists of the following classes of papers:

(a) Diary (wrongly so-called), 780 bundles, sub-divided into (i) *Pota* or day-books of cash accounts at headquarters, (ii) *Rawa-sudgi* or day-books of bills and orders for payment issued to the treasuries and stores, away from the headquarters, in favour of Government pensioners and creditors of all kinds, and (iii) *Dafata* or day-books in which the orders of the Government on important matters were recorded as they were given; these orders related mostly to grants and resumptions of *inams* and farms and to the appointment of revenue officers, but orders of other kinds and of greater historical interest also occur now and then. Thus, the documents popularly known as the "Peshwas' Diary" are not diaries in any sense of the term, and would disappoint readers who would study them in the hope of finding in them chronicles of Court events or political journals like those of Hanoverian England. They form only a great account roll in three sections, though a few political matters are interposed (in the briefest form) in the third of these sections.

(b) *Ghadni* or ledgers, 1,806 bundles. These merely duplicate the contents of the so-called Diary, but arrange them very conveniently in the ledger form under different heads, so that all the transactions and orders of the year on each subject (such as temples equipment of captains etc.) are brought together month by month in a separate book (*khata*). Each of the three parts of the Diary has its corresponding *Ghadni* for easy reference.

(c) *Prant ajmases* or revenue demands of the districts, 5,227 bundles. The portion of territory directly governed by the Peshwas (as distinct from the States paying tribute) was divided into Districts (*prant*) and Divisions (*sar-subahdari*). For each district a separate budget estimate (*Ajmas*) was prepared, showing the gross demand, the deductions for alienations in the district, and the gross balance. From this balance various items of expenditure were deducted and the arrears to be collected were added, so as to yield the net cash balance. (d, e) *Talebands*,

tarjamas and other revenue papers may be passed over. (f, g) The *Paga* or stable accounts and the *Pathaké lashkar* or cavalry accounts, forming 900 bundles, possess no interest except on questions of wages in former times. (h) The *Chitnisi* papers or correspondence received and filed in the Peshwas' secretariat, 283 bundles, contain the most valuable historical material in the entire body of the Peshwas' daftar, all the other classes giving mere accounts or "Gazette orders."

The Satara Rajahs' daftar—popularly called the Shahu daftar—comprises documents analogous to the Peshwas' daftar, i.e., Diaries or rather day-books of accounts (9 bundles), ledgers of fiefs and inam grants (2 bundles), orders about and copies of sanads (5 bundles), miscellaneous official correspondence (6 bundles), etc. Diary, bundle No. 1, contains the accounts and orders of 1703-24 A.D., bundle No. 2. of 1725-27, bundle No. 3. of 1728-29, and so on.

These are the two extant sources of public records of the Maratha State. The largest single addition to them, is the Jamao daftar, 8,535 bundles, composed of private or local administrative documents (mostly referring to land).

§ 7. IMMENSE MASS OF PRIVATE PAPERS COLLECTED BY INAM COMMISSION

In 1843 Government appointed a Committee to investigate the validity of the rent-free land alienations (*inam*) enjoyed in the South Maratha country. In 1852 this work was extended to all the Deccan and placed under the Inam Commission, which worked till the Mutiny. The inquiries of the Commission brought to light the ancient revenue accounts which had been systematically concealed from the British authorities by the hereditary district and village officers.

Letters, sanads and other papers were also produced by parties in their own interests. The agents of the Inam Commission are described in popular tradition as having combed the country almost exhaustively of old papers, (indeed, of every scrap of writing and waste paper, if we are to judge by the contents of several of the bundles which represent their acquisitions), found in any private person's possession anywhere. The result is a vast mass of documents (8,535 bundles) of the most mixed description and of the widest variety of value or uselessness. A

detailed search for any paper of real importance to the political history of the Maratha State (as distinct from petty localities or individual officers) in this huge mass would be like searching for a needle in a bushel of straw. An experimental search showed that the papers relating to political and central history present in this section were often not one in a thousand.

§ 8. PERSIAN AND ENGLISH RECORDS IN THE POONA OFFICE

The Persian records, forming some 25 bundles, have been formed by separation from the Jamao daftar and the Residency records. They contain some important private documents of early times and a large body of news-letters (*akhbarat*) sent to the Resident at Poona (1796-1817), buried in a mass of useless papers, accounts and private letters.

The English portion of the Residency records has been typed almost in its entirety, and throws much interesting light on the society administration and manners of the later Peshwa period. The biographer of Elphinstone and the student of the Maratha system of government and village organization in their actual working cannot afford to neglect this source. The political information it contains will enable several minute corrections to be made in the accepted narrative of Baji Rao II.'s reign, but none of a sensational character.

§ 9. RESEARCH NOW GOING ON AND ITS FIRST FRUITS

No document bearing on political or military history from these archives has

hitherto been printed, though Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis had picked out for future editing and printing some thousands of documents including several relating to political history or campaigns.

In the middle of 1929 an expert historian, Mr. Govind Sakharam Sardesai, B. A., was for the first time employed, with a small staff of assistants trained in methods of research under him, to explore the Poona records for historical materials.

Owing to the limited time and assistance at his disposal, he has up to now explored only a fraction of these records. But his sampling has been fairly exhaustive and judiciously planned, with the result that papers of real value to the historian have been discovered, which light up many a dark corner of Maratha history,—such as the doings of the first two Peshwas, Tara Bai's exertions after her fall from power, pre-Panipat campaigns, etc.

The first volume of selections from the Poona records now being undertaken by the Government Press, Bombay, has been designed to give the public typical examples of the different classes of historical papers contained in the Poona Record Office and to illustrate their value. It is the interest of all who love and admire the Maratha race to see that this work of exploration is now pushed to completion and the historical documents of primary importance which are being so copiously yielded by Mr. Sardesai's strenuous search are made available to the wide world of scholarship by publication.

Vedantists in America

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., PH. D.

I

MODERN India, in its hurly-burly of politics, often forgets those noble souls who are spreading the light of the Vedanta in America. Any one with half an eye can see that the message of these consecrated men has been beneficial not only to America, but to India as well. On the one hand they have placed before

America, torn and distracted by hundreds of Christian sects, an ennobling ideal of universal religion, and on the other, they have helped to build a bridge of better understanding and appreciation between India and the New World. Their services in multiplying points of rational contact between these two countries are invaluable. They have at least made a magnificent beginning in bridging a gulf between the two great

peoples. Those who belittle the services of these selfless men are in the kindergarten state of their thinking.

Ever since the first visit of Swami Vivekananda to these shores in 1893, the teachings of the Vedanta have secured respectful hearing among American intellectuals. The first Vedanta Society in America was founded by Swami Vivekananda in the city of New York in 1894, the year after the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago. Today there are six Vedanta centres served by nearly a dozen



Swami Bodhananda

Swamis. They are all members of the order of Ramkrishna-Vivekananda. The record of the activities of this group of devoted workers in the cause of humanity calls to mind the early Buddhist missionaries who went from India far and wide, and preached the gospel

of Gautama Buddha. Their work was not wasted. The seed is living. The Swamis are men of vision, seers, dreamers of dreams.

I II

The Indian missionaries have not come to the United States with a mercantile outlook. In this respect they stand apart and above the ordinary run of Christian missionaries who are eager to have the flag follow the Gospel. Consider, for instance, the case of Henry Morton Stanley who went to rescue David Livingston, the Scottish missionary to Africa. Stanley on his return from the "Dark Continent" delivered a speech before the Manchester Chamber of Commerce urging it to support the missionary cause in the Congo. He said that

"Christianity would teach the naked negroes of Congo to wear decent cotton clothes, at least on Sundays. One Sunday dress for each native would mean 320,000,000 yards of Manchester cotton cloth (cheers from the audience). And in time, when the natives had learned the importance of covering their nakedness on week-days as well as Sundays, the amount of cloth required would amount to twenty-six million pounds sterling per annum.

In his peroration, Stanley fused the mercantile and missionary motives in masterly style :

There are forty millions of people beyond the gateway of the Congo, and the cotton spinners of Manchester are waiting to clothe them. Birmingham foundries are glowing with the red metal that will presently be made into ironwork for them and the trinkets that shall adorn those dusky bosoms; and the ministers of Christ are zealous to bring them, the poor benighted heathen, into the Christian fold."

The religion of the Vedas as taught by Indian missionaries is as different from the calico-Christianity of Stanley as North Pole is from the South Pole. Moreover, the Indian missionaries are men of education, culture, and refinement. They are, without any exception, men of exemplary character. They honestly try to live up to their highest ideals. It often thrills me to compare them with many Christian stalwarts like, for example, Sir John Hawkins—that pious English burglar and pirate who enjoined his men to "Love one another" and "Serve God daily" while he kidnapped African negroes to sell them into slavery. Even to this day there are innumerable Bible pests who preach one thing and practise another.

III

Let me mention here the six Vedanta centres in this country :

The Vedanta Society of New York is under the direction of Swami Bodhananda. He has been in New York City for over fifteen years. Associated with him is Swami Jnaneswarananda.

The Vedanta Centre of Boston, which is under the charge of Swami Paramananda.

The Vedanta Centre of Providence enjoys the leadership of Swami Akhilananda.

The Ananda Ashrama of La Crescenta, California, is headed also by Swami Paramananda.

The Vedanta Society of San Francisco has, as its spiritual leader, Swami Dayananda. It came into being as the direct result of Swami Vivekananda's work in San Francisco in 1900. It is the second oldest Vedanta centre in America. Like the Vedanta Society of New York, the San Francisco organization has been a sort of training post for many new Swamis from India. It has also the distinction of having the first Hindu temple in the United States.

Last, but not least, is the Vedanta Society of Portland, Oregon. It is presided over by Swami Prabhavananda.

IV

Volumes could be written about the Swamis who are connected with the Vedanta movement in America. This is not, however, the time and place to dwell upon the natures of their contributions. They are men among men. They do not need my commendation. But I cannot refrain from making special mention of Swami Paramananda, who has been in this country for over twenty years. Throughout this long period he has been engaged in lecturing, teaching and writing. It was mainly his efforts which led to the establishment of the Vedanta centre in Boston, and the Ananda Ashrama of La Crescenta. He has crossed the continent more than fifty times, lecturing from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Like many of the other Swamis, Paramananda has a rare gift of spiritual interpretation. Perhaps the most far-reaching influence exerted by Paramananda has been through his writings. Beginning modestly in 1907 with the publication of his *Path of Devotion*, his printed works have increased until they include twenty-six titles. Many of the works have gone through five and six editions, and have been translated into German, French, Swedish, as well as

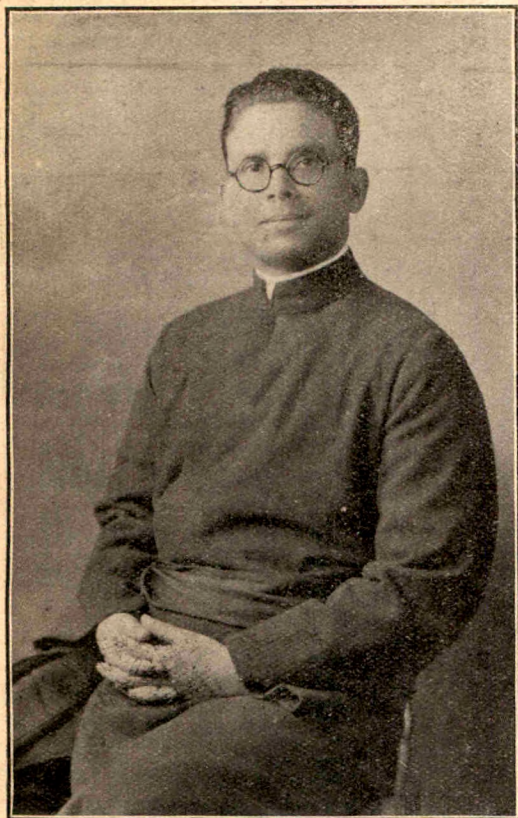


Swami Prabhavananda of Portland

Hindustani, Tamil, Gujarati, and other Indian languages.

Swami Paramananda conceived in 1912 the idea of a Vedanta Magazine, *The Message of the East*, which has now completed sixteen volumes. It not only presents an exposition of Indo-Aryan philosophy and

religion, but gives parallel thoughts from the thinkers of Asia and Europe, and also from the great world scriptures. The importance of the magazine is recognized by many public libraries and prominent universities of America, which keep it on their permanent files.



Swami Akhilananda

Paramananda has proved himself well fitted to present Eastern teachings to the Western public. He is as clear as he is eloquent. An interesting extension of his recent activities has been several series of half-hour talks over various radio stations of Los Angeles and Glendale. While in England a few years ago, he was invited to speak at the Shakespearean Festival at Stratford-on-Avon. The "T. P.'s Weekly" commenting on the lecture said: "As the Swami spoke, one seemed to be drawn closer to that spirit of the East, which is so much more native to us than the hot-headed philosophies of the West." This, I believe, is typical of other

Swamis in America. They have the talent of using a language which moves mankind.

In the Ananda Ashrama, Swami Paramananda has consecrated the "Temple of the Universal Spirit." In it there is a series of niches to serve as shrines to all the great religions of the world: Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Taoism, Shintoism, Muhammadanism, Judaism. The last niche is dedicated to "The One God." The windows contain special medallions in stained glass, depicting the pagoda of Buddhism, the Temple of Heaven of Confucianism, the Cathedral of Chartres for Christianity, a Shinto shrine at Nikko, the



Hindu Temple of the San Francisco Vedanta Society

Muhammadan mosque of Omar at Jerusalem, the Egyptian temple of Edfu, the Grecian temple of Poseidon, a Hindu temple dedicated to Sri Krishna, and the imposing gate tower of the great temple at Madura. The temple of the Universal Spirit embodies in eloquent silence the love and tolerance which characterized Swami Paramananda's work during the long years he has been in America.

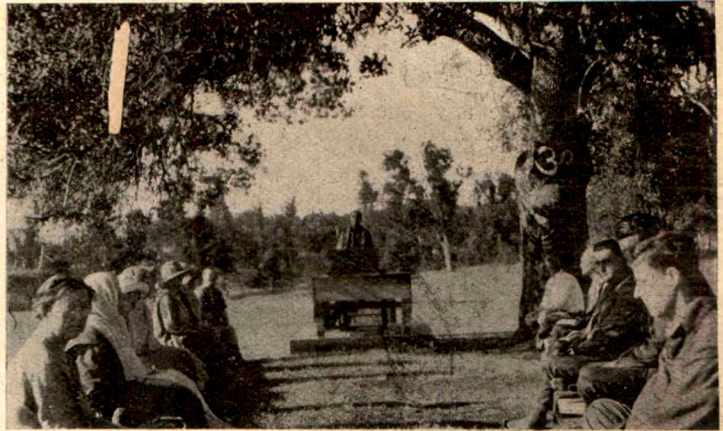
V

There is in the United States a babel of religious views; but the leaders of the Vedanta movement are not concerned with any particular creed. They preach a universal religion of truth, justice, and love. "Vedanta is antagonistic to no religions or philosophies," observes Swami Bodhananda of New York, "but is in perfect harmony with them all. What humanity is to mankind,

what life is to living being—that, the Vedanta is to religions. It is their inner unity—common essence, and as such has no quarrel with them. The whole can have no quarrel with the parts. Vedanta has room for all religions. Nay, it embraces them all.”

Swami Vivekananda propounded his doctrine that religion means realization, that is, that action is a path to worship as well as rational argument, devotion, and introspection. This theory is a spiritual counterpart to Professor William James's Pragmatism: that a thing to be good must be good for something.

In a way, Swami Vivekananda unearthed long hidden truths of the Vedanta, which had been neglected, thereby giving rise to the charge of passivity in Hinduism. It was a new application of an ancient religion to aggressive materialism.



A Swami is holding an outdoor service at Shanti Ashrama connected with the San Francisco Hindu Temple.

of religion. There is still another group of people who are scientifically-minded. They want a scientific religion. These three types of people do not and cannot get the help they need from any of the organized religions of America. For them the teachings of Vedanta offer a refuge.



Some American Women Vedantists

There are many in America who are not satisfied with the present system of Christian religion with its theology. Its God is the blood-thirsty Jehova of the Old Testament, hostile to strangers, full of fury and bombast. Enlightened Americans are disgusted with it. They want rational explanation of life and existence. Then there is another class of Americans who believe in religion, just “religion,” and want to know the practical aspects

Swami Vivekananda noted that this is pre-eminently the age of action. He combined the analysis of the scientist with the sympathies and aspirations of a great lover of mankind. His *Karmayoga* (path of action) supported by the teachings of Gita solves the problems of the great majority of the Western people.

Swami Akhilananda of the Providence Vedanta Centre interprets Vivekananda's Karmayoga in this wise:

“Religion of the knowledge of God is not only for the devotional type of persons, but for the active person as well. Action is transformed into worship. Indeed, all actions performed without selfish motive and without caring for their result will lead men to God. A person can become truly spiritual in the midst of ordinary activities. The western people must change their outlook of life and spiritualize all their actions. This is the only remedy to avoid the evils of modern machine-made civilization. Vedanta meets science on the rational basis of religion.

“We emphasize on the Vedantic conception of the Oneness of life and existence. The more the people realize this idea, the greater the happiness

there will be in their every-day life. This outlook of life will make folks less selfish and thereby teach them to avoid the evil effects of stark materialism.

"We do not advise any one not to take advantage of scientific achievement, but we ask them to change the outlook of life and spiritualize their action. In other words, we ask them to work in the spirit of service. Moreover, we give them some lessons on practice of religion. We firmly believe that the teachings of Vedanta, as expounded by Sri Ramkrishna and Swami Vivekananda, will harmonize the so-called conflict between religion and science."



Swamis Dayananda and Madhavananda with a few of their Students at San Francisco

The Swamis are of the opinion that Vedanta is intensely practical. It puts faith in one's own self by emphasizing that all power and perfection is already within the individual. The difference between the perfected man and the ordinary man is not qualitative but quantitative, not in essence but in the degree of manifestation.

VI

Christian missionaries in India, with a few exceptions, breed ill-will, hatred and hot antagonism. During my last visit to India, I heard this view explained by scores of men. They told me that these uninvited guests abuse the hospitality of the nation. The proselyters are among the sharpest critics of Indian national aspirations, and not infrequently seek to influence the bureaucracy and even to control legislation. Whether just or unjust, these are among the most important causes of the existing dislike against Christian missionaries.

Now, the Indian missionaries never meddle with American political and social problems. They confine themselves exclusively to the field of religion, or to be more

accurate, the message of Vedanta. They try to interest Americans through lectures, interviews, discussion classes, talks over the radio, and informal social intercourse. In addition they all hold regular Sunday services. Needless to say that all Americans are not interested in religion. Only those who have learned to think for themselves, and are looking for a rational way of life feel drawn towards the Vedanta.

The task of the Swamis is by no means easy. Most Americans are brought up on mass-emotion and seldom think rationally. From mere inertia of habit they swallow such puerile dogmas as: "Man is born in sin and iniquity"; "the world was created in seven days"; "Christianity is the only true religion"; "this is our only chance, after death we shall remain buried in the grave until the Day of Judgment, when there will be a bodily resurrection and we shall go to eternal heaven or eternal hell." Only people who have "grown up" and are not simply grown grey-haired can turn away from such nonsense, and listen to the appeals of reason.

The intellectual presentation of Vedanta is not always pleasant to American "sermon tasters." The Swamis, so far as I know, keep Vedanta in its original purity and majesty, and never stoop to adulterate it with healing and mystery-mongering. Moreover, they do not seek to make converts.

"Vedanta does not as yet appeal to mass minds in America," confided to me Swami Prabhavananda of Portland. "It gains ground slowly, but surely. The ideal of universality and the logical explanations of the religion of Vedanta appeal to the reflective minds of this country. The Vedanta work helps to remove the existing prejudices and create a love for India among intelligent Americans."

VII

The Vedantic societies are all financially self-supporting. Their sources of income are membership dues, collection of free-will offerings, donations, and sales of books. With the exception of those at Portland and Providence, the societies have their own permanent homes. These are substantial buildings with modern appointments.

The prospects for Vedanta work in this country, according to those who are in close touch with it, are bright. The demand for Vedanta societies is creasing rapidly. The

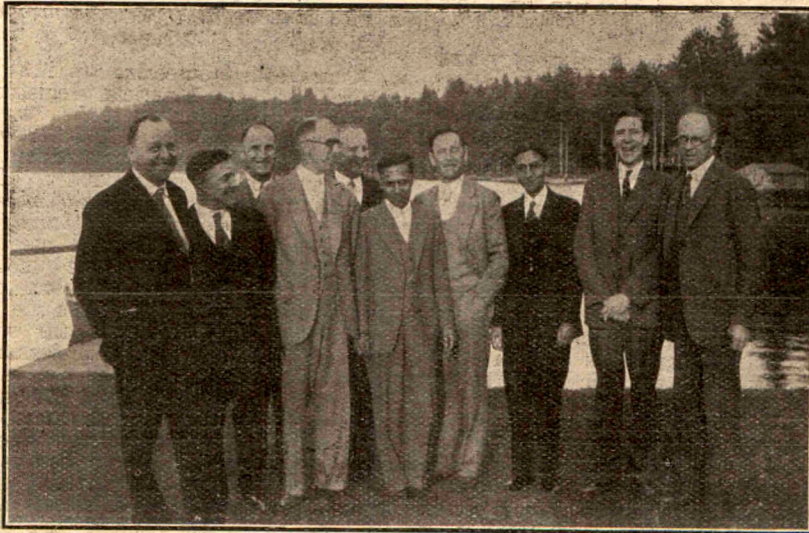
people with whom the Swamis come into contact are mostly sympathetic towards India and Indian philosophy. One must not forget, however, that they have to work against many handicaps: foreign customs, foreign tongue, opposition of Christian churches, and inherited inertia. Besides, the American mass mind craves for entertainments and emotionalism. Where the masses find these things, they flock by hundreds. The Swamis avoid all sensationalism as pestilence, and yet they get a good hearing.

"It is the few sincere people," reports Swami Dayananda of San Francisco, "that stick to our society in spite of all adverse conditions."

"There are many who are floaters. They come to the society for a while, and then move away from the city. And yet thousands of them have been benefited by our thoughts. The demand for Vedanta teaching is increasing day by day. Our students say that Vedanta is the solace of their life. Wherever the Swamis go, people urge them to start new centres. We really cannot supply

Swamis enough for the demand, otherwise there would have been a Vedanta centre in every State by this time. Vedantism has a great future in America."

The Eastern thought as developed in Asia, particularly in India, seems to be coming again to rescue the Western world from materialism. "The East", asks Mrs. Adams Beck in her *Story of Oriental Philosophy*, "haughty, aristocratic, spiritual and other-worldly, leisured, tolerant of all faiths and philosophies, moving on vast spiritual orbits about the central sun: the West, eager, hurried, worldly, absorbed in practical and temporary affairs, opinionated, contemptuous of other peoples and faiths, money-loving less for money's sake than its pursuit, younger, infinitely younger in tastes and psychic development than the East—what point of fusion can there be between the philosophies of these two divergent branches of the same great root?" That question is being answered by the Vedantists in America.



Members of the Vivekananda Society of Portland.

The Crux in Political Science and Art

By SHRI BHAGAVAN DAS, D. LITT.

THE Spirit is eternal, and eternally young. It never ages. But its bodies, subtle and gross, are always aging, and being cast off, and renewed. India's *mano-maya-kosha*, mental-body, has obviously become very old. And, it seems, under the decree of Providence, it has to renovate and rejuvenate itself by taking birth afresh from its own progeny, which offsprang from it in the distant past, *viz.*, the European mind-body. The great-grandfather has to be born again as his own great-grandson. The intellect of India has to be renewed by transfusion of European scientific intellectual blood—but the danger, latterly threatened, has to be avoided, of complete loss of identity by loss of memory of the past.

The crucial problem in political theory and political practice may, therefore, be brought into relief, for us, by a few quotations from Western writers, and then an attempt made to find out what ancient Eastern thinkers have to say on it.

How to reconcile representative institutions with good government has become the great political problem of the day. The natural disposition of every assembly is to cultivate its opportunities on private account so far as conditions will allow (p. 117). Representative institutions allow choice, but the grounds of choice may admit all the folly, wickedness and perversity of which human nature is capable (p. 153). Unless means are provided for insuring an active disposition to use opportunity on public account, it will most certainly be employed for private advantage, and representative institutions will tend to become a vast system of plunder (p. 199). The waste and profusion of which an assembly is capable exceeds that of a despot (p. 201). Representatives of the people should have no access to official patronage or to the public treasury. They must be placed under such conditions that they will be *personally disinterested* in such matters (p. 202). Mill took strong ground against money payment, pointing out that it tends to make politics a profession carried on with a view chiefly to its pecuniary returns and under the demoralizing influences of an occupation essentially precarious. Seats in the representative assembly then become objects of desire to adventurers—incessantly bidding to attract or retain the suffrages of the electors, by promising all things, honest or dishonest, possible or impossible, and rivalling each other in pandering to the meanest feelings and most ignorant prejudices of the vulgarest part of the crowd; under no despotism has there been such

an organized system of tillage for raising a rich crop of vicious courtiership (p. 204). The ancient tradition that representatives are paid in honour and not in money, was badly ruptured in 1911 when it was decided to give members of the House of Commons a salary of £400 a year (p. 205). Salary payment cannot fail to sap the independence of the assembly...Some observers note a new spirit of submissiveness in Parliament since salaries were introduced...It is certain that paid service to the public cannot compare in dignity and independence with unpaid service (p. 206). In all legislative assemblies, the greater the number composing them may be, the fewer will be the men who will in fact direct their proceedings (p. 218). It is impossible to legislate properly on any part without having the whole present to the mind. (Mill quoted at p. 228).

These quotations are taken from H. Ford's *Representative Government*, (published 1925).

"Outrageous profiteering" (p. 213); "the monstrous pay-roll of an American legislative assembly" (p. 214); "log-rolling" (p. 215); "a noisy humbug and a costly sham" (p. 220); "Furtive manipulation for which American procedure allows scandalous opportunities" (p. 231); "Distribution of personal favours;" "...*The same miserable situation exists in most countries having parliamentary institutions.*" "...blackmailing use (of powers)" (p. 233); "passing the buck" (234); "abominable abuse" (236); "extorting personal favours," (238); "systematic traffic in legislation;" "...collection and sale of political influence;" "...the whole machinery of popular election of representatives is deeply corrupted" (239); "members have been squared by private negotiations" (242); "...dangerous exactions;" "...individual arrogance;" "...men often oppose a thing, merely because they have had no agency in planning it, or because it may have been planned by those they dislike" (244); "often great interests of society are sacrificed to the vanity, to the conceit, and to the obstinacy of individuals" (245); "Heavy...burden (of) election expenses...English experience...(of its)...demoralizing effects upon...people." (251); "Nursing a constituency" (p. 252); etc.

Such are some of the expressions scattered broadcast over the pages of the book with reference to the U.S. American legislatures, and, in some instances, the English and others.

Mr. Ford is not alone in his indictment. He is only typical. Sir Sivaswamy Iyer, in his recently published book on *Indian Constitutional Problems*, has quoted largely from Prof. Hearnshaw, to much the same

effect. Lord Bryce, in his work on *Modern Democracies* (pub. 1921), written when he was about eighty years of age, and had spent many decades in dealing with practical politics as a high officer of State, describes and discusses conditions in many self-governing countries, and points out, in fine language, similar grave defects in all, in some more acute, in others less. He records how he once asked a prominent U. S. American, in one of the States, "What sort of a legislature have you got," and received the prompt reply, "As good as money can buy". Gettel, in his *Introduction to Political Science* (Edn. of 1922), a recognized text-book, says, "At the present time the former confidence in legislative bodies is somewhat declining" (p. 253) in all countries.

Miss Follett, in her *The New State*, a book which was thought highly of by Deshabandhu C. R. Das, and which he referred to in his Congress Presidential address at Gaya (1922), says pithily, "Representative Government has failed" (p. 5, Edn. of 1926).

Bryce lays special stress on the fearful mischief caused by the prostitution of the public press to false propaganda (II. 505). The Press, the greatest blessing of modern times, the most extensive and intensive illuminator of the human mind, a true "light-bringer," is becoming the greatest curse, the worst darkener and deceiver. Lucifer, "light-bringer," the greatest and highest of the archangels, is "shooting beyond mark," and over-reaching himself, and falling, and being transformed into the Prince of Evil and Darkness. "Electioneering claptrap" has become a byword. Professors of political science, journalists, men of affairs, lawyers, officials, platform-speakers, even novelists, all are inveighing against the corruption that pervades elections today, and against the character and conduct of the resulting personnel of the legislatures. Two questions that I usually ask of Indians returned from foreign travels and of such European travellers as I happen to meet in India, are—(1) Is any of the countries you visited satisfied with its legislature? and (2) Has any country discovered the way of ascertaining the vocational aptitudes of its youths?; and I have not yet received a satisfactory answer. Merivale and Gibbon, in their histories of Rome, repeatedly describe the

gross malpractices of the political and ecclesiastical elections that took place in the times they deal with; so Macaulay in his history of England. Lord Haldane, with ample experience of practical politics, in his *Introduction* to Miss Follett's book above referred to, says, (p. xiv),

"No Government will be successful which does not rest on the individual on his better side, and...this better side is to be reached neither by sending more people to the poll, nor by sending them more frequently."

More ominous and arresting than all these quotations is the following extract from a publication more up-to-date than all these and far more intimately concerned with India, *viz.*, the Report (pub. 1928) of the All-Parties' Committee prefixed to their Draft of the Swaraj Constitution of India.

"It is notorious that even in highly democratic England, votes are given, not for matters of high policy or considerations that are really important, but for trivial matters, or even sometimes most objectionable considerations which the exigencies of election-times force to the front—men, who were to govern an empire and influence largely world-events, have been elected for reasons which make every intelligent person despair of democracy." (P. 36).

For comment upon this, consider the following quotation from George Bernard Shaw. He is perhaps the most brilliant English author of the day, has reached the venerable age of seventy-five years, has lived most of that time, and gathered mature experience of modern conditions and affairs in the busiest centres of life, in Britain, "the hub of the universe," was one of the founders of the famous Fabian Society nearly half a century ago, and has been working for social and political reform all that time. The result of all this experience he has put into a large book, published in 1928, called "*The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*." Near the end of the book pp. 454-5, he arrives at this deliberate conclusion:

"If democracy is not to ruin us we must at all costs find some trustworthy method of testing the qualifications of candidates before we allow them to seek election. When we have done that, we may have great trouble in persuading the right people to come forward. We may even be driven to compel them; for those who fully understand how heavy are the responsibilities of government and how exhausting its labour are the least likely to shoulder them voluntarily. As Plato said, the ideal candidate is the reluctant one."

Thus after a full course of modernism, Mr. Shaw begins to see good in Plato's ideal

prince-philosopher. Another Greek, a couple of centuries older than Plato, *viz.*, Lycurgus (as reported by Plutarch), actually worked a scheme of ephors, the "best and wisest," for the Spartan senate. In other words, Mr. Shaw says that (1) electees, *i. e.*, the persons who are elected, should be possessed of certain qualifications, (2) there should be tests for ascertaining the possession of them, and (3) there should be means of persuading the possessors to undertake the onerous duties of legislation.

But Mr. Shaw makes no suggestion on these all-important points at all. Nor does any of the other persons referred to above. Ford makes only the negative suggestion "that the representatives shall be so circumstanced that they can use their authority only on public account" (p. 158); "the only real security is that obtained by establishing such conditions that whoever is elected, good or bad, will have to behave himself properly" (p. 202); and it all comes to this that representatives should have "no power to vote to their own use, offices and appropriations" (p. 203). This is sound but very insufficient. It does not, by itself, ensure actively and positively wise and beneficent legislation, promotive of public welfare at all. At most, it reduces the motives for the vicious to get into the legislature. It does not abolish all unworthy motives altogether. And it provides no inducements or facilities for the worthy and un-self-seeking to go in. The crux remains: How ensure that Swa-raj shall be the *raj* of the higher Swa and not of the lower, that self-government shall be government, *i. e.*, legislation by the higher self of the people, their best and wisest or most selfless or most philanthropic individuals, and not by the astute schemers and self-seekers. When Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman said, on an appropriate occasion, that "good government is no substitute for self-government," the saying sounded very well. But it is even more true that self-government which is not also good government, which is bad government, which is government by the lower self of the people, is not true self-government at all, and may be worse and less desirable than a good foreign government. How to make self-government coincide with good government is the problem—to vary the words of Ford. Legislation is the heart of government. Good or wise legislation must be secured above everything else. Efficient

and honest execution of the laws will also be provided for by such legislation.

Therefore has it been said above that the extract from the All-Parties Committee's Report is of very grave and very ominous import to us. The Committee have called up an imminent prospect of despair; and have no more offered suggestions for warding it off than Messrs. G. B. Shaw and the others. Our actual experience of elections of the modern style, in the last decade, has amply shown how unscrupulously elections are steered, how all the four devices of diplomacy, exhaustively ascertained by the ancient Indian science of politics, *viz.*, *sama, dana, danda, bheda*, flattery, bribery, intimidation, and division, are employed by candidates, and vast amounts of money are spent in debasing all concerned.

Do the traditions, the genius, the ancient spirit of India, offer any solution?

In what has gone before, an attempt has been made to show that Western writers themselves confess that Western self-governments have failed to solve the crucial problem of how to secure the combination of high degrees of both *intellectual* as well as *ethical* fitness in their legislators, though such combination is vitally necessary for true and successful self-government.

"Whether or not it be true, that in European countries the intellectual level of legislative assemblies has been sinking, it is clear that nowhere does enough of that which is best in the character and talent of the nation, find its way into those assemblies" (II, 373). Yet Mazzini described democracy as the progress of all through all under the leading of the *best and wisest*, (and said that) Authority is sacred only when consecrated by *Genius* and *Virtue*. (II, 609). Two dangers threaten all modern democracies. One is the tendency to allow *self-interest* to grasp the machinery of governments and turn that machinery to ignoble deeds. The other is the dissemination by the printed word, of untruths and fallacies and incitements to violence, which we have learnt to call *propaganda*. (II, 505).^{*} Philosophers, though they knew that a state needs *uprightness* and *public spirit* as well as *intellect* in the rulers, they never succeeded in showing how the possessors of those qualities are to be found and chosen. (II, 604, Bryce, *Modern Democracies*).

Have the ancient Indian philosophers succeeded in doing what, according to Bryce, Western philosophers have not?

The Veda is the sacred scripture of the Indian Aryans in theory; but, in practice, *Manu-Smriti* is the basis of their socio-

* Self-interest is obviously the opposite of Virtue and propaganda the perversion of Genius.

politico-religious polity and civilization. It deals with all departments of the people's life in the course of twelve chapters. Near the end of the twelfth chapter, it says:

"The final secret, the fundamental principle, of this Human Science, this Code of Life expounded by Manu, is this—when situations arise for which the current available laws are not helpful, and which call for new legislation, then what the honoured and trusted men of knowledge and experience, the good and wise elders, possessed of *tapasya* and *vidya*, self-denial and learning, virtue and genius, decide to be right and proper to do, that shall be the law." (xii, 104-108).

Thus is the principle of living legislation laid down by the ancient *Smṛiti*. And it goes on to describe the qualifications and marks of "the good and wise elders." Manu's injunctions on this point have to be supplemented by the discourses of others, Vyasa, Shukra, Yajñavalkya, etc.

Briefly, (1) the legislators should not be very many in numbers; a minimum of three, or in emergencies, even of one, is mentioned, but the one must be a thoroughly and widely trusted person, full of wisdom, *i. e.*, knowledge of human nature plus philanthropy, *adhyatma-vit-tamah*; large numbers, "even tens of thousands," of unwise individuals cannot make good laws. (*Manu*, ch. xii; *Yajñavalkya*, i. 9). For comment on this consider the following. J. S. Mill says:

"No government of a democracy or a numerous aristocracy ever did or could rise above mediocrity, except in so far as the sovereign many have let themselves be guided, which in their best time they have always done by the counsels and influence of a more highly gifted and instructed one or few."

Though the full complements of the English House of Lords and Commons are over six hundred each, yet the quorum for the former is only three, and for the latter, forty. Also, as the published reports show, the active debaters and deliberators, the real law-makers, are to be counted on the fingers, and are almost all grey-haired, well past middle age, or even white-haired and old, *i. e.*, possessed of mature experience. The remaining hundreds are there only for "kudos," or "sport," or the intellectual pleasure of hearing good debates, or delivering brilliant talk and smart repartee and witty retort and slashing attack etc., or for high life and fine company and the delights of "the best club in the world"—or ulterior purposes and grinding axes and feathering nests, etc.—all which motives may have their

play elsewhere, but surely have no natural place in a law-making assembly, which should be composed of "grave and reverend seigneurs", large-minded and large-hearted patriarchs of the nation. Some departments of the Executive services are the proper place for the utilization of the other motives.

Manu's dictum may be illustrated by another very modern writer.

"The secret of sound administration is a knowledge of the particular facts of the general method of human behaviour" (*i. e.*, psychology, *adhyatma-vidya*). "As Anatole France says, sovereignty resides in science, and not in the people. Foolishness repeated by thirty-six million mouths is none the less, foolishness." George E. G. Cutlin, *The Science and Method of Politics*, p. 348, (pub. 1927).

(2) The law-makers should be such persons as are already widely trusted and honoured. The principle of selection and election by the people is embodied here. It is not enough for a person to be good and wise and unselfish. He must be recognized as such by the people. The rule of decision by the majority, *Maha-jano yena gatah sa panthah*, and the rule of legislation by the few, are reconciled in this way: the majority decide which few shall make the law. In Mill's words, they "let themselves be guided by a gifted one or few." The Sanskrit word *purohita* etymologically means "he who has been put forward, placed in front, selected and elected as guide and leader, for the performance of all religio-legal actions whereby the good of the people is promoted." The ways of ascertaining the opinion of the people may have been different in the olden days, but the principle and its application in practice, in some form or other, were there. The old way was to look at a person's whole past life and work; the modern way is to look at his hundred rantings and stump orations in the course of a whirlwind campaign for a few weeks.

(3) "The king, the head of the executive, shall be ruler over the people, but *purohita*, the legislature, shall be ruler over the king."

Prajanam tu nriripah swami

Rajnah swami purohitah.

(*Shukraniti*)

In other words, the legislature shall control the executive; and the two functions shall not be combined.

(4) The legislature and the king's counsellors shall consist of representatives of the various sciences, and of the main vocational

sections of Social Organization. (*Manu*, xii ; *Mahabharata*, Shanti-parva, ch. 85 ; *Shukraniti* chas. i and ii, 166, 167 ; also Valmiki's *Ramayana*, Balakanda, ch. 7.)

Manu prominently mentions representation of the three first orders of society, *viz.*, the student, the householder, and the publicist retired from household life (*i. e.*, the *vanaprastha*, who has ceased from competitive bread-winning and money-making, and spends his time and resources in unremunerated public work, *Yajna-s* (pious works of various kinds and self-sacrificing charities), and of the sciences. Vyasa lays stress on the representation of the four main vocations of society :

"Four men of learning, especially versed in medical science, human psychology and physiology, eighteen men of action, versed in the arts of executive administration and of war, twenty-one men of agriculture and trade, of business and finance of all kinds, three men of labour, and one person at least who should be specially versed in history ; and all should be pure of character and of mature age."

That the West is slowly advancing towards what is being variously called "functional" or "occupational" or "vocational" representation, in place of an indiscriminate universal franchise, without any guidance to the electors whom to elect, is indicated by such statements of western writers as the following :

"At present most political issues are economic in nature, and parties represent common interests in *occupations*...The landed classes, the capitalists, the labour party, the socialists, free silverites, and similar groupings, are typical," (Gettell, *Political Science*, p. 291) ; "Neighbourhood and occupational groups, either independently or one through the other, must both find representation in the State" (Follett, *The New State*, p. 321.)

The first three, if "the learned classes" were added to them, would obviously correspond with the four vocational classes (*varnas*) of ancient India (before the days of perversion into rigidly hereditary caste ; and the others would all go as sub-divisions under the main four. It may also be noted that most of the legislatures of the West today consist of two houses, and very broadly speaking, the Upper House consists of representatives of the men of learning and the men of action (the higher clergy and the nobility in England), and the lower, of those of men of business (capitalists) and men of labour. In the technical terms of psychology, these four would be called, men and women (1) of knowledge, (2) of action, (3)

of (acquisitive) desire and (4) of undifferentiated, mostly unskilled, labour. The legislator should have done good work in any one of the multifarious walks of life, which form the sub-divisions of the above main four vocations, and should have earned a good name for uprightness, helpfulness, and philanthropic public spirit. (*Mbh.*, Shanti, Ch. 83). This implies that he should be fairly advanced in years. *Shukraniti* (ii. 166,167) mentions ripe age expressly among other qualifications.

The *Taittiriya Upanishat* also supplements *Manu* on this point.

"When there is a doubt as to what is the right course, then the course prescribed and followed by the wise men who are just and impartial-minded, not actuated by any partisan-feeling, "same-sighted," gentle of nature, tolerant and not bigoted, law-abiding, *dharma*-loving, thoughtful, renowned, looked to by the people for guidance, regarded or appointed as counsellors by the people—the course advised by such shall be the lawful course."

(5) The *Smritis* say that makers of and advisers on law shall not sell it, shall not be *dharma-vikrayis*. It follows implicitly that they should not go about canvassing, begging that people should receive the law from them. It is curious that the legal practitioner is punished for touting, which is the same thing as canvassing, "Employee," while the would-be legislator is encouraged in doing so.

On the question of payments to legislators, Plato says,

"Good men do not wish to be openly demanding payment for governing and so to get the name of hirelings, nor by secretly helping themselves out of the public revenues to get the name of thieves (*Republic*, Jowett's translation, Clarendon Press, 3rd Edn., p. 25)."

On the subject of canvassing, his opinion is that

"The ruler who is good for anything ought not to beg his subjects to be ruled by him...The pilot should not humbly beg the sailors to be commanded by him...neither are the wise to go to the doors of the rich. When a man is ill, whether he is rich or poor, to the physician he must go, and he who wants to be governed, to him who is able to govern" (p. 186).

Of course, modern conditions, with huge states, some extending over millions of square miles, are different from Plato's tiny city—states ; and men nor rich in cash, representing distant parts, would find it impossible to meet the mere travelling expenses from their private purse ; but while the outer conditions may be different,

human nature continues to be very much the same. Ford's views have been quoted before. Mill was strongly against money payment to legislators. Bryce says:

"Wherever rich men abound, the power of money is formidable in elections and in the press, and corruption more or less present. I will not say that wherever there is money there will be corruption, but true it is that Poverty and Purity go together. The two best administered democracies in the modern world have been the two poorest, the Orange Free State *before 1899*" (which seems to be a commentary on the benefits accruing to Boerland from its absorption by the British Empire) "and the Swiss Confederation.... The rise of a large class of *professional politicians* must be expected if *large salaries* are paid to representatives.... Such a class grows in proportion to the work party organizations have to do, and patronage is misused for party purposes wherever lucrative posts or so-called honours are at the disposal of a party executive," *Modern Democracies*. (II, 503). "Of these faults... (1) the power of money to pervert administration or legislation, (2) the tendency to make politics a gainful profession, (3) extravagance in administration... have been observed in all governments, though the forms of all three are now different, and their consequences *more serious*" (II, 504).

The solution of the dilemma, suggested by the principles indicated in the *Smritis*, seems to be that *ex-officio* expenses, of travelling, housing, etc., should be paid from the public funds, but no cash salaries or allowances or personal expenses; and, finally, that, as inducement to shoulder the burden and do his best, distinctive *honour* should be paid to the legislator as such; *power*, in the sense of official *authority*, should be entrusted to the (mostly salaried) executive, with responsibility to the legislature; and *wealth* as such, should be expressly and specifically, by public law, ranked below *honour*, which should rank first, and *power*, which should rank *second*. It will be found on scrutiny that human instinct has always ranked these three in this order, and is doing so today; but, because the psychology of the subject has been lost sight of, therefore it is done in an utterly imperfect and ineffective manner. That which nature itself indicates as right and proper, has only to be clearly recognized and regularized, in order to influence the administration of human affairs beneficially.

If this is done, and the suggestions of the old *Smritis*, embodying the genius, the spirit, the individuality, the traditions of India, are utilized duly, it will be found that the three problems, mentioned by G. B. Shaw,

of (1) qualifications, (2) tests, (3) persuasives, are all capable of satisfactory solution. For a more systematic application of the suggestions to modern Indian conditions, the reader may refer to the text and the appendix of the *Outline Scheme of Swaraj* published by Deshabandhu C. R. Das and the undersigned in 1923. *

Unfortunately, the insane communal disputes that have been and are occupying and disturbing all minds in this unhappy country; the fetish of "practicalism" which obsesses most of the educated-minds that are engaged in the work of political reform—"practicalism" in different yet allied forms, "Let us not talk in the air", "Don't indulge in impatient idealism", "We don't want doctrinaire philosophizing", "Don't look too far ahead", "One step enough for me", "Enough for the day is the evil thereof", "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush," etc.; the glamour of Western political and economic words and methods, and of legal phrases and conventional maxims, drawing unjustifiable sustenance and power from the misused realities and results of Western science—the nations which have aeroplanes and submarines and machine-guns and devastating explosives must also necessarily have sound political and economic and legal maxims and practices and arrangements—even though they have all been trying very hard to cut each other's throats very recently, and are still looking askance and growling at each other;† the feeling that enslaved India's past can have no lessons to give except by contrast, a feeling strengthened by the awful retrogressiveness, the crass narrow-mindedness, the blind self-seekings of the orthodox pandits and Maulvis and professional religio-political leaders; the lack, on the part of many, perhaps most, of the active and prominent

* The speech of the undersigned, in support of a motion of amendment, re qualifications of legislators, made on the last day of the sessions of the All Parties Convention at Calcutta, (from 22. 12. 1928 to 1. 1. 1929) and published as an appendix to the Report of the proceedings of the Convention will also supply fuller details and comments on some of the points touched on in the text above.

† By the way, this fact should suggest to British politicians, the desirability of making the Japanese (as racially neutrals) suzerain over all the countries and nations of Europe, including Britain, to keep the peace between them, as the good British are doing between Hindu and Muslim here.

political workers of the country, of deep and sympathetic study of the ancient Sanskrit literature; the consequent impatient rejection of the sound, together with the worn-out or corrupt, ideas of the East, and the hasty acceptance of and obsession by the bad, together with the good, ideas of the West; and, almost more than all else the exigencies of the rush and hustle of day-to-day politics;—these leave no inclination and no energy to our political leaders to take the trouble of thinking out a comprehensive scheme based on long as well as broad views; no wish and no time to “go to the root of the matter” and find out the solution of the political crux, and so combine active forward movement with a deeply thought-out philosophy of the movement, looking before as well as after, and aiming at a high ideal always through the daily practical.

The terrible welter of *isms* in the modern West, from individualism, through socialism, State socialism, guild socialism, collectivism, and communism of many kinds, to the culmination in Bolshevism—which, incidentally, seems to be taking new shapes and turns every year, if not every month—all this ferment is only the endeavour of the Human Oversoul to arrive at a new and better organization of society. The endeavour is not succeeding, because it persistently ignores certain deep-seated facts and laws of human psychology. It appears laughably absurd for any son of “India in Bondage” to suggest that the traditions of such a fallen India had in the past reconciled all these *isms* by taking due cognisance of those facts and laws, and embodied them in a social polity, which though it is the best practical combination of individualism and socialism, has now become the laughing-stock of the world, because of the terrible perversion of the whole system from the basis of *karma* to that of *janma*, of elastic “spontaneous variation” to rigid hidebound “heredity,” and the permeation of it by a fatuous, reasonless, idiotic “touch-me-not-ism.”

If modern thinkers and reformers could again work out the theory of the old scheme and apply it to practice, with modifications suited to the new conditions, they would probably find many of their difficulties solved. History shows that the only sound “practice” is that which is based upon sound “theory.” Art and craft without science behind them are shaky rule of

thumb. Medical practice without knowledge of anatomy and physiology and many other sciences is quackery. So political practice without knowledge of the psychology and philosophy of human nature is the most mischievous and dangerous charlatanism and chicanery.

Individualism and socialism are both necessary. Individual and society, “I” and “we”, are both obviously indispensable to each other. To suppress either is inevitably to suppress the other also. Absolute “Equality,” homogeneity, is to be found only in *pralaya*—chaos. A cosmos means heterogeneity, differentiation, inequality.

Samyam pralayah, vaishamyan srishtih. So says ancient Sankhya. So say modern Herbert Spencer and all the evolutionists and scientists. Human beings are not equal but different in psycho-physical temperaments. As indicated before, there are four main types of these. The main functions of a socio-political organism are correspondingly four: education, protection, nourishment by wealth-production, assistance of the other three by comparatively unskilled labour. The main prizes or luxuries of life are four: honour, power, wealth, *i. e.*, artistic possessions, and play and amusement. While the minimum necessities of life, food, clothing, housing, etc., should be secured to all, the four luxuries should be *partitioned equitably* between the four temperaments and types of workers between whom the social labour should be divided. So also each individual life should be “organized” and regularly divided into the four stages into which nature already divides it: (1) student, living and studying at the expense of parents and society at large; (2) bread-winning, competing, social-labour-sharing householder; (3) unremunerated publicist; and (4) hermit, anchorite, religieux, renunciant, preparing for the larger life-beyond this life, and helping society by prayer and blessing and the potent example of a well-lived life.

These general principles are of use and applicability in any and every form of government, and any and every form of social organization. The most benevolent despotism cannot help its subjects better and make them happier than by imposing some such arrangement upon them. And the most extreme form of communistic Bolshevism which still remains helplessly the “peasants, soldiers’ and (*a.* brain and *b.* muscle) workers’ Soviet” will also achieve the end of securing

he greatest happiness of the greatest number by utilizing these principles, and will secure equality—also, but in the sense of *equitable* partition of the *luxuries* of life, which are the only and the best and strongest *incentives* to hard and effective and high-class work. Even Bolshevik Russia requires educators and scientists, and in very large numbers. The idea of attracting the best in sufficient numbers by giving them attractively high pay—does not pay! There is not money enough. And more, those who are attracted by money are not good enough real scientists and real educators; they are only money-makers! The small cash-pay necessary for necessities must be eked out with “honour”-pay. So soldiers and captains and generals are needed, and also executive policemen and magistrates and administrators of various kinds; as in poor Japan, which cannot afford to pay high salaries, like plutocratic U. S. A. and Britain, to its public servants, they have to be satisfied with the power of *authority* besides the necessary pay. So leaders and guides and managers of wealth-production are needed; and Bolshevik Russia, too, despite vaunted equality, and abolition of private property, etc., finds itself compelled to take the help of foreign capitalist concessionaires on the terms of these latter, and let them make money. And it is doing all this with a very ill grace, a very evil grace, with a great deal of confusion and dissatisfaction and oppression of and misery to the people (even according to the most favourable reports)—*because* it does not recognize what nature, human nature, is loudly shouting in its ears; *because* it has not solved the crucial

problem of politics, governs by means of a Presidium, *i.e.*, a clique, a cabal, a caucus, or even by a single dictator, and has not secured genius *plus* virtue, character *plus* talent, intellectual *plus* ethical fitness, goodness *plus* experienced knowledge, selflessness *plus* wisdom, for its legislature.

It is by no means impossible to utilize the solution suggested here, even when society is not regularly but only instinctively and more or less imperfectly, organized, as it is in all countries today. But in the setting of a regulated social organization, as very broadly indicated above, the crucial problem of political science and art would be solved of itself, because a sufficient number of the best type of legislators would always be available among individuals in the third stage of life, retired from competitive bread-winning or money making, looking upon the whole community with the benevolent eyes of patriarchal helpfulness (which universal kindness of feeling is not possible to one still engaged in competition), possessed of the fullest experience of some one important department of the national life, possessed of knowledge of human nature through having reared a family in the midst of other families, possessed of necessary leisure, possessed of good name and fame and the trust and confidence of a large circle of fellow-countrymen, free of dependence and dependents, which and who confuse judgment, and able to bring dispassionate and disinterested wisdom to bear on all matters of public welfare in such a way as to preserve a due balance between and give just help and promotion to all right interests.

Some Aspects of Dominion Nationalism

BRITAIN'S PROBLEM OF MARKETS

By JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., Ph.D.

(ALIAS JOHN J. CORNELIUS)

THE Great War brought about many radical and far-reaching changes in the old world order. It gave rise to political upheavals, social revolutions and new thought currents throughout the world. It destroyed old nations of Europe and brought new ones into existence. It turned Europe's accumulated wealth into ashes and dislocated her age-old economic organization. It painted a new map of Europe and shifted the seat of power and wealth to the United States. In short, the war ushered in a new set of political ideals, a new economic world, a new universe. And Great Britain, emerging from its awful stress and strain found herself in the midst of a strange situation: here was a new world in which new industrial nations had sprung up in the place of her old customers; and nations she slighted had entered the race for world markets as her rivals. More than that—she discovered to her great distress that the conditions under which she built up her huge economic structure had more or less vanished, and in their stead she had to face the perennial problem of unemployment, heavy taxation and greatly shrunken export market. These conditions have created for Great Britain the most perplexing problems of how to regain her lost prosperity and win back her place of leadership and supremacy in the world of commerce.

Though the most forward-looking among Britons have decided in their minds that the day of European supremacy is over, they are unwilling to admit that that means the eclipse of Great Britain as a leader among nations. They sincerely believe that Britain can still hold her own by drawing closer the far-flung Dominions and Dependencies and creating out of them a more compact economic unit. Britain must, they say, find her new life, new blood and new outlets for her industrial products by studying the British Dominions, understanding their aspirations, fostering and

protecting their development. With this end in view the "Buy Empire Goods" movement was brought into existence. Empire exhibitions such as the one at Wembley, trade deputations to Dominions such as the visit of Mr. J. H. Thomas, Lord Privy Seal, are greatly encouraged. Greater publicity is also given now to the affairs and activities of the overseas possessions in order to cultivate an empire outlook. Such are the methods Great Britain is now making use of to effect an economic solidarity between the mother country and her vast dominions with a view to utilizing their potential resources in solving her pressing problems of markets and export trade.

RESOURCES OF THE EMPIRE

The resources of the British Empire, which includes vast areas in the tropics, in the Antipodes and in the Northern hemisphere, make an impressive showing when taken in the aggregate. The empire covers 12,517,000 square miles, and has a total population of about 437,000,000. Its wheat production exceeds that of the United States, its wool output is greater than that of America and Europe combined, even in cotton its crop is more than one-third the American. Its coal production is more or less equal to that of Europe. In iron ore and steel it is less rich, producing only about one-fourth as much in each case as the United States. But the British Empire contributes nearly half the world's rubber crop, two-thirds of the world's gold production, and much more than half the cocoa and tea. Its shipping comprises about one-third and its trade is about 29 per cent of the world's total, whereas the share of the United States in 1927 was only 14.21 per cent. The meat production of the empire is greater than that of Europe and America including their colonies.

But if we isolate Great Britain from the empire, we find that she is the least self-

contained. Her livelihood and prosperity depend upon her exporting power. About four-fifths of her supply of wheat and flour, and three-fifths of the supply of meat are imported. All of the cotton she uses, nine-tenths of the wool and timber and more than one-third of the iron ore must be had from abroad. Coal is the only important raw material in which Great Britain is self-supporting. It is only by exporting manufactured goods that the incoming supplies of food and raw materials can be maintained. Britain's exports, which are of supreme importance, are about 19 per cent less now than they were in 1913, while her imports are about 14 per cent greater. Exports have risen in the last four years by 4.6 per cent, but imports have gone up 7.9 per cent. The report of the Internal Revenue Commissioners shows that in 1928 the estimated gross income of the nation was the lowest since the year 1918-19.

This situation makes it clear that Britain has not yet come through her post-war economic difficulties as happily as France or Germany. Among her many troubles the problem of unemployment has become a perennial canker. Whatever happens to deliveries in kind, it seems probable that a considerable proportion of the 1,200,000 British miners and their families never again will be able to live by local digging, since German reparations coal has cut down the Continental demand for British coal,—Britain's principal export before the war. From September 1919 to the end of 1928, France, Belgium and Italy received 84,666,000 tons of German coal. While in 1913 Great Britain sold to these three countries 24,454,000 tons of coal, she sold only 17,947,000 tons to them in the year 1928. It is this loss of European market that is causing unemployment and misery among the mining population of Great Britain.

BRITAIN AND DOMINION DIVERSITY

An imperial federation can undoubtedly solve some of Britain's difficulty, but there are certain diversities in taste and policy, even in the Dominions that are British in race and English in speech, and these differences impede any such movement for an economic unity. "If Britain is to increase her exports to Canada, certain adaptations are necessary," says the Report on Overseas Markets of the (British) Committee on Industry and Trade. "Canada will not buy from Britain on the score of quality only. Styles,

standards, usage and advertising common to Canada and the United States differ in many instances from those prevailing in the United Kingdom. Another factor affecting British exports to Canada is the latter's rapid progress in the production of fully manufactured goods suitable to the home market." These observations apply also to some of the other Dominions which are better developed economically. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the movement to bring about a closer economic relationship between the component parts of the Commonwealth will result in total failure because of those differences.

The growth in population and increase in exports of the Dominions have made it possible for them to import more from Great Britain. In 1925 Great Britain received from the Dominions and colonies 27 per cent of her total imports, while they took from her 46 per cent of her total exports. Of the Dominion and colonial imports 38 per cent came from Great Britain, and of the Dominion and colonial exports 36.6 per cent were sold in Great Britain. But when the Dominions' trade relations with the United States are compared with those of the mother country, we find Britain to be in a less favourable situation. Nevertheless, the British trade with her colonies, relatively speaking, shows a slight increase in some cases, but the movement for economic co-operation, which is expected to play an important role in both British and colonial production and trade, is far from being effective or satisfactory.

It has already been noted that Great Britain must import four-fifths of her wheat and flour, three-fifths of her meat, all of her cotton, one-third of her iron ore and nine-tenths of her wool and timber. She needs, therefore, to buy food and raw materials from her colonies and send them manufactured goods. The present propaganda to promote Dominion co-operation is being carried on in the hope of supplementing the shrunken European market for British goods by enlarging the colonial consumption. The inhabitants of the British Isles are also induced to buy more of their supplies from the empire and less from foreign lands. But according to the computation of Evans Lewin of the Royal Colonial Institute, about 75 per cent of Britain's imports in the year 1913 came from foreign countries and the rest from the empire. In 1921 the foreign imports had fallen to

69 per cent, but in 1927 they had risen to 73 per cent. These figures, however, indicate that there has been little progress in developing the imperial sources of supply for Britain. What renders commercial exchange within the empire most difficult is the development of Dominion industries which react against Great Britain's trade.

DOMINION NATIONALISM

Economic co-operation within the empire is hindered further by the rise of nationalism in the Dominions. Though the ideal of an imperial federation became popular early in the nineteenth century, when the English people realized that they were no longer the citizens of a small Island but of a wide-world empire, yet, Imperial Conferences for the strengthening of such a bond came to be held only in the latter part of that century. Such conferences were held in 1887, 1897, 1907, 1909, 1911, and after the war in 1921, 1923, and 1926. Unfortunately, while the economic necessity created by the World War is driving Great Britain to work more energetically for a federation of her colonies, the nationalism stimulated by the war is making the Dominions demand greater freedom and independence from the apron-strings of the mother country. This new spirit made itself felt at the Imperial Conferences of 1923 and 1926, and it expressed itself very definitely in the various demands made by the Dominions. Imbued with this new spirit of freedom, they succeeded, in fact, in killing the idea of what was hitherto known as "Imperial Federation,"—that is, a scheme or system of politics by virtue of which the British colonies and dependencies would have been linked up with England as the centre and controlling power of the system.

An important victory for the Dominions at the last conference was the constitutional right of each part of the King's realm to go its own way without endangering the interests of the empire as a whole. Thus each colony won the right to make its own commercial treaties, to send ambassadors to those foreign countries in which it had interest; they also have the right to separate representation in the League of Nations. Though the Crown has theoretically undivided jurisdiction in declaring war and could declare contracts entered into by the Dominions to be void, it has been made sufficiently clear that the exercise of these rights in opposition to the wishes of the

Dominions would only result in reducing the empire to pieces. The Dominions are, no doubt, loyal to the Crown, but that does not mean that they are prepared any longer to swallow the doctrine of Britain's supremacy. If they allow the routine business of the empire to be carried on by Britain, it is only for old times' sake and for the sake of convenience. Thus post-war nationalism in the Dominions has thrown to the winds as a sanctified superstition, the Victorian conception of the Empire as a happy family of obedient daughters presided over by a capable but autocratic mother.

How this new spirit of separatism is working within the empire has been demonstrated on several occasions at the sessions of the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations. Instead of seven votes pulling together for imperial advantages, they often pull apart because of the clash of opinion and interests within the Commonwealth. Recently Great Britain pressed on the attention of the League the principle of tariff disarmament and showed how its application would help greatly in the promotion of world peace, but Australia and the Irish Free State stoutly opposed it. Then again on the question of adherence to the compulsory jurisdiction clause of the World Court, Ireland joined Canada and South Africa in backing up Britain as against Australia and New Zealand. But the Southern Dominions combined in opposing Ireland when she expressed herself in favour of the intervention of the League in settling disputes between the members of the British Commonwealth. Though it is natural for all of them to unite on matters of common interest, yet, when it comes to the interest of each individual Dominion, even membership in the League seems only to encourage separatism and make the British Commonwealth less and less of a united force. (In spite of such clash of interests within the fold, what really holds the British Empire together is the sense of unity and ultimate common interest. Therefore, the temporary divergence of politics is of little consequence as against the presence of seven nations within the League who in the final test are bound to feel and act as one, and put up a united front against a common foe).

DOMINION INTERESTS *vs* BRITAIN'S INTERESTS

But whenever the British interests conflict with the interest of the Dominions, then the

latter do not hesitate to assert themselves. Take, for instance, the stand Australia has taken on the question of Empire Free Trade. Commenting on the recent debate in the British House of Commons, Mr. Seulin declared that it was hopeless to expect Australia to agree to Empire Free Trade. He pointed out further that since Australia was engaged in building her own industries, Lord Beaverbrook's plan would be detrimental to the interest of Australian industries, as it would remove tariff protection from the manufacturers. "We believe," he asserted emphatically, "in giving preference to Australian products and thereafter preference to Britain and the Dominions." Being independent, Australia legislates for herself and provides protection for her infant industries, irrespective of how that legislation affects Great Britain or the other members of the Commonwealth. Finding that Australian high tariff and trade regulations greatly obstruct her trade with Australia, Great Britain has made several overtures, but Australia is mindful only of her own interests. Since the land is rich in its resources, Australians do not want it to be a mere source of raw materials for the mother country; they want to develop it rapidly and make it take its place among the leading industrial and prosperous countries of the world. Hence they are unwilling to give preferences in respect to commodities which they produce or plan to produce themselves.

South Africa is much like Australia in its stand on the question of trade with Great Britain. Last year when the Germano-South Africa Trade Treaty was debated, General Hertzog declared: "It is in our interests to be friendly and to co-operate with every part of the Empire, but if that means we are to be hostile to or estranged from any other part of the world, I refuse to associate myself with that view." He further maintained that the interests of South Africa came first, and they were not going to have their hands tied so as to prevent their entering into treaties with other countries. It is needless to mention in detail the opposition that this treaty stirred up in the British ranks. Though the action of the South African Government might appear as a slight to its best customer, yet it clearly shows the new national spirit of the Dominion, and its desire to exercise its rights resulting from the international recognition of South Africa's national status.

Then again the suggestion of bringing the various colonies and mandated territories in Africa under the British flag within a federation has given rise to sharp differences of opinion. The Dutch, the Germans and Englishmen are not as one with regard to the future status of the African territories. In the minds of the Germans in Africa, there is a lurking suspicion that the British plan is to bring about a consolidation of the British territories from Egypt to the Cape. Though annexation of those territories is incompatible with the principles of the League, yet Germans entertain grave suspicions about British intentions. Since they hope to get back their territories in course of time, they are unwilling to fall in line with any empire scheme in Africa. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the Africans and Indians are demanding their full share of power. Even in those regions where the white colonization is proceeding effectively, the disproportion between the whites and blacks is really great. In the background of the conflict one finds the latent fears of the whites that they will someday be submerged by the coloured races. Thus the problems in Africa have become intensified by racial differences and local nationalism which often express themselves in Anti-British outbursts as in South Africa, though not in such frequency.

From the point of view of political nationalism, there is a basic difference between South Africa and Australia and New Zealand. While the latter two are essentially British in population, the former has always been mainly Dutch. This racial difference makes it easier to understand the anti-British attitude of the South African Nationalist Party. It is anti-Imperial, anti-Empire-building. Being different in race it is natural for them to want to be outside the British Empire. It is not surprising, therefore, if the slogan of the Nationalist Party seems to be "Great Britain Last." The Nationalists resent the idea of Empire Tariff fences or anything imposed on the people which limits their freedom of action. They hold independence to be safer than the loosest bond within the Empire. Thus nationalism in South Africa is making Britain's trade relations with that Dominion less effective than what Britain would like.

CANADA AND GREAT BRITAIN

Canada is unlike Australia and South

Africa ; it differs from the former in that its population is not wholly British and from the latter in that its minority population is not British. But the fact of the mixed population of French and British Canadians, makes Canada as a whole less enthusiastic about things British. Besides, she is more under the magnetic influence of her progressive and youthful neighbour, the United States. During the war Canada attained national consciousness and by the end of the war, her nationhood. She now exists as an entity, virtually independent of and equal to Great Britain. There is not one province in the federation over which a non-Canadian presides as the King's representative. From the Atlantic to the Pacific seaboard, the highest provincial office is held by a person who is a native of the soil. Further that Canada is throwing in her lot with the democratic Yankee is seen in the fact that the Canadian Parliament refused in 1919 to have titles conferred by the King upon the citizens of Canada, and as a result, no knights and baronets, dukes or lords have been created in Canada by the King for the last ten years. The question of the restoration of titles for Canadians came up for debate recently in the Canadian Parliament, but was lost.

Another force which interferes seriously with the growth of Britain's trade with her independent Dominions is the rise of America as the leading industrial nation and as the most formidable rival of Britain for world markets. Since the independent colonies are more or less of the same economic age as the United States, and their requirements more or less alike, they prefer to trade with the United States than with old England. The penetration of the United States into Canada is so great that the latter is gradually becoming an economic annex of the former. Canada imported from the mother country in 1913 only 21.3 per cent of her needs and by 1927 even this small percentage was reduced to the still smaller amount of 16.8 per cent. On the other hand, the United States enjoyed that very year (1927) 64.9 per cent of the Canadian import. The American investment in the Dominion of Canada is five times as much as that of the British.

A survey of the foreign trade of the British colonies with the mother country and with the United States clearly shows how fast the United States is undermining the trade of Great Britain in the British colonies.

Of the import trade of South Africa, England enjoyed 56.8 in the year 1913, while only 8.9 fell to the share of the United States, but by 1927 the share of the latter increased to 15.4 while that of the former declined to 44.8. Similarly, Australia which exported to England about 44.3 per cent of her export goods in 1913 decreased it to 41.4 per cent in 1926. Whereas her export trade with the United States, which was only 3.1 in 1913, doubled, amounting to 8.7 in the year 1926. As the Dominions grow more and more in wealth and power, the United States seems to succeed in strengthening her economic ties even better than the mother country. Being young and of the same economic age and outlook, it is natural that the British Dominions should be drawn more and more to America and her industrial philosophy.

SCOTLAND FOR SCOTS

The Anti-Empire policy is strong not only in South Africa but also in the Irish Free State, and its influence there has become too well known to need comment. But what interests one now is that the "Sinn Fein" movement is spreading rapidly in Wales and Scotland. Wales is demanding self-government and also separate representation in the League of Nations. The Welsh Nationalist Party is gaining in strength and in popularity. Similarly, the Scottish Nationalist Party is working for self-government for Scotland. Twelve times during the past twenty years the Scottish elected members of Parliament have asked for self-government and for a National Parliament in Scotland, but owing to the overwhelming English votes in the London Parliament, the Scottish Nationalist Party has not succeeded in making Scotland an independent unit of the British Commonwealth. The Nationalists point out that there are more English in Glasgow today than Scotsmen in London, and that there are 300 Englishmen in Edinburgh earning a salary of £1,000 annually and that 30 per cent of the professors of the Edinburgh University are Englishmen. They want Scotland for Scots. Scotland must be established as a mother country, they say, with equal status with England. It must have its own Parliament to control its own affairs. In other words, Scotland wants to be independent of England even as the other British Dominions are independent of her today.

Such is the spirit controlling the various parts which make up the British Empire. This survey shows how sweeping is the change that has been brought about by the World War in the nature of the former British Empire. It is clear that the tendency to become one's own manufacturer is strong not only in the independent nations of the world, but also in the self-governing Dominions of the British Commonwealth. Though the Dominions have been induced to give preferential rates to goods made in Britain, they do not grant even this favour to commodities which they produce themselves. For an imperialist, a colony exists only to serve as a source of raw materials for the mother country and market for her finished products. But the post-war colonies will not stand this nonsense any longer.

Each of the Dominions wants to exist as an entity for itself first and then for the mother country and the Dominions. The demand of the Dominions for economic independence, the impoverishment of many of Britain's former customers as a result of the war, the increased industrialization of other nations, the relatively high cost of British productions and the rise of America as Britain's rival are the chief factors which make the problem of re-adjusting Britain's economy to a new age a very difficult one, in spite of the much-boasted imperial economic unity of the British Empire. The present trade situation of Great Britain leads one to pessimistic conclusions, but no one is competent enough to forecast accurately what is going to be Britain's economic future

Reminiscences of Swami Vivekananda and Sister Nivedita

BY NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

IN November, 1897, Swami Vivekananda came to Lahore. We knew each other, for we had been together at college and had met once or twice afterwards. At this time he was at the height of his fame. He was the most striking figure at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago and had made a great impression in America and England by his lectures and remarkable personality. He had enthusiastic followers in those countries, and on his return to India he met with a great reception wherever he went. At Lahore a public demonstration had been organized. There were a number of people at the railway station to meet him and to take him in procession to a large house in the city. I was also there and told him that he might come over to my place if he wanted a little rest. One of his disciples, Suddhananda, a young man who had come up by himself from Ambala and who is now the Secretary of the Ramkrishna Mission at Belur, was then staying with me. Vivekananda accompanied by another disciple, Sadananda, came to my house the same night and stayed with

me all the time he was at Lahore. Day after day, whenever I was free from work and again late into the night, we talked and I wondered how the somewhat silent and by no means brilliant boy I had known at college had grown into a dynamic personality with marvellous powers of conversation and a magnetism which drew all people to him. He could hold his own anywhere and in any company. His enthusiasm glowed like a white flame. His passionate patriotism filled me with admiration. He often spoke of the burning patriotism of the Japanese. There were periods of exaltation when his words rang with prophetic fervour. He professed his willingness to go to jail if it would benefit the country. Then there were other moods when he laughed and jested brimming over with good humour. He was a fine singer and a good musician. He told me with the utmost frankness of all his experiences since he had come under the influence of Ramkrishna Paramhansa. I have mentioned some of these in an essay that I have written about my personal reminiscences of Swami Vivekananda.

He delivered three lectures at Lahore of

which the one on the Vedanta ranks among his greatest utterances. During his stay at Lahore there was a remarkable incident which may be recalled here. The citizens of Lahore gave a garden party to Swami Vivekananda in the grounds of the Town Hall in the Gol Bagh. There was a Parsi gentleman, whom I knew well, living opposite the Gol Bagh. He was standing near the grounds watching the crowd when Swami Vivekananda came up to him and asked him whether he was a Parsi and whether he came from Bombay or Calcutta. The Parsi gentleman replied he came from Bombay. A few more words were exchanged and then Vivekananda strolled back to the grounds. The Parsi gentleman did not know him and never saw him again though he heard his name afterwards. A year or two later, this gentleman, who is still one of my valued friends, returned to Bombay and settled in business. Some more years passed and he began to have dreams and see visions of a strange nature which disturbed him and which he could not account for. He used to see a black image with some figures around it, and in his dreams he fancied he was always walking in a northern direction. I have had an account from his own lips and there can be no doubt that he was greatly disturbed by these vivid and recurrent dreams. Four or five years ago while passing along a street in Bombay he saw the works of Swami Vivekananda displayed at a shop window. He at once went in, bought the books, read them and became a devout admirer of Ramkrishna Paramhansa and Vivekananda. The whole tenor of his life has been changed, he has paid several thousand rupees to the Ramkrishna Mission in Bombay, but he refuses absolutely to disclose his identity or to permit his name to be published.

Among those who accompanied Swami Vivekananda to Lahore was Goodwin, the young Englishman who reported most of the Swami's lectures and whose devotion to his *Guru* was admirable. To know Goodwin was to like him. He was simple as a child and was very fond of children. He died at Ootacamund a few years later.

I met Swami Vivekananda again in 1898 at Srinagar, Kashmir, and he made a brief halt at Lahore on his way back to Calcutta. He had a strange premonition of early death and told me more than once that he had only three more years to live. The

last time I saw him was at the Belur Math shortly before his death.

SISTER NIVEDITA

I first saw Sister Nivedita at Srinagar, Kashmir, where she was staying with Mrs. Ale Bull and Miss McLeod. When Sister Nivedita passed away in 1911 I was just recovering from a very severe illness. Lying in my bed I wrote a brief tribute to her memory under the *nom de plume* of "Novalis." This appeared in the *Tribune*, of which I was in charge for the second time and was published in other papers. I shall reproduce those notes here for record in my recollections.

Out of the silence of months I emerge to pay a tribute of memory to one who has just crossed the borderland and passed on to the Beyond whence comes neither whisper nor message to the land of the living. Margaret Noble—Sister Nivedita—is dead and her work has been accomplished. When it comes to be put together that work may not amount to much, because the time vouchsafed unto her was so short and she had perhaps no premonition of the angel-wings that had been beating about her, summoning her silently to where her Master had gone before her.

The qualities that she brought to bear on the work she did deserve to be remembered, for seldom did a truer or more generous nature throw in its lot with a cause so helpless as that of India and with so much enthusiasm and hopefulness. One Anglo-Indian paper has called her love for India 'a craze' and that is how some other people will call it, for how many of them can fathom the depth of the nature or the passion that burned in her as a holy flame? To the shallow critic and the casual observer she was only a crank—gifted beyond doubt, but only a crank.

It is not for me, however, to attempt an appreciation of her work in this place. Mine, as I have said, is a tribute of memory, recalling her as I knew her in life. I saw her many times and talked with her for hours at a stretch and I shall here relate only incidents of actual happenings, things and words as they may recur to the memory.

It was at Srinagar, Kashmir, that I first met her. I was living in a house-boat close to a *donga* occupied by Swami Vivekananda and we used to pass much

of our time together. Our boats were moored close to the guest-house of the Maharaja. Some way up the river Jhelum, beyond the Residency, was a boat in which there were three lady disciples of Swami Vivekananda, Nivedita being one of them. One morning as I came back from a stroll I stepped into Vivekananda's boat and found the three ladies there and introductions followed. Nivedita looked quite young and handsome. She had a full figure and a high colour and though her eyes were very bright and vivacious she did not appear like a blue-stocking or a very intellectual woman. But first appearances are frequently deceptive.

The Jhelum was flowing rippling below the keel of the boat. A cool, fresh morning breeze stirred the water into little wavelets flecked with fleeting foam. Over away in the distance towered Takht Suleiman with the pillar on the top. On the bank were poplars and chinars with apple and pear trees laden with fruit. And so, half observant and half oblivious of the glorious nature outside, we fell into an animated conversation. Sister Nivedita had a musical voice and spoke with the earnestness of an enthusiast. She wanted information on a hundred subjects. Swami Vivekananda pointed his finger towards me and smiled, "Yes, yes, pick his brains. He will give you all the information you want." When leaving, one of the elderly ladies asked me to come and have tea with them the following afternoon.

After they had gone Swami Vivekananda told me a great deal about Sister Nivedita, her great accomplishments and the range of knowledge, her passionate devotion to India. Then he told a little story. They had just returned from Amarnath, the famous shrine among the snows in Kashmir. Vivekananda had walked with the other pilgrims. As a young ascetic he had tramped over a great part of India. Sister Nivedita had a *dandy*. When they had proceeded only a few stages she noticed an old woman among the pilgrims and saw that she was walking painfully and laboriously with the help of a stick. Nivedita promptly got out of the *dandy*, put the old woman into it and walked all the way out and back from the shrine. When I asked her afterwards about it, she said she had two blankets, slept on the ground and never felt better in her life.

never saw her in Srinagar again. I

received a letter which necessitated my immediate return to Lahore and I left the next morning asking Swami Vivekananda to make my excuses at the tea party.

A few days later I met her at Lahore. She was staying with the other two ladies at Nedon's hotel and we met almost every day. Sometimes we would keep on talking till late at night, one of the other ladies quietly sitting by and listening to the bewildering range of our conversation. There was hardly a thing relating to India that we did not discuss. She frequently praised the judicial balance of the cultured Indian mind and the passionlessness of its outlook. Everything about her was sincere, frank and pure, while her unaffected modesty was as charming as it was admirable. And I saw that she was a woman with an extraordinary intellect, of extensive and accurate reading. She was extremely impulsive, but every impulse was generous and her earnestness of purpose was consuming.

She wanted me to show her the city. Would she like to drive through the main streets, as the lanes were too narrow for carriages to pass? No, she preferred to walk. A little slumming, I suggested, and she smilingly assented. So one fine morning we entered the city by the Lohari Gate, and tramped for about two hours, passing through every street and lane in the city. She was greatly interested in everything she saw—the children who stared at her open-mouthed, the women veiled and unveiled, the men who lounged at street corners, the Brahminy bulls lapping the rock salt exposed for their use on the market stalls, the crowded houses. She took in everything and asked questions about everything. On coming out of the city we took a carriage and I drove her to the hotel.

There were other experiences. The Ram Lila was going on. We drove out to see it. The other ladies stayed in the carriage, but Sister Nivedita got down and wanted to go into the crowd. As I accompanied her, a policeman on duty, seeing an English woman, began hustling the people and thrusting them aside to make a passage for her. In an instant Sister Nivedita's smiling demeanour changed. The blood rushed to her face and her eyes flashed indignant fire; going up to the policeman she exclaimed, "What right have you to push these people? You should be run in for assault." She spoke in English, because she did not know

the language of the country. The policeman did not understand her words, but there was no mistaking her gesture and look. The man turned to me helplessly for an explanation, and when he got it, he shrank away, looking sheepish and crest-fallen. When we came out of the crowd, I burst out laughing. Sister Nivedita turned to me saying, "Why are you laughing at me?" I explained to her that the sight of a policeman pushing people or even assaulting them was not a rare thing in India. She would not believe it at first and became very indignant when I told her a few facts.

I met her next in Calcutta and was startled by the change that had taken place in her appearance. All the high colour of her complexion had disappeared. She had grown pale and thin and looked both intellectual and spiritual. She wore round her neck a slender chain of *rudraksha* beads. She looked quite the *Brahmacharini* she was. For several weeks she had been living on a plantain and a slice of bread. She had taken a small house in the heart of north Calcutta and was teaching a few Bengali girls on the Kindergarten system. Would not some Indian women dedicate themselves to the service of India as she had dedicated herself? That was why she had undertaken the instruction of Indian girls. She looked on everything Indian with the eyes of sympathy and love.

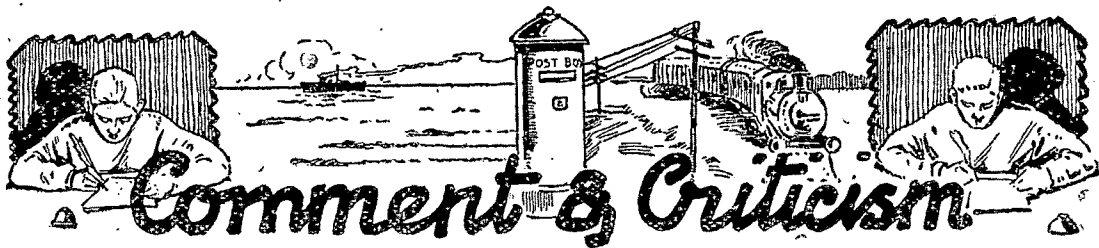
Her interests were as varied as they were wide. She was deeply interested in Dr. J. C. Bose's scientific researches.

I met her at the house of the American Consul General in Calcutta in earnest conversation with Mr. Okakura, the well-known Japanese thinker and writer. I heard her speaking in public. She was a most eloquent and fascinating speaker, but her thoughts and language were sometimes above the comprehension of the average audience. As a writer the charm of her style abides in her books. But I am thinking of the individual and not the writer—the clear, strenuous purpose, the fervour of faith, the human sympathy, the transparent sincerity, the selfless devotion to work.

On one occasion, accompanied by a friend, I went to see her in her house in Calcutta. We were told by another lady staying in the house that Sister Nivedita was seriously ill, suffering from meningitis. She was being treated by Dr. Nilratan Sircar, the famous Calcutta physician. After several anxious days, the crisis passed and the patient was pronounced out of danger. Her time had not yet come. On recovery she went to England to recruit her health.

I saw her once again at Benares for a few minutes while the Indian National Congress was sitting in that city. We were both pressed for time and there was not much conversation. And now she has gone to her rest, to peace everlasting, but those who had the privilege of knowing her will never forget her—her sweet yet forceful personality, her wonderfully pure life, white and fragrant as a lily.





[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

"The Arab Revolt and the Massacre of the Jews in Palestine"

In my article on the Arab Revolt which has disappointed Mr. Golam Murtaza, I have made it clear beyond doubt that I believe in Arab independence. As an advocate of Asian independence, I cannot but support the national aspirations of the Arabs or other people.

I am opposed to religious fanaticism of those who commit political murders under the pious cloak of religious indignation. Mr. Golam Murtaza acknowledges that the "Wailing Wall affair was only a spark" and the real trouble in Palestine lies in the political field. The Arabs allied themselves with the British and fought against the Turks (the co-religionists of the Arabs) on the solemn understanding that the Arabs will achieve their independence. British statesmen, with their characteristic duplicity, at the back of the Arabs, made a secret understanding with the French that the French might take Syria whereas the British would keep control over Palestine. Later on, the same British statesmen, to gain financial and political support of the Jews of all countries (especially those in the United States) gave assurance to them, through the Balfour Declaration, that the British will aid the Jews to establish a Jewish Homeland in Palestine.

Now the Jews have migrated and are migrating into Palestine according to the Balfour Declaration. They are buying up landed property, paying proper compensation to the Arabs, and they are investing capital and securing control over the raw materials of the country. No one can say that the Jews have demanded anything beyond the assurances of the Balfour Declaration. In fact, British statesmen (Col. Wedgwood and others) have advocated and are working for the creation of the "Seventh Dominion" of the British Empire under the Jewish control, in Palestine.

Now if any party is responsible for the loss of Arab rights—Arab independence in all Arabia including Palestine—then it is Great Britain, she having broken her solemn pledge. Therefore, the legitimate grievance of the Arabs should be against the British mandate. Had the Arabs risen against the British control over Palestine, and fought for their independence as the Syrians did against French rule, they would have received

the moral support of all who are advocates of self-determination. But when the Arabs feeling their inability to fight against British control of Palestine, started a massacre of Jews, under the cover of a religious pretext even the advocates of independence could not but condemn it. The Jews did not assert their rights without the Balfour Declaration; and if the Balfour Declaration has usurped Arab rights then they should start a political agitation against the British control of Palestine and not against the Jews who have come to Palestine because Britain has given a solemn undertaking for their protection.

I may say here that in India many of the Moslem politicians use the cloak of religious indignation against the Hindus for political purposes; and many Hindus have been murdered for political reasons (as the murder of Swami Shraddhananda) by the religious fanatics! Many Hindu politicians also support "extra-territorial patriotism" of Indian Moslems with the idea of bringing about Hindu Moslem Unity! I believe that the Hindus—all Indians—should support the cause of Arab independence, but must not support political assassinations carried on under the garb of religious indignation. Furthermore, I believe that while the people of India should support the cause of independence of other Asian peoples, they should not give any support to the spirit of "extra-territorial patriotism" of any community in India.

In conclusion, I may say that the real grievance of the Arabs lies in the British betrayal of the Arab cause through the violation of a solemn agreement. It is cowardly on the part of the Arabs to attack the Jews who were brought in Palestine under British protection, while accepting British mandate in Palestine.

Wiesbaden, Germany
Dec. 31, 1929

TARAKNATH DAS.

The Economic Condition of Indian Workers

Dear Sir,

I read with great interest the splendid article on "Tea Garden Labourers in Assam" by Mr. Jatindranath Sarkar, M. A., published in the December issue of *The Modern Review*. It is very

significant that the League of Nations, at the request of the United Christian Council of India, sent Miss Matheson to prepare a confidential report on the subject of "economic conditions in India." The League did not think it fit to send a man of the integrity and ability of Dr. Rajanikanta Das, who is employed as an expert in the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, to carry on an investigation on the "economic conditions in India" or the condition of Indian workers. There is anti-Indian propaganda on a world-wide scale; and no intelligent Indian has any doubt about it.

It is quite natural that the British planters will try to protect their interests—by creating favourable public opinion on their behalf. But what are the Indians, especially Indian economists, trade-unionists and others (politicians), doing to enlighten the world? The other day a section of Indian trade-unionists adopted a resolution to boycott the Whitley Commission, but have they adopted any definite measure for the study of the condition of Indian workers, so that the world may know the real causes of Indian labour unrest? Sometime ago the British trade union delegates came to India and made a study of the labour condition and produced a report containing valuable information which enlightened the world. Mr. Furtwangler, the General Secretary of the Federation of German Trade Unions, studied Indian labour conditions and made himself unpopular to the British official world when he exposed the condition of Assam tea-plantation workers, during the last session of the International Labour Conference held at Geneva. Mr. Sherwood Eddy, the well-known American social worker, in one of his books has given important facts about the awful condition of Indian workers. So far as I know, Indian Trade Union Congress leaders have not produced any *scientific* and valuable work on the condition of the workers in various Indian industries. *Furthermore, Indian economists connected with Indian universities could have served the cause of Indian workers most effectively if they prepared monographs on labour conditions in various Indian industries. I believe that it is the function of Indian universities to produce the most authentic works on all phases of Indian life—political, social, economic, educational, etc.* Several Indian Professors of Economics conjointly should not only undertake the preparation of a thorough and comprehensive work on certain economic problems of India, but should demand from their graduate students a certain amount of original research on Indian economic problems.

The Indian Trade Union movement should instruct its delegates to the next International Labour Conference, to be held in Geneva, to request the authorities of the International Labour Office to send an international commission to investigate the labour conditions in India. Such a commission should consist of Indian, Japanese, Chinese, French, German, British and Scandinavian economists. India contributes annually a very large sum towards the maintenance of the League of Nations. Indians should demand that the League should spend some of its money in such a manner as will be beneficial to the people. The Indian public must see to it that the League of Nations Labour

office may not be used as another anti-Indian propaganda machine.

TARAKNATH DAS

Wiesbaden, Germany.
Dec. 31, 1929

"Dominion Status and Independence Side by Side"

In your article on 'Dominion status and Independence Side by Side,' you initiate an interesting line of research. The relative merits of Dominion status and independence have been canvassed many times before now. But no one has yet attempted the *tour de force* of demonstrating from real life that the one is preferable to the other. It was good that you set yourself this difficult task; but it was not good that you should have diverted your efforts to a side-issue. For, what you have really established in your article is certainly not what you promised your readers in the headline.

You have proved the obvious fact that Canada is not quite as well off as U. S. A., and have advanced a hypothesis to explain it. It would not be difficult to pick holes in your arguments, and to suggest that some other hypothesis than your own is just as capable of accounting for Canadian backwardness. But I shall resist that temptation, for I do not want to be lured away by a merely collateral issue. My quarrel with you is that I do not see how your arguments may have any bearing upon the problem of Dominion status and independence, unless, of course, you assume that Canada has been enjoying Dominion status ever since she came under British rule. I do not know if you make that assumption. But if you do, I am afraid, you shall not find yourself on very sure ground. Personally, I feel that Dominion status, as it is evolving to-day, is essentially an after-war conception and its origin cannot be dated further back than 1917, when Sir Robert Borden, the Canadian Prime Minister, moved his famous resolution in the Imperial War Conference. But even if my history is wrong, I gather from the writings of Indian advocates of Dominion status that what they aspire to is not the sort of Colonial status which Canada enjoyed till about the beginning of the War, but a status, very different in essentials, for which Sir Robert Borden pleaded so eloquently in 1917.

It would seem, therefore, that when you hold up to ridicule the Colonial status which Canada enjoyed in the nineteenth century, advocates of Dominion status may justifiably retort, in so far as it is a hit at them, that you are only tilting at the wind.

I need hardly add that I am not concerned with the theoretical arguments for and against this issue; nor do I feel competent to enter the lists as a partisan. I have criticized your article because I am convinced that its implications are misleading, and that it does not help the cause you have in mind.

D. L. MAJUMDAR

The Editor's Note

I am under no delusion that I have proved that the sole cause, the principal cause, or even one of the causes of Canada's inferiority to the United States of America in population, material prosperity, and intellectual and creative achievement is the fact that she is not independent and free like the latter. Though Mr. Majumdar asserts that in the title of my article I promised to establish some such thesis, such promise does not appear to me to follow from the heading. In any case, I did not propose to prove any such thing. Perhaps, not being a clear writer, I have not been able to make the drift of my article understood even by intelligent and educated readers. My object was to set my readers thinking as to the causes of Canada's inferiority. That I did not indulge in any dogmatic assertion, but only raised questions and made tentative suggestions, will appear from the following sentences in my article among others :

"May not the inferior achievement of the Canadians, then, be due to the fact that, living under the aegis or protection of Britain as a sub-nation, they have not yet fully felt the promptings of a distinct, independent and free nation to develop their powers in every direction to the utmost.....? Does this explain the stunting of Canada to any extent?"

"The American States have about a quarter of the area of the contiguous Canadian provinces but nearly three times as many inhabitants as the latter. What is this striking difference in immediately adjoining areas due to?"

"It strikes me that the political status of Canada may have had something to do with retarding its material prosperity and intellectual growth. Those who have personal knowledge and experience of both U. S. A. and Canada may be able to say whether there is even a modicum of truth in my impression."

Mr. Majumdar writes, "You have proved the obvious fact that Canada is not quite as well off as U. S. A., and have advanced a hypothesis to explain it." Canada's comparative backwardness may have been obvious to him all along, but it was not obvious to me before I read the *New Republic* article about it and consulted some works to write my article. I was impelled therefore to advance a hypothesis to explain the "obvious." If my hypothesis is wrong, I hope more competent and better-informed persons will advance other hypotheses with convincing proofs in reviews or journals other than mine.

Mr. Majumdar says I have held up "to ridicule the colonial status which Canada enjoyed in the nineteenth century." Since receiving his criticism I have read my article twice. I do not find that I have anywhere specifically referred to Canada's colonial status in the nineteenth century. As for "ridicule" to the best of my knowledge of the meaning of this word in the English language, which is not my mother-tongue, I have not in my article ridiculed any country or people. I did not know that a serious comparison of the position and achievements of two countries by means of facts (including statistics) could be called ridicule. But, perhaps, as I had to write in a foreign language,

what I intended to be taken as a serious discussion really reads like ridicule.

I have nowhere assumed that Canada has been enjoying Dominion status of the up-to-date kind ever since she came under British rule. My limited knowledge of Canadian and British Imperial history has sufficed to save me from such a wrong assumption. I have also a rough idea of the evolution of Dominion status since the last World War. In fact, in the concluding paragraph of my article, I distinctly refer to the fact that Canada has not yet enjoyed for a sufficiently long time her recently advanced political status to enable one to judge of the results of such status. Let me quote the last few lines.

"It is not yet full four years since this definition of a Dominion was adopted. Time alone can show whether this new Dominion status will produce material and moral results equivalent to those of the independence enjoyed by the U. S. A. The enjoyment by Canada of the right of diplomatic representation abroad is also not of much longer duration. From the article of the Canadian writer, referred to in the first paragraph of my article, it does not appear what actual concrete benefit to Canada has resulted from her new Dominion status and her right of diplomatic representation abroad."

There have been, since the World War, important developments regarding Dominion status. But that status existed before the war, and it was by no means insignificant. In fact, in relation to internal affairs, the Dominions enjoyed so much freedom that in his Congress presidential address in 1906 Dadabhai Naoroji voiced the political aspiration of India by saying that the Congress wanted Swaraj or self-government like that of the self-governing British colonies or like that of England.

I shall quote some sentences from two pre-war publications to show what Canadian self-government was then like. By the passing of "The British North America Act," on the 1st of July 1867, the Dominion of Canada came into existence. It was born during the era of the American Civil War, and was planned to correct defects which time had revealed in the American federation." (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition, vol. v, published 1910). So the Canadian federation was in some respects an improvement on the American federation.

It is interesting to find that even before 1867 the Canadian Parliament was supreme in Canadian domestic affairs. In 1849 when the Earl of Elgin was Governor, the Canadian legislature passed the Rebellion Losses Bill. "The conservative minority" "appealed to London for intervention. The mob in Montreal burned the Parliament buildings and stoned Lord Elgin himself because he gave the royal assent to the bill. He did so in the face of this fierce opposition, on the ground that in Canadian domestic affairs, the Canadian Parliament must be supreme." (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition). Speaking of a period a few years anterior to 1849, the same work says that "it became obvious that the provinces united had become too important to be held in leading strings."

It is stated in the same work (1910), in relation

to all naval and military forces, that "their control rests with the federal Parliament."

As early as 1868 Canada had adopted the policy of protection in her trade and industries, and from 1891, "protection became the settled policy of the country." (*Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed.)

The Governor-General's powers are strictly limited, as in the case of the sovereign, all executive acts being done on the advice of his cabinet, the members of which hold office only so long as they retain the confidence of the people as expressed by their representatives in Parliament" (*Encycl. Brit.*, 1910)

It is stated in the *Statesman's Year-book* for 1911 that the Canadian provinces "have full powers to regulate their own local affairs and dispose of their revenues, provided only they do not interfere with the action and policy of the central administration."

It would appear, then, that even before pre-war developments, Canada had practically almost as full a measure of internal autonomy as her

neighbour the U. S. A. The question then which demands an answer is why her progress has not even approximated to that of the latter. It should be borne in mind that the Civil War in America had caused a great set back there at the time when Canada became a Dominion. So both these countries started on a new career of progress at the same time. There is another country, Japan, an oriental one, which began its career of modernization exactly during the same period. There, "from 1866 onwards the new spirit rapidly permeated the whole nation; progress became the aim of all classes, and the country entered upon a career of intelligent assimilation which, in forty years, won for Japan a universally accorded place in the ranks of the great Occidental powers." (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition.)

Why is not only the U. S. A. but also Japan far ahead of Canada in almost every respect with far more limited natural resources than the latter?

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

Caste

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

IT is generally believed and said, and rightly so, that one of the principal causes of India's political weakness and downfall is caste. And, therefore, the argument against caste often takes a political turn. There is nothing to be said against such a line of argument—for caste has all along stood as a great barrier against nation-building. But would caste be justifiable even among an independent nation? There were, in fact, long centuries during which India was independent, and caste also existed in those days. But it may be stated with historical truth that caste was one of the causes of India's loss of independence. Suppose, however, India was all along independent and that caste did not make for the loss of independence. Would caste even then be justifiable? Certainly not. For caste gives some men and women a high social status and relegates others to a low position, and that sort of arrangement goes on from generation to generation. It cannot be said that all or most "high-caste" men deserve a high place by their character and intellect, nor that all 'low-caste' persons deserve the humiliation, limitation

or loss of opportunity, persecution, degradation and cramping effect due to a low position. It is clear, therefore, that caste would be unjustifiable even if it were not politically disintegrating and weakening in its effects.

Here some one may put in a word for *Varnasrama Dharma* such as, it is said, existed in India in days of yore. Theoretically *Varnasrama* existed in India undoubtedly. But I have my historical doubts whether at any time all or most Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas or Shudras followed only the professions assigned to them by the *Smritis*. There are enough data in the dramas, Puranas, etc., and in history to show that that was not the case in numerous instances. However, if *Varnasrama* existed in actual practice at any time, it cannot be revived now. At present, the caste groups, instead of being four, would be more than four thousand. And some of the popularly believed lowest castes are claiming to be Brahmans or Kshatriyas and are being invested with the 'sacred' thread.

Varnasrama, if revived, is to be arranged according to *guna* (quality) and *karma*

(work or occupation). Is there any authority, possessed of sufficient knowledge of the *gunas* and *karmas* of all persons of all ages and both sexes in Hindu India, and having adequate sense of justice and sufficient impartiality and power to enforce obedience, who can divide these persons into four groups? In these days of equality, liberty and fraternity, would not there be numerous rebels against his decisions? And remember, this work of fourfold division cannot be done once for all. Sons and daughters do not all possess the *gunas* of their parents or follow the professions of their parents. Therefore, at each succeeding generation, there must be a fresh fourfold division. Nay, even that is an understatement. A man may change his occupation once or more than once in his life; a man of Brahman parentage may be a cook, a priest and a petty trader at the same time; husband and wife may not follow the same profession and may have different *gunas* and a man may have different *gunas* at different periods of life. What authoritative person or persons can have the power to constantly re-arrange groups repeatedly, providing satisfactorily for all these complications?

No, the *Varnasrama* solution will not do.

Some praise has been bestowed on the system of caste for its providing every one born in a caste with some occupation, for preventing unlimited competition and ambition, for instituting a sort of democracy within the caste, for making it possible to acquire great skill in crafts and trades owing to their hereditary character, and so on. To some extent this praise is deserved, though there is no such hereditary physical transmission of acquired tastes, inclinations, character and skill as is generally and popularly believed. But we have to remember that in spite of caste there is greater unemployment and enforced idleness in India than in any other civilized country and that there are also great competition and ambition. Social democracy within each caste is at present more nominal than real; a highly educated rich man of any caste certainly does not look upon and treat an illiterate and poor fellow-caste-man as his social equal. It is true that many of our hereditary craftsmen possess great skill. But not all. Moreover, owing to there not being infusion of fresh blood, fresh intelligence and fresh ideas into a craft-guild and its methods and owing to comparative absence of competition, many of

our craftsmen have become less skilled and more characterless than the craftsmen of other countries which have no caste. Take an example. In Calcutta, Chinese carpenters command much higher wages than Indian carpenters, because of their greater skill, greater reliability and greater industry. Again, among Indian carpenters Mussalmans are to be found in greater numbers than Hindus.

Owing to the absence of hereditary caste in Western countries, some of the greatest intellects have devoted themselves to manufacturing industries and commerce and surpassed our industrial and commercial classes. Our Kshatriya warriors of old were matchless for bravery. Yet they could not prevent India from being conquered, because all the people of the country were not interested in defending it, and because strategy and methods of warfare and weapons remained unimproved, owing to men of superior intellect from outside the caste not having concerned themselves with their improvement.

Caste discriminates in favour of some persons and against others quite unreasonably and unjustly. In the same family brothers and sisters often differ markedly in physical strength and appearance, intelligence and intellectual achievement, education, character, etc., and follow different professions. Yet those who are superior in those things do not despise and cut off social intercourse with those who are inferior, nor are any treated as untouchable. Men and women of the same caste differ in the same way and sometimes more; yet there is social intercourse, interdining and intermarriage among them. But persons of inferior caste are sometimes superior in strength, intellect, character, etc., to those of higher caste, and yet they are despised.

Even if it be argued that literacy and the priestly profession imply and demand higher intelligence and character than the pursuit of other avocations for which literacy is not essential, which is not true, can any reasons be assigned as to why weavers, blacksmiths, carpenters, potters, brass-smiths, etc., should not look upon one another as social equals, interdining and intermarrying with one another?

No, hereditary caste is a thoroughly unreasonable institution. Divisions into occupational groups may and do exist, as they do everywhere; but there is no reason why they should be made hereditary and the

groups should be placed in watertight compartments.

We generally feel encouraged by the achievements and example of Japan, which is an oriental country. But we forget that the Samurai, the Japanese highest caste, who were warriors, voluntarily gave up their privileges, that caste was destroyed in Japan, and that the *Eta* who were the Japanese untouchable class, were declared by law eligible for all professions, offices and educational facilities and are socially entitled to be treated as the equals of people of other classes. Have we got the same social patriotism, the same sense of justice and the same desire and power of giving up our privileges for the sake of the country?

Educated men, at any rate, of present-day India, should know some facts relating to the social structure of ancient India. Marriages between men of higher castes with women of lower castes and of women of higher castes with men of lower castes were by no means rare. Many examples can be given. Again, persons born of very low castes, attained the rank of Brahmans, such as Parasara, Vyasa, Vasishtha, etc. A striking example is that of Satyakama Jabala. As a boy he went to a *rishi* for education. On being asked the names of his parents, he could tell the name of only his mother Jabala, who was a servant-woman, but could not tell the name of his father. He was told to ask his mother. The mother could not say. The boy went again to his *guru* and told him what his mother had said. The *rishi* said, "Only a true Brahman can tell the truth as you have done," and forthwith admitted him into the brotherhood of Brahmans.

From time immemorial many foreign peoples have entered India and been absorbed by the Hindus of India. Many foreigners have become Brahmans, Kshatriyas, etc. It is popularly believed that at least the higher castes are Aryans. But the fact is there is no pure race in anthropology, there is no Aryan race proper. In many provinces of India—Bengal and Madras, for example, even the Brahmans are markedly mixed people. There are sometimes even in the same family persons of very fair and very dark complexions and with strikingly different features. We, Bengalis, are more Dravidian and Mongolian by race than Aryan, and we are not at all ashamed of the fact. The superior

qualities of manhood are not a monopoly of Aryans.

Some of the evil results of caste have been already incidentally referred to. It has done great spiritual harm to men. Some castes have become puffed up with a sense of their importance. They have become spiritually proud and imagine that they were born pure and holy and others were impure and even untouchable. The priestly class have felt that they could give salvation to others. Unhappily, though they thought or pretended to think that they could save others, themselves they could not save, nor could they save their country from being trodden under the heels of conqueror after conqueror.

Caste has prevented, or in any case sought to prevent, the direct access of others than the priests to God. It has set up, not one mediator, as in some other religions, but a whole class of mediators. Those who under the influence of caste consider themselves to belong to an inferior class of men have become unduly depressed. Their spirits and minds have not had full scope to develop. Thus the human race has been deprived of the intellectual, moral and spiritual wealth which they could otherwise have contributed to the common treasure-house of humanity. The position of the untouchables has become worse still, if possible. They have been treated as worse than the lower animals. Thus where modern India boasts of only about half a dozen men of international reputation, it could have boasted of scores of such, if caste had not prevented untold millions for ages from reaching the full stature of humanity.

It has already been mentioned that India's loss of freedom has been due in great part to caste. The lower orders have not cared much who, whether high-caste Indians or conquering foreigners, became the top-dogs because they felt that they were destined to remain the under-dogs. In fact, as we see at present, it is easy to get the non-Brahman and depressed classes to declare that they would prefer foreign domination to the domination of the high-caste Hindus. Caste has also led numerous Hindus to become converts to Christianity and Muhammadanism.

It has been the cause of much jealousy and hatred between caste and caste. All the different castes have not been able in many cases to pool their resources for

founding educational institutions of a high order. Instead of well-equipped colleges of the greatest efficiency, we have separate Kayastha, Bhumihar, Jat and other colleges, which are not well-equipped and quite efficient.

Caste has been perhaps the greatest obstacle to social, economical and political progress in India. It has stood in the way of the solidarity of the Hindu people and prevented the growth of a compact nation. For where there is no mutual love and trust, there cannot be that cement which binds the parts together.

I have already said that the contemptuous treatment of the lower castes has led large numbers of them to leave the fold of Hinduism. Thus, there has been continual decrease of Hindus. Hindus can increase and could have increased their numbers by conversion from other religious communities. But these converts not being assured of an honourable place in the Hindu community, their number has been small. Those who leave Hinduism for other faiths, or their descendants, cannot be reclaimed in large numbers for the same reason. In fact, so long as people cannot obtain the same social status which they have or can have among Christians and

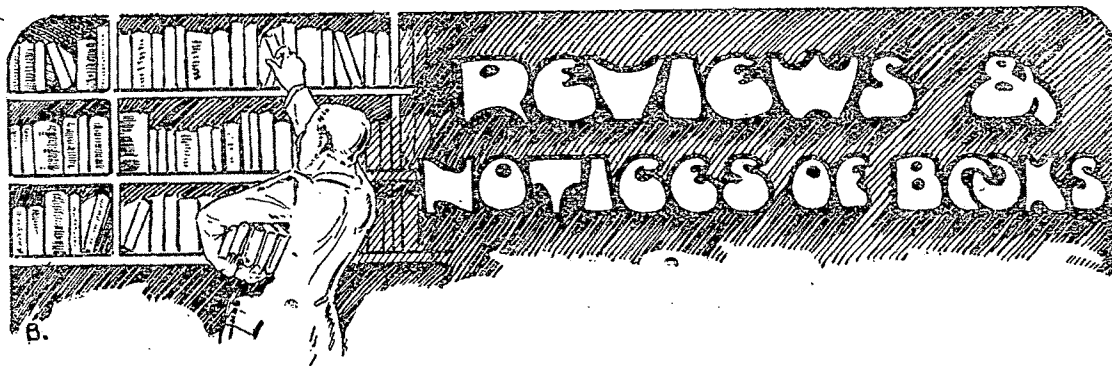
Moslems, they cannot think of becoming Hindus.

The system of caste narrows one's outlook and vision. Caste-ridden people cannot think nationally. They consider their caste to be the world in which they live, move and have their being.

The census reports of many provinces show that there is a great disparity in the numbers of men and women in many castes. There is a similar disparity in the number of unmarried boys and girls among them. For this and other reasons, it is difficult among some castes to find brides and bridegrooms. Were it not for caste and sub-caste restrictions, the field of selection would have been wider and the dwindling away of some castes owing to the paucity of women and, therefore, of marriage, could have been prevented. The paucity of women is particularly felt in some provinces and is a cause there of the crimes of kidnapping and abduction. Were it not for caste and also to some extent for linguistic and cultural barriers, these difficulties could have been overcome by inter-provincial and intercaste marriages.

[Adapted from the Presidential Address delivered at the All-India Anti-caste Conference, Lahore, on December 28, 1929.]





[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

MARRIAGE AND MORALS—By Bertrand Russell.
(George Allen and Unwin)

In this book Mr. Bertrand Russell gives his views regarding the effects of sex on the future state of civilization and foreshadows the changes, that, in his opinion, will result from the present-day decline in religion and the increase in social freedom and in the degree of interference by the State in personal and family matters. The author starts by postulating that "the whole conception of female virtue has been built up in order to make the patriarchal family possible" and "that it is only with the introduction of the patriarchal system that men came to desire virginity in their brides." So long as men, for economic reasons, cannot afford to marry and the excess in their numbers prevents many women from marrying at all, equality between the sexes demands a relaxation in the traditional standards of feminine virtue, and the author, therefore, postulates that with the increasing freedom of women, the Feminist of the future will not seek to curtail the "vices" of men but will claim the right to enjoy equal licence. But he fails to note that increased State assistance renders early marriage possible, especially among the wage-earning classes. As a result of equal social freedom, there is, still more in the future, will be "a rising tide of immorality" and a consequent decrease in numbers and ultimate disappearance of the prostitute. He does not, however, stop to consider whether this increased freedom may not have different results in different races, as for instance in the Nordics or among the Southern races of America, where the Southern element is so strong. Increasing licence and the disappearance of the prostitute will, he argues, cause a considerable diminution of venereal disease; but he overlooks the fact that the chief source of this disease, now-a-days, is not the professional but the enthusiastic amateur. Illegitimate births will be prevented by

the increasing use of contraceptives and children will only be borne, if and when the woman desires it; thus children will come to be regarded as belonging to the mother alone, the father being a mere incident in its production, and hence marriage will be unnecessary and undesired. This might result in a fall of the birth-rate, to counteract which the State will institute premiums for progeny and in order to regulate the number of births in individual States and so preserve the balance of Man-power, an International Board or State will be necessary. Mr. Bertrand Russell appears to think that unless there is a radical change in the present-day trend of affairs the human race may ultimately drop to the level of domestic cattle, with State or International Boards running an International Stud; his remedy for this would appear to be complete sexual licence, the prevention of the birth of children other than by the husbands, by the use of contraceptives, and the care and maintenance of the children by the State.

MEMORIES OF MY LIFE. By Edward Westermarck.
Translated from the Swedish by Anna Barwell.
(George Allen and Unwin.)

This charming and very readable volume is a translation of the original edition that appeared in Swedish, under the title *Minnen ur mitt Liv* in 1927.

One of the outstanding features of the book is the vividness with which the author recalls his very earliest experiences, evidence of a retentive memory that must have been of the very greatest service to him in his patient and often protracted research work. Another character that the author reveals is his steady determination to overcome difficulties; in his early days we find him climbing the highest available mountains, partly to improve his health and general physique and partly to inspire himself with confidence that he would be able in the future to face such hardships as might

fall to the lot of an explorer and investigator. In later years he was equally indefatigable and equally enthusiastic in his efforts to free Finland. In the course of his wanderings in Morocco he must at times have been a source of considerable anxiety to Governors and others, who were more or less responsible for his safety, by his complete disregard of their orders; but in whatever part of the world he visited he had the happy power of engaging people's affections and thus of laying the foundations of permanent friendships, whether among the simple fishing folk of the Shetland Islands or the fanatic Mahomedans of Morocco, nor was this power of attraction confined to men only as is shewn by his account of the proposal of marriage that he received from a young lady at Capri.

Westermarck is and clearly always has been very appreciative of the beauties of Nature and wherever he travels he gives us vivid pen-pictures of the scenery; knowing the Guildford and Dorking district of England one can fully understand the charm that this part of the country held for him.

After reading these Memories one begins to wonder in which of the three sides of his career he achieved the greatest success, whether as Teacher, Research-worker or Politician. In spite of his great achievements as a research-worker, one is inclined to suspect that his greatest results have been as a Teacher; but that is a matter that only the future can reveal.

R B. S. S.

THE CASE FOR INDIA: *By John S. Hoyland, M. A. (Cantab), F. R. Hist. S., London. J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd. 1929. 4s-6d net.*

Mr. Hoyland has written this small book of 173 pages after fifteen years' stay in India, partly in a small country town, partly in a large industrial city and partly amongst the villages and jungle tracts engaged in educational and relief work. He is thus well qualified for the task he undertook to perform, but that sympathetic insight, without which it is impossible to understand the mind of a people so entirely foreign as the Indians are to Europeans, is not common even among those who have long resided in India, and have been glad to leave this land of regrets at the end of their long residence. Mr. Hoyland, however, belongs to that rare band of foreigners who have the gift of sympathy and can therefore say something useful and instructive to Indians and their English rulers alike.

The frontispiece is adorned with a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi, for whom the author has the profoundest admiration and to whom he devotes a chapter. The book is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the factors in the present situation in India, and the second with the Indian point of view. Hinduism, Islam, the British system, the birth of the new nation, and the attitude of our rulers to the whole problem are the factors; how an Indian looks at the West, at India, at Swaraj, at Religion, and at the future, are the subjects treated in the second part. It is not difficult to see, from the author's comments and observations here and there, that

the Indian view point is not unoften his own, at any rate he has considerable sympathy for it.

On the Hindu ideas of *Dharma*, on caste, Ahimsa, Swaraj, the ideal of Indian womanhood, the *Guru*-ideal, the *Sannyasi*-ideal, the policy of *Satyagraha*, and the like, the author's views are strikingly illuminating.

According to the author, the Bengali race is "the most advanced, enlightened and self-conscious of the Indian races." Time was when this appreciative reference to us was perfectly true, but now our brethren of other parts of India run us hard, and in the competition for progress the Bengalis are being outdone by other Indians in many fields of activity.

On Miss Mayo's notorious *Mother India* the author says that "the assertions made in that extremely ill-balanced onslaught upon Indian life was one-sided and therefore false" and adds that "Miss Mayo's choice of a title for her book was extremely unfortunate. It seemed in India to constitute a deliberate flouting, deriding and defiling of holy things. It was heartless blasphemy against the most sacred of all Goddesses."

"India feels, with a deep and growing resentment, that the Englishman is an insolent boor; for he does not care to understand the country which he regards himself as owning, and is interested only in continuing to own and exploit her."

The Rowlatt Act was "one of those fatal and tragic mistakes which poison almost beyond recovery the relationships of peoples."

Of Mahatma Gandhi the author says, amid much else, "Although he failed as a practical statesman, the fact remains that this ascetic and prophet has brought into the world a new type of national idealism, founded on the assertion of great moral principles...The nationalism of which he is the leader and seer is in a sense a new 'ethical nationalism,' in a world where nationalism hitherto has meant too often aggressive and self-assertive violence."

Regarding Hinduism the author says: "The genius of the people has regarded political relationships as of little importance, but social, moral and religious relationships as of tremendous importance. The achievement of India has lain not in the domain of constitutional experiment and advance, but in the development of a vast system of social organization—the caste system. It has lain, secondly, in the development of a type of life founded on the belief that moral issues underlie the whole universe and decide the destiny of every human soul born into the world. It has lain, thirdly, in a continuously developing insight into the things of the spirit—into the relations of God with man."

In the chapter on Islam, referring to the 'Heads I win—tails you lose' policy of the Mussalmans all along the line, the author says, 'No more definite and privileged position of extra territoriality could be imagined in a modern democratic State' and goes on to observe, "This problem of Hindu Mussalman relationships is absolutely fundamental to the future well-being of India, and to the possibility or otherwise of her attaining true unity and independence."

"In the main it must be recognized that two men struggle for the mastery in the average Indian

Mussalman, the man of India and the man of Islam. Because the bond of Islam is far stronger than any bond of race or nationality, the man of Islam usually wins in the struggle, to the detriment, from many points of view, of the cause of a free and united India."

"Many advanced Nationalists may be found in India today who sincerely doubt whether the Mussalmans can ever be assimilated to the type of national life for India after which the Hindus aspire. Some will say that the concessions already made are far too large; that the influence of the advanced Islamic party is already unduly strong in the counsels of Indian nationalism; that the tendency of Indian Mussalmans to look to Kabul or Angora already threatens serious trouble."

Among the signs of progress the author notices the following: "In many connections the rapid development may be observed of political sense and administrative skill among Indians... an increasingly apparent sense of responsibility [in legislative debates]. There is noticeable also a readiness and an ability to "stand up to the bureaucrats" when occasion arises. They are no longer regarded with awe and reverence as they sit aloof on their Olympian heights... the inestimably important work of political education is going prosperously forward beneath the surface; and India is thereby becoming more and more prepared for self-government."

"Few will assert... that any merely material benefits can justify the permanent subjection of one people to another. Moreover, there is always the possibility that a healthy dissatisfaction with Western civilization as it is, and a refusal to be dazzled by its material appearances, may lead to the development of some new Oriental type of more truly civilized life, which shall avoid the tragic mistakes of the West, and so be of benefit to all mankind."

"No one who has the slightest acquaintance with conditions in modern India can in his wildest dreams for one moment believe that return is possible to the old system of paternalism."

"Thinking India is profoundly convinced that the West is inherently materialistic, insatiably greedy, violently destructive; and that the East must be saved *at all costs* from going the way of the West... Indians believe that Western civilization has definitely failed to provide a *modus vivendi* by which race can dwell side by side with race, in the same world, in a spirit of neighbourly give-and-take... A civilization acquisitive in its inmost nature, founded upon cut-throat competition, with greed as its fundamental motive, and force as its fundamental sanction, could (in accordance with the ancient teachings of Hinduism) by no possibility end in anything else than wholesale destruction." The War "was the inevitable outcome of the fact that Western civilization is psychologically wrongly founded."

"The opinion of the average Englishman in India, that "democracy will never work here" is just as valuable as the opinion of the average Englishman in America about 1770, in Ireland about 1920, in Wales today, and in connection with the Labour Party in England today. It is noteworthy that in the last two cases the fact that democracy does somehow manage to work has no effect in altering the energy and zeal with which the opinion is still held! The Indian Nationalist maintains, first, that democracy has

never been given a fair trial in India; second, that even if after a fair trial (that is, under conditions of *Swaraj*) it should not be found to be suited to Indian conditions, the responsibility for changing it, and for developing some form of government more suitable, can and must be borne by India alone."

"If he is a wide-spirited man, the Nationalist believes also that India as a whole will realize that she has a *Dharma* to fulfil towards the rest of the world. She will recognize the responsibility laid upon her by her traditions regarding the spiritual basis of all social organization and all industry. She will convert the world to a belief in *Ahimsa* (the refusal to use violence), in *Satyagraha* (reliance upon the unaided force of truth), in *Dharma* (the ideal of service to God and man as the motive of all action). She may even become a missionary nation proclaiming, by the example of her own well-ordered being, the folly and delusion of war, of cut-throat competitive industry, of exploitation, of greed, and self-serving as the motive of action."

Before leaving the book so full of deep wisdom, we would like to quote nearly the whole of the section on *Swaraj* and Social Reform. "The ruthless idealism of the East is best seen at one of the great religious gatherings. At the Kumbh Mela near Allahabad the present writer has himself witnessed a procession of three thousand entirely naked ascetics. As they walked down a lane roped off (with great difficulty) in the midst of the immense crowd, women would force their way under the ropes, and bowing low, take the dust upon which the holy men had trodden and place it upon their own heads."

"To the carefully groomed and supercilious English officers who were present (it was war time) this scene was revolting, even obscene. To the Hindu it was a significant triumph of spirit over flesh. It effectively symbolized that complete detachment of the immortal spirit of man from all material things, which means in India not only the giving up of personal property, but for the true ascetic the abandonment even of clothing. It symbolized also the extinguishing of all carnal desire, so that a procession like this could take place through the heart of a vast crowd without offence or indecency."

"Nothing could be more characteristic of the difference between East and West. On the one hand, idealism carried with uncompromising logic to illogical extravagance and abuse. On the other hand, a detachment from inconvenient idealism of any kind, and withal the War—instability and suicide in the midst of amazing material success."

"The modern Hindu is passionately desirous to keep the idealism at all costs, even though its outcome may revolt the West. He is too tolerant of abuses, no doubt; but he himself insists that if he is given the right to save his idealism—i. e., if he is given *Swaraj*—he will attend to the abuses himself. At present his attention is taken up with the major necessity, the winning of *Swaraj*, the saving of his Hindu system."

"This is why the enterprise of social reform labours today under so great difficulties. The Hindu feels instinctively that social reform is beginning at the wrong end. It seeks to patch up certain abuses of the present system, when the system itself is liable to total dissolution. No

existing abuse is for a moment to be considered, he believes, in comparison with the wholesale disaster which will overtake his fellow countrymen if the West succeeds in "modernizing" India. His task is to struggle for Swaraj; it will be time enough, when this is won, to amend and re-adjust the salvaged Indian institution.

"The ardent Hindu nationalist feels indeed that social reform may be actively dangerous at the present juncture. It may, not only distract attention from the main object in hand, the winning of *Swaraj*, but it may encourage a short-sighted discontent with the Indian system of life, so that reformers may be inclined to scrap the system as a whole in order to remedy individual abuses, thus 'throwing away the baby with the bath-water.'

"In this way it comes about that the most patriotic and public-spirited Hindus, men whose conscience has been deeply stirred by such wrongs as untouchability and child-marriage, will tell you with profound conviction that social reform must wait till *Swaraj* is won, for the political issue is paramount."

Regarding Indian womanhood, the following extract will suffice: "No one can comprehend India till he realizes these facts: that womanhood exercises a power and authority which, though unseen, is far greater than that exercised by womanhood in the West; that this power and authority is founded upon the ideal of service... It is obvious that such a realm of ideals will make for selfishness in man, and for a refined and very beautiful unselfishness in woman. Yet to this criticism also the Hindu will reply that his system is better than the Western, because it gives chief reverence to the ideal of service, and breeds at least among one-half of the population a type of character extraordinarily altruistic. The social system of the West, he maintains, is founded upon greed, and fails to produce, either in man or in woman a lasting and dominant character of unselfishness."

The book is excellently printed and beautifully got up. It is one of the few books written on India within recent years which deserves a permanent place in one's library.

A TEXT BOOK OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION: By M. R. Palande, M. A., Professor of History, *Swaraj*. Oxford University Press. Printed in India, 1929. Price Rs. 3.

This is a compact volume of nearly 250 pages, containing all necessary information on the subject. The book is divided into five parts, and each part is sub-divided into several chapters. Part I deals with Indian Administration in England; Part II with the Central Government; Part III with the Provincial Government; Part IV deals with General Subjects, such as Local Self-Government, Judicial Administration, Land Revenue, Public Services, Education, Famine Relief, Railways and Irrigation; Part V contains some relevant enactments and statutes. The book will be found highly useful for purposes of reference.

POLITICS

GROWTH AND TROPIC MOVEMENTS OF PLANTS: By Jagadis Chandra Bose. With 229 Illustrations. pp. XXIX+447. Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1929. Price 21s. net.

A year ago Sir Jagadis Bose gave us his "Motor Mechanism of Plants" in which he acquainted the reader with the results of his investigations on the motor mechanism of adult members, such as the leaves of sensitive and other plants. In the volume under review he deals with quite a different class of phenomena, *viz.*, the tropic movements of plants, or movements of growing organs under the influence of surrounding factors.

The problems which the author has tackled are many and varied. They are, at the same time, very complex, much more complex than the author sometimes seems to realize. He admits "that it is no easy matter to analyse them in the hope of arriving at some general principles which would explain them all," but the conclusions given in a summary at the end of each chapter are generally very definite, and Chapter XXXVII, in which he gives a general review of his results, often makes the reader return to former chapters in order to look for confirmation of certain statements.

"The attempt has been made," he says, "to account for the movements teleologically, to regard them as determined by the advantage they may contribute to the well-being of the plant, rather than to study them physiologically as manifestations of stimulation and response. It is the latter experimental method which has been pursued in the work here recorded." Surely there has been no physiologist who was satisfied with the statement that a plant performs all those tropic movements because they are advantageous to the plant. If that had been considered a satisfactory solution at any time we would not have the immense amount of literature dealing with the subject. It is quite possible that some physiologists have asked the question: "Why is the plant endowed with that particular power of reacting to various external influences?" This, however, is not another method, opposed to the experimental method, but merely an additional problem.

Sir Jagadis Bose very rarely refers to the work done by other scientists and it is, therefore, not always easy to distinguish between his own results and the conclusions of others. He has, however, helped the reader by shortly summarizing the more important results in the preface.

He experimented on the effects of wireless waves and of a high-frequency alternating field of electric force and has thereby shown that the plant is sensitive to the ethereal spectrum far beyond the infra-red region.

By the transverse conduction of excitation across the organ, he noted that the response gradually changes from the positive to the negative.

The application of sensitive physiological tests has revealed gradation of excitability in the layers of tissue in the pulvinus of *Mimosa*.

Whilst investigating geotropism, the author was able to determine not only the exact direction of the incident stimulus, but also the fundamental reaction under that mode of stimulation. When experimenting with different kinds of stimulation on dorsiventral organs, Sir Jagadis Bose obtained interesting results which he formulates in two sentences, called by him "Laws of Torsional Response."

The first is : An anisotropic organ, when laterally excited by any stimulus, undergoes torsion by which the less excitable side is made to face the stimulus ; and the second : The intensity of torsional response increases with the differential excitability ; when the original difference is reduced, or reversed, the torsional response undergoes concomitant diminution or reversal.

By those laws Bose has not only offered special advantages to the practical investigator, but has opened new lines of inquiry into the reactions of vegetable organisms to various stimuli.

From the facts that direct stimulation causes contraction and indirect stimulation, expansion, Bose tries to establish a wide generalization comprising the various tropic movements of organs. "There is," he says, "no longer any ground for assuming distinct irritabilities, such as the phototropic and the geotropic, or negative and positive phototropism and geotropism : these terms may remain as merely descriptive of the visible response. There is but one irritability of the growing organ which responds to all stimuli that may act upon it, and in essentially the same manner."

This like several other conclusions in the volume before us will require further examination and confirmation. The author himself admits that his "interpretation may possibly be subject to modification." In any case, his book will stimulate other workers in the same field to re-examine the whole question of growth and tropic movements in plants.

Regarding the experimental side of the work we must give full praise to the author. Sir Jagadis Bose is always ingenious in arranging and constructing new apparatus with striking combinations.

E. B.

"IF WISHES WERE HORSES" : By H. W. Fowler. London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

This is a book with a rather misleading title. The headings of the different chapters would lead one to take the book to be an experiment in autobiography, while at bottom, under the thin veneer of an attempt at self-revelation, it is a fairly acute intellectual discussion on the precise scope and meaning of certain moral and aesthetic attributes such as "frankness", "imagination", "sense of beauty," etc. The author no doubt makes an effort to relate these discussions to his personal tastes and idiosyncrasies in every case. But his physiognomy does not take any clear shape in the reader's mind behind the multiplicity of observations and the rather perplexingly facile shiftings of points of view. It is not a soul with its ineffable individuality that reveals itself in these pages, but an intellect with agility and nimbleness enough to skip into unconventional positions and dig holes, not tragically big, into the accepted frame-work of things.

A genuine hoist of the soul (not meant to connote any moral perversity) or idiosyncrasy of the inner outlook is one of the most difficult things to find literary embodiment. Montaigne and the seventeenth century humorists—Sir Thomas Browne, Burton, Fuller—were the founders of the tradition. But theirs was not a very startling or poignant deviation from accepted standards ; a

certain shyness, a certain pensive melancholy afraid of publicity and nursing itself in loneliness, a certain penetrative insight into some dark corners of the Soul—was what distinguished them from the average man. Of latter-day essayists it is Lamb, and Stevenson after him, who exude the subtle perfume of the Soul in their writings. For others, however distinguished in literary merit, it is rather a momentary attitude, temporary relaxation of mood, if not a deliberate intellectual pose. In the case of the present author, the abundance of quotations from the seventeenth-century humorists in his book shows on what pastures his mind has been fed, and his mood is thus a derivative, rather than a strictly original one.

Taken as a book of essays, without any pretensions to autobiographic interest, it has the merit of acuteness of analysis, and a stimulating quality of suggestiveness at places. Some of the chapters—those on "Frankness," "Imagination," "Religion" and "Sense of Beauty"—are taken up with rather hair-splitting distinctions from which nothing profound emerges. The best, in respect of weightiness, substance and surprising transitions of thought, are those on "Opinions," "Ideas" and specially on "A Cat," which is delightful in its gentle, engaging humour. Notwithstanding the startling expectations raised by the titles of the different chapters, it is safe to conclude that a cat would have brought about a more momentous change in the author's temper and habits than all the other desirables which he pretends to sigh for.

S. K. B.

GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE : A Historical Biography. By Principal T. K. Shahani, M.A., Published By N. K. Mody, 35, Nagdevi Street, Bombay, pp., viii + 388. Price Rs. 2-8 (or 4s.)

This book which won a prize in 1915, and is the work of a pupil of Gokhale who knew him well, suffers from an obvious disadvantage. It has been published fourteen years too late ; and circumstances have prevented the author from taking advantage of the new knowledge, now within the reach of all, and recasting important passages in the book, which have been distinctly antiquated by the passage of years. In fact, the reader goes through this undeniably careful piece of work under a sense of discomfort, particularly in the critical parts. We now know fully well how strenuously Lord Morley opposed communal representation, so that Principal Shahani's censure of the great statesman is no longer justified ; and Gokhale's now famous *Testament*, of which the author was necessarily unaware when he wrote the essay, puts a new complexion on the politics of his closing days.

Apart from this, however, the value of this book is great in more ways than one. We get a picture of Gokhale in early youth such as was never presented before with anecdotes showing traits of strength and weakness of the leader in the making. Such little points as a devotion to billiards, an aversion to butter and a child-like ignorance of certain trivialities of everyday life are presented side by side with a narrative of sustained devotion to an ideal, untroubled by

practically continuous poverty and struggle. We are told of his memory and industry; his learning off all Burke by heart; his development of an English style by an instinctive absorption, so it seems to us, in the simpler aspect of Burke's literary manner; the discipleship of Ranade; intimacy with Tilak followed by estrangement; the years of work at the Provincial and Imperial Legislative Councils. Particularly interesting is the account of the atmosphere in which he, in early life, was placed in healthy rivalry with Professor Kelkar and in friendship with Mr. Agarkar. Later comes the massive personality of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta creating opportunities for the rising politician and finding for him a larger than provincial arena; of the influence of this great leader, too, our author writes with vividness and eloquence.

The chapters analysing Gokhale's work as a critic of Indian finance, as an opponent of Lord Curzon's educational policy and as a champion of compulsory education are full, a trifle too much so, one should think, being written as though they were meant for students of elementary Indian economics; obviously, our author being a veteran educationist has a mental picture of the average reader as one who needs a lot of coaching. Three things that emerge are of special interest; Gokhale's merciless exposure of the real nature of the surpluses upon which the Finance Members of those days used to pride themselves; the Government's more or less enforced acceptance of a good many of his criticisms; and his somewhat ungrudging acceptance of communal representation as a settled fact of minor importance. A fourth, which is worth considering in these days, is what might appear as his strange preference, even in those days, for free trade for India. Altogether the picture of a true moulder of public opinion is full; and the reader is left to judge for himself how in spite of an ingrained cautiousness, Gokhale never lost sight of essential factors of Indian politics and economics.

The book has been written in a pleasant and lucid style. Principal Shahani, for the most part, avoids writing in a dogmatic or assertive manner; practically all through, he remains in the background, an admiring old pupil trying to do his master justice without exaggeration or understatement. Should he find it possible, in a future edition, to re-handle material portions in the light of recent developments and look back upon his hero retrospectively through the years that have passed since his death, the worth of the book and its usefulness to the general reader would be greatly enhanced.

B. B. Roy

Forty Years in Baroda—By G. H. Desai, 1929. Price Rs. 1-8-0, pp. 226.

The author of this book, Rao Bahadur Govindbhai Hathibhai Desai, B.A. LL.B., is a Patidar gentleman from the Baroda service. He has published this record of the varied experiences acquired by him in nearly all the important Departments of the State, which he entered as a probationer at the beginning of 1889, and from which he retired on what may be presumed a meritorious pension after he had attained to the highest rung of the ladder, except

the nominal Diwanship. To speak the truth, we opened the book with an ardent desire of finding in it some sort of guidance in our present troubles, as we expected that the experiences of such an intelligent and efficient official must be of utmost value both to the Indian States and British India alike. But we are extremely sorry to have to record our great disappointment when, going through page after page, we found nothing better in it than a mere self-laudatory expansion of the author's own service-book, which he fully quotes in chapter 2. It is a misfortune to our nation that a man of Govindbhai's capacity and attainments should feel honoured by the compliments showered on him not only by his own master, the Gaekwar of Baroda, but by several British officials apparently much inferior to himself. One can easily realize, after reading such a self-depreciating record, how Western education and Western methods of administration have destroyed all self-respect and self-confidence of Indians as a nation. One would have expected Govindbhai at the end of his career, to speak out his mind freely and place his life's experiences at the service of his nation. When the best intellects of India and England are just now busily engaged in finding out a solution of our present ills, a brilliant life's experience concerning the internal administration of what is too often given out as a progressive and benevolent Indian State, could surely have supplied some sort of a clue to the solution of India's problems. Does Gobindbhai sincerely believe that his absentee task-master, the Gaekwar, has fulfilled the eloquent promise he made at his Silver Jubilee in 1907, and which Govindbhai proudly quotes on p. 58? It is self-sufficiency like Govindbhai's, in selling away one's best powers of head and heart for paltry lucre, which drives thinkers like Mahatma Gandhi to advocate a complete boycott of the present educational and administrative systems. But Govindbhai would remain a slave of his pension, and would speak only such things as would please his master. On p. 134 in speaking of Mr. B. L. Gupta, he writes that "he was a very conscientious and frank-hearted gentleman, a brilliant lawyer, but had no 'administrative experience'." One can easily understand what *administrative experience* has come to mean: it means slave mentality, it means selling away one's conscience, forgetting the human factor, speaking and doing exactly as the master would wish, and following the machine-like system, without minding what the consequences would be. For one cannot forget that those great souls,—B. L. Gupta, R. C. Dutta, Shrinivas Aiyangar—were never appreciated in Baroda and almost lost their lives in sheer disgust and disappointment, at having no free-hand for doing what they thought good. The administration had become a perfected machine. Govindbhai cleverly describes and assiduously enumerates the reforms and improvements in the various departments of the State, and particularly in revenue and agriculture (see pages 108, 118, 122); but can he in all conscience say that the average *rayat*, or for the matter of that, even the average Patidar, the best agriculturist community of India to whom Govindbhai himself belongs, is in a better condition all round than he was forty years ago, owing to these vaunted reforms? Is he richer and more well-

to-do, more moral, more able to help himself and others? And if he is not, as honest people like Vallabhbhai Patel believe he is not, what right has Govindbhai to miscall reforms what after all are only administrative devices to hoodwink the public.

The problem of the day is Democracy and Swarjya. India demands a solution of this problem from all her thinking sons: the responsibility is greater, in this respect, of those who think themselves wise, intelligent and thoughtful. If they simply muster the necessary courage to speak out their inner mind, freely and honestly, if even two individuals of the calibre of Govindbhai or his co-worker, Manubhai Mehta, ex-Dewan of Baroda and the present Minister of Bikaner, would care sincerely to give out their real and varied experiences, before God and man, they will be for ever blessed by their suffering nation.

P.

IF I WERE JEEJEEBOY JAY! *By J. F. Kalianivala.*

This is a "dream of a happy world with special reference to India." The author lays down formulas for becoming happy.

THE BRAHMIN: *By V. S. Ramanatha Sastri and Dhurta Swamin. Published by Dhurta & Sons, Cathedral, Madras. Price Rs. 1-8.*

The book treats of the psychology of the Brahmin caste, his conduct of life &c. The difficulties of the modern Brahmin are carefully dealt with in this book. The author writes:—"The Brahmin goes on a pilgrimage" to the West and tries to impose its institutions on his soil. The sorry figure he cuts is interesting reading.

CRITIC

HINDI

HATH KI KATAI-BUNAI—*translated by Ramdas Gaur, M. A. Published by the Sasta-Sahitya-Mandal, Ajmer, pp. 174.*

The Sasta-Sahitya-Mandal has already been famous for popularizing useful and interesting literature at a very low price and so it has fully justified the connotation of its name.

This book deals with the history and economics of hand-spinning and weaving in India.

SHIVAJI KI YOGYATA: *By Pundit G. D. Tamaskar, M. A., L. T. Published by the same, pp. 132.*

The history of the times and administration of Shivaji is given in this book in a nutshell.

JAB ANGREJ NAHIN AYETHE—*translated by Shricharanlal Sharma. Published by the same. Pp. 96.*

The original of this booklet was the Report of the 'India Reform Society' for the year 1853 and formed a chapter of the late Dadabhai Naoroji's 'Poverty and Un-British Rule in India'. The merits and character of pre-British administration of India is the subject-matter of this publication.

VEDA-KALA-NIRNAYA—*translated by Pundit Kedarnath Sahityabhushan. Published by Pundit Ramchandra Sharma, M. A. Pp. xxiii+100+xvi.*

This book is based on the conclusions of the late Bal Gangadhar Tilak's classic work, 'Orion'.

"THE KALYAN"—*Special Gita number. Edited by Baba Raghavdas and Humamprasad Poddar. Published by Ghanashyamdas, Gita Press, Gorakhpur. 1929. Pp. 505.*

Considering the influence which the Gita exercises on the life and culture of the Indians, this is a laudable attempt to focuss the attention of the public on the Gita. As many as 242 papers, poems and extracts written by Indians and Europeans are collected in this volume with 170 illustrations many of which are in colour. Studies on the history and philosophy of the Gita on such a big scale are welcome addition to the already too voluminous Gita literature. Many of the papers are written from the propagandist point of view. Of special value and interest is the long list of about 700 editions, translations and annotations of the Gita written in various scripts and languages of the East and the West. The illustrations are the portraits of saints and scholars and pictures connected with the episodes of the Mahabharata and the Gita.

RAMES BASU

MARATHI

EKANATHACHE SAHA GRANTH OR SIX WORKS OF EKANATH: *Edited by M. K. Deshmukh and published by the Chitrasala Press, Poona. Pages over 1000 cloth-bound. Price Rs. 4.*

The saint poet Ekanath needs no introduction to Marathi readers. His *Bhagwat* as well as minor works are popular with devout Hindus in the Deccan, and have run into scores of editions. The present edition unlike many others is very carefully edited and neatly printed and as such deserves to be largely patronized.

HINDU SANGATHANA: *By the late Swami Shraddhanand. Translated into Marathi by V. G. Lele for the Abhinava Granthamala.*

The necessity of organizing the Hindus, so keenly felt in these times in all provinces, demands that the views of the late Swami Shraddhanand on the subject expressed in glowing language and instinct with vigour and sincerity should be made known in every nook and corner of Maharashtra through Marathi, and the book under notice will serve the purpose intended.

V. G. APTE

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

A ROYAL EDICT ON THE PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY AND ORGANIZATION by S. V. Putnambekar.

RENASCENT INDIA by K. S. Venkataramani.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, "THEN AND NOW" by S. Bhimasankar Row.

PRE-MUSSALMAN INDIA by V. Rangacharya.

MUSIC TEXT BOOK by S. Basu.

THE PSYCHOLOGY AND STRATEGY OF GANDHI'S NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE by R. B. Gregg.

INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION OF INDIA by D. R. Gadgil.

A WEEK IN NEPAL by S. R. Gaikwad.

UNTO THE FIRST OF THE ETERNAL IDEAL by Sri Mitra.

The Movement for a Sounder Money.

THE HUNDRED BEST CHARACTERS by Herbert A. Giles, LL. D.

BALADITYA by A. S. Panchapakesa.

CIMMERII by Cedric Dover.

INDIAN PRINCES UNDER BRITISH PROTECTION by P. L. Chudgar.

Harindranath Chattopadhyaya on Lecture-Recital Tour of America

By RAGINI DEVI

HARINDRANATH Chattopadhyaya, another gifted member of the famous Chattopadhyaya family, has recently come to America to interpret the art ideals of India and to give recital programmes of his poems and dramas, and Hindu music.

Last year Mrs. Sarojini Naidu toured America, giving lectures before distinguished audiences throughout the country. Though Mrs. Naidu's fame as a poet had long preceded her in the United States, her prominence in Indian politics and her public services in Hindu social and political movements demanded that she should devote most of her energy to the interpretation of social and political India and the position of Hindu womanhood.

Mrs. Naidu's responsibility in America was that of statesman and poet; and if her political addresses took precedence over her poetry, it was only because there was, just then, a great desire in America to know the truth about political and social India.

Mrs. Naidu's visit to America undoubtedly stimulated a great interest in India.

The recent action of the Indian National Congress in declaring its national goal of independence has been widely and sympathetically discussed in the American press—and it is quite apparent that America is becoming more and more receptive to Indian aspirations and ideals.

It is particularly fortunate that Harindranath Chattopadhyaya has come to America at this opportune time to further complete the true picture of India in his lectures on Hindu

arts and his recitals of his own poems and dramas, and the music and literature of India.

When Mr. Chattopadhyaya expressed his desire to visit America, he was immediately signed up by a leading manager, and the demands for his lectures and recitals on the arts and ideals of India will require his full attention for many months to come.

Shortly after his arrival in New York, Mr. Chattopadhyaya was guest of honour at the Book and Play luncheon where many famous poets greeted him and responded enthusiastically to his presentation of poems and dramatic episodes from his own works.

Willy Pogany, the world-famous artist, painted his portrait to be included among his fifty studies of famous people. Mr. Pogany was so charmed with his poems, that he is



Harindranath Chattopadhyaya

also painting the illustrations for a volume of poems which will shortly be published by Hurrah and Company.

The writer had occasion to hear his recital

of poems for the first time at a dinner of the India Society of America, where he was a guest of honour with Willy Pogany, Theodore Dreiser, the famous writer, Upton Close, Dr. A. K. Coomaraswami and others.

Mr. Chattopadhyaya's recital of poems was the outstanding event of the evening and the response of his audience was warmly appreciative.

The rare quality of genius which his poems reveal is enhanced by the versatility of his interpretations—rendered in a voice of deep resonant quality, with perfect diction and sensitive emotional understanding.

Mr. Chattopadhyaya's expositions of Hindu music, which he sings with the *tambura*, are imbued with a fine sense of line and tonal colour quite in keeping with the finest musical traditions of India, yet possessing a certain quality of creativeness which is distinctly his own.

His appearances in America are winning for him many personal admirers and friends for India.

Yet his greatest ambition is not for fame or publicity—for he hopes to give the best of his talents to the establishment of a national theatre in India,—based upon a project which he hopes will materialize upon his return to India.

Mr. Chattopadhyaya has spent considerable time in the study of drama and theatre-craft in Europe. He has also made a special study of the Russian drama which is already having a profound influence in the theatre of Europe and America.

Having made a comprehensive survey of the Western theatre, he is convinced that the reconstruction of the theatre arts of India will have great universal value in the future development of world art, when India

is once most conscious of her own destiny in art.

Without in any sense coming under the spell of Westernism, Mr. Chattopadhyaya feels that there are certain features of stagecraft and lighting (essentially new even in the West) which are adaptable to the Hindu theatre. The use of realistic scenery and the declamatory school of acting are giving way to new forms and broader vistas in the theatre, which are quite in harmony with Hindu ideals. In acquiring an international viewpoint of the practical problems of the theatre, Mr. Chattopadhyaya envisages a future for the Hindu theatre of vital importance, nationally and internationally.

In order to encourage the revival of the theatrical arts in India, he proposes to build a model theatre where the initial work may be undertaken by groups of educated and talented young people.

The village drama too, he believes, has an important function in the social reconstruction of modern India and his theatre project will extend its influence and guidance to include the villages as well as the cities.

During his stay in America, Mr. Chattopadhyaya is coming into contact with eminent personalities connected with various phases of the theatre.

The Little Theatre movement in America has been developing for the last few years, and every season there are competitive tournaments in which groups of young people compete from all parts of the country. Prizes are given for the best acting, and play presented. Mr. Chattopadhyaya is very much interested in this movement, and during his tour throughout the country he will visit these experimental theatre groups which have already accomplished so much in the social life of America.



Indian Universities and Research

Sir C. V. Raman writes in *The Hindustan Review* on Indian universities and research. A university becomes a force of incalculable power and importance for national welfare only when it devotes its attention wholeheartedly to the highest type of intellectual activity of which it is capable. This goal, according to Sir C. V. Raman, has not been sufficiently kept in view in our universities, where the deadly routine of formal teaching and formal examinations almost strangle all the higher activities.

The ideal of university work is the provision of opportunities for special abilities of the teacher as well as of students, to express themselves. How this is to be done without dislocating the general activities of the university is, I consider, one of the most important problems in university administration, and its successful solution requires the most careful and sympathetic consideration. It is my conviction that, at the present time, Indian universities generally pay less attention to the development of special activities and abilities and more to purely routine activities than should really be the case. In a general way, of course, the differentiation between pass and honour courses recognizes the importance of giving special opportunities for special ability. But this, in my view, is not enough. There should be greater freedom for the expression of individual ability and more time and opportunities for research work for teacher and student alike, in those cases where evidence of ability to profit by such opportunities is forthcoming.

During the last few years, there has been a growing recognition that India is not a negligible factor in the advance of human knowledge. I will go further and say that the world outside has begun to learn that the Indian intellect can occasionally march abreast, or perhaps even lead in the onward march of scientific progress. This is certainly a position in advance of that freely expressed ten years ago that the Indian mind was by nature sterile, and is, in my opinion, largely the result of the work of the younger generation of scientific workers in India during the last ten years. But the position reached is, in my opinion, still quite unsatisfactory. A great many new universities have sprung up all over the country and in many of them Indians are holding appointments with some opportunities for original work. Some of them are, no doubt, showing praiseworthy activity. But taken altogether, I think, not enough is being done. The reason for this is a matter which I would recommend to the university administrative bodies all over India carefully to investigate and set right without

delay. In some cases, it may be lack of opportunities for research, by reason of excessive insistence on routine teaching; in others it may be lack of research equipment. I hardly think the lack of competent students or helpers can be the cause. If there is any point on which I feel a confidence derived from experience, it is that there is abundance of talent in the younger generation awaiting the right kind of leadership.

The Government and the Temperance Movement

The Eighth Bombay Temperance Conference furnishes Mr. D. D. Gilder with an opportunity to trace the whole history of the temperance movement since its inception in the nineties of the last century in *The Social Service Quarterly*, and incidentally to draw attention to the evasive policy of the Government in this matter. After referring to a letter of the 8th August 1929, in which the Bombay Government stated that the question of the best method of disposal of excise licences was under examination, and that the opinion expressed by the Conference on the point would receive due consideration, Mr. Gilder goes on to say:

This is not the first instance of an evasive—not to call a misleading—reply. Several years ago a liquor-shop licence was granted to a boy learning in the matriculation class of a local high school! In fact, the writer of this, who has been a school-master all his life, used to hear that class. The Government in the course of their reply to a question on the subject in the Council denied the fact! Only a years ago *i.e.* in May, 1928, a liquor-shop was permitted to be opened, in the face of very strong opposition, on Connaught Road, near the Victoria Gardens. In reply to a question on the subject, the Minister said at the March 1929 session of the Legislative Council that all the rules framed by the Government had been observed by the Excise Department before the shop was permitted to be opened. Now, one of the rules is that such a shop should not be permitted to be opened for at least 14 days after the objecting party is informed that the desired permission had been granted, so that the party may be enabled to make an appeal should he feel dissatisfied. In this particular instance the shop was opened on the 28th May, and the reply was sent on the 8th June. Please mark the dates. Will the Minister send for the original papers instead of only a formal report from the Excise Commissioner even now, and have the courage to go against such high-handedness on the part of his subordinates and do justice to the aggrieved party? He is a lawyer and

let him examine the papers with a lawyer's eyes, not with those of the Excise Minister defending the so-called prestige of the high officials under him at the cost of his own.

As regards the unsatisfactory reply from the Government in connection with the third resolution of the Conference, I am not at all surprised. The expected has happened. The resolutions of the previous conferences were submitted with covering letters containing arguments in support of our views and not with only a formal letter forwarding the resolutions as was done in the present instance. I need not now go into the question why that procedure was not followed on this occasion.

I only hope that the Minister will even now make a firm and courageous stand against his subordinates, and instead of permitting himself to be led away by them, "will stand by" the unanimous report of the Excise Committee, as he openly said in the Council on the 2nd March last, and redeem the promises signed by him in that Report as simple Mr. B. V. Jadhav, M.A., LL.B.

Political Agitation in the Indian States

The Feudatory and Zemindari India has the following editorial note on the method of political agitation in the Indian States.

The dangers of the introduction in Indian States of the methods of political agitation followed in British India and elsewhere ought to be obvious to those who care to bestow some attention on the subject. Political agitation in British India is now allowed on the dimensions and methods now permitted because British India has had experience of constitutional government now for some wellnigh half a century. Education has advanced; people have learnt to undertake associated action and conduct congresses and conferences in a more or less orderly manner. Despite all the half-baked schemes they are seeking to thrust on the Government now and then; and above all, the people have had some experience of social service and associated action. The influence of organizations like the Servants of India Society, the Brahma Samaj and other social and quasi-social organizations has also had some effect in training people in the art of the conduct of organisations for public welfare. From the Governmental side, the local self-governing and municipal bodies have been good training grounds. In the States, many of them that is to say, the people have not had these advantages. Hence, as even politicians who have devoted great attention to the problem of the States and have taken a prominent part in the agitation in the States, the agitation carried on should be of a carefully designed character. "Political agitation leads to discontent" as Professor Abhyankar said at the Bhore States People's Conference, "and this in its turn breeds a spirit of violence and direct action." Referring particularly to the position in Bhore, the President of the People's Conference of the State said: "You began your agitation with direct action and civil disobedience and within seven years, you have been peaceful and constitutional legislators, co-operating with the State in bringing about the necessary reform... You have also your own responsibilities to

discharge in this matter; you have now been associated with the Government; you must broaden under this responsibility. You have to be very careful about your criticism and very correct about your facts and very vigilant about your liberties. You have seen that the policy of obstruction pure and simple has not proved of any good to anybody." It is to be hoped that the people of other States will profit by the experience of the people of the Bhore State. Violent agitation has done nobody any good; in God's own time and provided people are ready for the responsibilities for which they aspire, there is no doubt they will have them. No ruler worthy of his salt wishes to exploit the subjects to his own selfish ends. It is no pleasure.

Few rulers be there who are cussedly withholding from the people responsibilities which are theirs and which he knows they are fitted to discharge. It is no pleasure for anybody to shoulder burdens which he knows ought to be shouldered by others and that those others are equal to bear them.

The Inter-University Board, India

Principal P. Sheshadri reviews the work of the Inter-University Board from 1924-29 in the *Indian Educational Journal*. Of the origin and purpose of this organization he writes.

The need of co-ordination in the work of Universities in India was expressed by the Calcutta University Commission in their report, and in 1921, acting on a resolution passed by the Congress of the Universities of the Empire, the Indian delegates to the Congress passed a resolution recommending to the Universities of India that an association or a committee of representatives of the different Indian Universities be formed with the object of dealing with questions affecting their mutual and common interest. It was suggested in particular that such an Association, if formed, should go into the question of difficulties which might arise owing to the conditions of admission of students to certain courses and examinations of the Universities of the United Kingdom not being suited to the qualifications which students from Indian Universities could present. The Lytton committee on Indian students in England also hoped that the Indian University authorities would take steps at an early date to establish an Inter-University Board for the purpose of co-ordinating the courses of study in India and securing uniformity in their recognition abroad. The Indian Universities' Conference, held at Simla in May, 1924, passed a resolution unanimously recommending to the Universities that it was desirable that an Inter-University Board should be established. The Board was to consist of one representative from each University, with a Chairman elected from among the members, and the functions assigned to it were the following:—

- (a) To act as an Inter-University organization and bureau of information;
- (b) To facilitate the exchange of professors;
- (c) To serve as an authorized channel of communication and facilitate the co-ordination of University work;

- (d) To assist Indian Universities in obtaining recognition for their degrees, diplomas and examinations in other countries;
- (e) To appoint or recommend, where necessary, a common representative or representatives of India at Imperial or International Conferences on higher education;
- (f) To act as an appointments bureau for Indian Universities;
- (g) To fulfil such other duties as may be assigned to it from time to time by the Indian Universities.

Social Reform and State Intervention

One of the specious objections to the bill which, by the zealous efforts of Rai Sahib Har Bilas Sarda, has been incorporated in the statute book of this country, is that it sought to substitute state intervention for public opinion in a field where the last is the most efficient guarantee of the measure being carried into practice. Rai Sahib Har Bilas Sarda himself dealt with this question in his presidential address before the All-India Social Conference. The following extracts from it are quoted from *The Vedic Magazine*:

—As for the methods of social reform, there exist at present in India two ways in which reforms can be introduced: (a) public opinion crystallized into caste or communal regulations and (b) legislation. If the caste organizations were at the present time effective and fully operative, a great deal of social reform could be carried out through those organizations. But the discipline of caste having become loose and its authority having lost its efficacy, the work done in old days through this agency cannot now be so accomplished. The only sure means of effecting social reform now is legislation. As a great English writer has said, where large communities or numbers are concerned legislation is the only effective means of carrying out social reform. There is no country in the world where important social reform has been accomplished by means other than legislation. Those who contend that social reform should be carried out only by educating public opinion and through the agency of caste or communal organizations, have failed to understand the real nature of reform and the function of legislation. Nor do they appreciate the gravity of the situation.

Hindu law chiefly centres round marriage, inheritance and the joint family system. The law of inheritance was based on the requirements and the incidents of the joint family. But as the joint family system is rapidly disintegrating and the individual is taking the place of the family as a unit of society, both the law of inheritance and that governing joint family must be modified in the light of changed circumstances. As the present law governing marriage was based on the *Varna-shrama* which has long since disappeared and even the caste system which took its place, is rapidly going to pieces, it is necessary that this law too must be materially modified.

It is too late in the day to object to legislative

interference with the Hindu law of inheritance or of joint family or marriage. The State has, irrespective of the scruples of the orthodox, been enacting laws on social matters. In 1870 a law was passed providing that a member of a joint Hindu family could become a Christian and yet retain all the rights and privileges of a member of the joint family. And can there be a greater interference with the Hindu marriage law than that embodied in Act III of 1872? An Act of legislature has made it possible for a Hindu widow to remarry and yet retain under certain circumstances the property of her last husband.

The Voice of Life

Sir Jagadis Bose writes in *The Indian Review* on the subject he has made all his own:

For revealing the inner secrets of life, it was necessary to invent instruments of surpassing delicacy and sensitiveness, which could gain access to the smallest unit of life—a single cell or life-atom—and record its throbbing pulsation. The invention of the microscope, which magnifies only a couple of thousand times, initiated a new era in the advance of biological science. My magnetic Crescograph, which produces the stupendous magnification of fifty million times, is now revealing the wonders of a new world—the plant itself being made to record the secrets of its inner life. Even in this path of self-restraint and verification, the inquirer is making for a region of surpassing wonder. In his voyage of discovery, he catches an occasional glimpse of the ineffable, that had hitherto been hidden from his view. That vision crushes out of him all self-sufficiency, all that kept him unconscious of the great pulse that beats through the universe. It was by the combination of the introspective and of the highly advanced experimental methods that it was possible to establish the Unity of all Life. The barrier that divided kindred phenomena is now thrown down, the plant and animal being found as a multiple unity in a single ocean of being.

From the plant to the animal, then, we follow the long stair-way of the Ascent of Life. In the spiritual triumph of the martyr, who willingly sacrifices his life for the cause of humanity, we see the higher and higher expression of that evolutionary process by which Life rises above and beyond all the circumstances of the environment, and fortifies itself to control them.

The Universities and the Rural Problem

Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield, Counsellor on rural work, International Missionary Council, writes in *The National Christian Council Review* on the role which can be played by the universities in the work of rural reconstruction:

The question assigned to me, as to whether, the University has any relation to these problems, must be answered in terms of the conception on

the part of the university itself of its function in modern society.

The English and American universities at any rate, have taken this field also as one of the three-fold tasks of the modern university—teaching, research, extension. The remarkable work of the English universities in workers' education is a case in point. Last August, there was held at Cambridge University the first world conference on adult education. There were delegates from forty countries, and it was not only evident that this movement is sweeping all over the world and gathering tremendous volume, but that the universities of the world are taking a larger and larger part in it.

In the United States I suppose that not less than 150 universities—and the number may be much larger—are committed to the policy of extending their educational facilities to those who cannot attend the university as resident students, and certainly 100 of these universities are interesting themselves in the specific task of endeavouring to reach the rural people. We have what is known as the system of co-operative extension work in agricultural and home economics, the funds for the support of which are furnished in part by the National Government, in part by the State Governments, and in part by Local or County Governments. But the work centres around the agricultural college, which is always connected with a State university or a 'State College.' This great system employs some six thousand full-time men and women, and has a budget of six crores of rupees a year, and is growing all the time. In the United States there is no longer any question about the relation of the university to the rural problem.

When it comes to the matter of method by which the university may assist in the rural problem, I would say that the most important thing is thoroughgoing research in all those fields that have to do with the welfare of the village people, whether the problems are technical, purely scientific, or economic and social. We must know the facts, and out of the facts we must evolve the laws of progress. There may be universities which do not care to undertake popular mass education, but still may carry on research.

There is another large task for the university and that is to help train leaders in this rural field. The pull everywhere is away from the village, to the city. There are all sorts of reasons why university graduates do not care to go back to the villages. There is a wider range of careers open in the city, without doubt. Many college graduates have never had any connection with a village and do not know it. Others born and brought up in the village have been weaned away from it by residence in the university. Some are ashamed to go back to the village for fear that it will indicate that they have inferior ability. But tremendous issues are at stake; and the universities of the world must answer the question as to whether they can lead their students to an appreciation of the importance of the rural question, inspire them with the desire to serve their country by helping to solve this basic question, and give them adequate knowledge and sufficient apprenticeship so that when they go to the village they can perform their task effectively.

The Prevention of Infectious Diseases

The periodical epidemics which sweep over our country with such disastrous effect are in glaring contrast to the immunity which European countries enjoy from them as a result of the adoption of proper preventive measures. The difficulties in their adoption in this country and a way of overcoming them is suggested in an editorial note in *The Calcutta Medical Journal*:

In considering this question, one has to take into account the customs, modes of living and thinking, the prejudices, the cultural development of the community. Some of the diseases spread because the age-long customs help in the process. Some diseases are propagated because the people are ignorant of their origin and modes of transmission. Some fall victim to the diseases because hidebound prejudices lead them to destruction. It is time that these customs were altered, the ways of living changed, the prejudices broken down and ignorance dispelled.

We welcome, therefore, the proposal of Dr. K. S. Roy to prevent the spread of diseases, particularly in rural areas.

What we lack is organized effort to procure them for people who have lost the traditions of having a natural healthy life of the East, by adopting a poor imitation of the western mode; which, like an unnatural ill-fitting garment, hampers forward movement.

When diseases appear in a locality, we fail to appreciate the possibility of its spread; in our anxiety to satisfy the susceptibility of the few, we unconsciously sacrifice the safety of the many. We hesitate to adopt vigorous measures towards prevention at an early stage of the epidemic, we fail to note that "a stitch in time saves nine," we ignore the claims of the community by relaxing the control over the individuals. The bill which Dr. K. S. Roy intends to introduce is a move in the right direction. What the provisions of the bill would be is a different thing. But in matters like this, it is imperative that the medical profession should have a strong guiding voice.

Secondary Education

The importance of secondary education was emphasized by Mr. M. R. Paranjpe in his presidential address before the Bombay Presidency Secondary Teachers' Conference, quoted in the *Progress of Education*:

Secondary education is not a mere link connecting the elementary and the higher stages. Like the stem of a tree supported by the slender roots of elementary education on the one hand, and yielding sweet fruit and fragrant flowers of the University education on the other, secondary education decides the character and the strength of the educational advancement of a civilized nation. We may describe it as the back-bone of the body educational, its most vital part, or as the skeleton which supports the whole structure. I hope, in

trying to explain the position of the secondary schools in the educational growth of a nation, I have not confused you by giving two or three incomplete similes. Mere spread of elementary education is as good as useless; you cannot have all roots and no stem. It is not possible to develop the universities if the secondary schools are weak. One should not hope to secure good fruit from an undeveloped stem. It is the business of the secondary schools to cure the defects left over by the elementary schools and pass on their pupils, full of vigour and energy, either into the world outside to take their place as useful members of the society or as scholars eager to pursue higher studies and to add to the sum-total of the knowledge of the world.

Agarkar, Apte, Tilak and Gokhale had fully realized this and suppressing their personal ambitions they decided to start a good secondary school. The attempt was so successful that you will now see the whole of Maharashtra studded with institutions more or less planned and modelled after the Poona New English School. The movement has already spread to Karnatak, and Gujrat is being brought within its influence. On behalf of the secondary teachers of this Presidency, therefore, I thought it were quite appropriate for me to pay our tribute to the great nation-builders, the founders of the Poona New English School which completes its half a century of useful work in the educational development of this Presidency.

The Aim of Scientific Education

Mr. Baldwin in a recent lecture expressed the opinion that, in scientific matters, the popular mind lags deplorably behind discovery. To-day, he said, the mental food of the people as provided by scientists is largely "a debris of discredited theories"; there is no finality in scientists' discoveries. This is taken as the text of an article by Mr. John Maclean in *The Calcutta Review*, in which the writer makes some judicious observations on the aims of scientific education:

"Finished"?—Whether such a finality be desirable or not, the fact of change imposes on us an educational duty often neglected: We should ever be scrutinizing our curricula and our educational practice with this intellectual need which Mr. Baldwin emphasised in view. Do we really do all that is possible to lessen the lag to which he points as specially unfortunate; or do we even make it our aim to keep the mind alert to the real nature of knowledge? Do we not too readily rest content with the idea that we can turn out from school and college "finished" scholars—stamped with the examination seal?

A certain type of conservative will warn us against this over-ambition of trying to be quite up to date. The greatest need in education, he will say, is to make things definite and clear for students—look at the way in which we are threatened by the loose and crude thinking done by our students! One might stop to argue that

crude thinking may be a reaction from overmuch schooling; and, in truth, the decisive consideration here is more the kind of action and reaction between student and teacher than what is taught. It is very easy to attempt too much in these days of exacting demands; suffice it to point out the great loss and danger of not attempting enough. To think of the deadening effect of the very influential text-books which give not even a peep beyond the confines of the syllabus makes one shudder. This tendency to be self-contained in education is not restricted to India. In *Nature* recently an unrealized aim of scientific education was set forth as "some preparation of the human mind for the new world which science is creating: not so much a concrete knowledge of science as a scientific outlook, a scientific habit of thought." We do not often hear teachers claim that "they have come anywhere near attaining this goal."

Sudra Empire-Builders

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal writes in *The Morning Star* on some Sudra empire-builders:

There have been four attempts at empire-building by Sudras in the post-Mahabharata period of Hindu history. Three of them were successful and the fourth one nearly succeeded. The Nanda empire was the first real empire; Hindu historians noted it as marking a new era in history. Every *Purana* gives prominence to the fact. The *Eka-chhatra*, vassal-less, kingdom of Mahapadmananda covering countries from Bengal up to the Punjab was a new phenomenon in Indian imperialism. It was founded by a Sudra and was carried on by his Sudra successors for several generations from about 450 B. C. to 325 B. C. It did not break up, it was merely inherited and taken over by Chandragupta Maurya who increased it in extent, including into its limits Herat and the Himalayas in the north and extending from sea to sea eastwards and westwards. His successors Bindusara and Asoka carried on the *Eka chhatra* system reaching Persia, Khotan beyond the Himalayas, the eastern confines of Assam, and in the south down to Mysore, with political influence over Ceylon. The Mauryas were Sudras on the unanimous testimony of the *Purana* historians and the evidence of Sankrit literature.

The third instance is of the Empire of the Guptas, founded by Chandra Gupta and his son Samudra Gupta. The Gupta Empire lasted for several centuries and is one of the long-lived empires of the world. For literature, architecture, sculptor's art, and art in general, and for orthodox revival, the Gupta Empire is unrivalled. The Guptas were the ideal protectors of the Veda, the Brahmin, the Hindu civilization in general. Not one but several sovereigns of the line are fit subjects of epics. But the Valmiki of the period remained silent. The Guptas were Sudras. An old drama just published by Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi has disclosed the fact that they were *Karaskara* by caste. They never mention their caste in their inscriptions, and on some coins they describe themselves as destroyers of the Kshatriyas.

Our Opinion of Foreign Countries

Mr. Reginald A. Reynolds writes in *Visvabharati Quarterly* of the opinion of modern Indian thinkers on the modern West. He begins his article with some observations on the hurry with which all nations make generalisations about foreigners :

There is a story told about an Englishman who went to France for the first time, and encountered on the quay at Calais a man with red hair, lame in one leg, and wearing a purple waistcoat. He thereupon wrote home to his friends that Frenchmen had red hair, were lame in one leg, and wore purple waistcoats.

To a certain extent this story is peculiarly typical of the English mind. But it is also to some extent typical of the universal mind. This is how the West judges the East, and the East judges the West.

Perhaps the Oriental reader will be kind enough to take it as a delicate compliment if I pass over entirely in this article the mistakes that the West has made about the East. Let us say that though they are more vicious and certainly more unjust, they are also more obvious and speak for themselves. The mistakes that the East makes about the West are more excusable and less harmful, and for that very reason they have tended to escape attention.

Western civilization is chiefly represented in the Orient by three types of men : (a) government officials and employees, including soldiers, (b) "business men," and (c) inquisitive tourists and sight-seers. I have deliberately omitted the missionaries, as in the nature of the case they conform to no single type. The only generalisation possible would be, I think, that they either reinforce the impression created by the other classes or find their influence overwhelmed by them.

Village Panchayats and Agricultural Improvement

In *The Journal of the Mysore Agricultural and Experimental Union* Mr. B. R. Gururaja Rao points out how in India, village *panchayats* are helping agriculture.

Each village panchayat comprises a group of 2 or 3 hamlets and a few of the intelligent representatives of the villages concerned form the body called the panchayatdars. These are required to manage all the needs of the villages in their charge. The whole revenue of the village is in their own hands and they have the privilege vested in them to spend the amount for the benefit and the uplift of their village to the best advantage. Thus Government have conferred a great boon by instituting this scheme to improve the village on all sides and bring it to the level of cities and towns within a few years. Several items of work have to be taken up and worked under a Rural Reconstruction Scheme so-called to attain this end of village improvement. Out of these the first and foremost improvement of agriculture which is the bread-giving profession of every villager.

After suggesting the concrete lines along which the *panchayats* might work, Mr. Rao concludes by saying :

There are ever so many items of work on which the panchayats can lay their hands on profitably and they can have no greater ideal than the advancement of their village in all directions. If the village bodies can make up their minds at least to take up some work under each of the above lines and make a beginning as far as their revenue would permit, I can assure them that their economic condition is bound to improve, and it will be to their glory that these organizations in their own humble manner will be solving the great problem of unemployment, to some extent, by affording opportunities to people for some sort of profession and engagement.

The Indian Attitude towards Nature

Professor Carlo Formichi writes in the *Prabuddha Bharata* on the lessons of religious India to Europe, not the least valuable and characteristic of which is the peculiar Indian attitude towards nature as revealed in the Vedas, the Epics and the Puranas :

One first lesson which India teaches us "through the religious hymns of the *Rig* and the *Atharva Veda*., through the great epic poems of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, and through the *Puranas* enables us to change our usual notions of Nature. We see at play in the Universe only mechanical forces which are blind and unconscious and which we have to know only in order to subdue them. Earth, water, air and fire pre-occupy our attention only in so far as they are serviceable to our existence, and we forget that we ourselves are an aggregate of earth, water, air and fire. We discern a gulf, a separation and dissidence rather than a homogeneity and solidarity, between man and Nature; and because we love ourselves, we do not love Nature which we consider to be different from us, and we think with terror of the death which will resolve our bodies into the elements. Nor do we take seriously our poets who exalt the greatness of Nature.

The polytheistic world of India, on the contrary, rejects this disjunction between man and Nature, and instructs us to observe human life as a part of the universal life, to think that the frontiers between spirit and matter are not insuperable, and to remember always that the noblest thought of ours is, in the last analysis, a piece of bread or a fruit of the earth, digested and assimilated. There is a genius in the flaming sun, the cleansing wind, the thundering clouds, the sweeping fire, the inebriating liquor and the scintillating stone.

This religious attitude, characteristic of the Aryan racial stock, i. e., of our race, should needs hold out to us an irresistible fascination, though into our veins have been inoculated the germs of Semitic religions which do not take the least account of the harmonic pulsation of cosmic and human life, and reduce everything to a pact of alliance between an omnipotent monarch in heaven and his chosen people on earth. The magnificent world of Indian myths and legends will ever be

for us the best antidote for the toxin of the Semitic religious outlook which, narrow and unilateral as it is, foments intolerance and remains irreconcilably averse to the scientific-philosophic spirit.

What India's Womanhood Stands For

The ideals for which Indian womanhood stands was eloquently described by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in her presidential address before the All-India Women's Conference at Bombay. Her speech from which the following extract is quoted has been printed in full in *Stri Dharma* :

We stand for something more, something deeper than controversies on educational or social reform, something more profound, more intimate, more enduring in human value. The genius for human synthesis is the gift of India's women. The charge has been made against India's womanhood that their genius had been one of isolation and exclusion and passive resignation in the hands of destiny, that they were bound by mere traditions and were unable to get beyond the fetters of dead conventions and ideas. This gathering is a triumphant vindication that not a gift of beauty, philosophy, religion, or racial characteristics can be excluded from India's synthesis. India has extended her mother love to all. The genius of India, the whole history of its culture has been creative, and has been able to transmute even the hostility of its enemies. This Conference is a proof of the indivisible quality of fellowship of all women, inclusive as we are of Zoroastrian faith, Christian culture, Hindu ideals, Muslim devotion.

Such unity is necessary at this special moment for all the circumstances of our national life must temporarily make us seem to be aggressively, almost exclusively nationalist in our attitude towards life. I am a bad nationalist. I am a nationalist only by the compulsion and the tragedy of the circumstances of my country. I am first and last a human being and I do not recognise divisions of humanity merely because of race or geographical barriers. Men have made wars and created political and economic divisions for selfish interests and created groups of friendship and hostility. But all these are temporary shifts, and the purpose of womanhood in the nation's and the world's life is to do away with these temporary barriers. We women are evangelists of peace, working for the attainment of the common rights of humanity, seeking to stop the exploitation of one nation by another, not assisting hostility but securing the peace of equal rights for every section of humanity. The gospel of women must be the conservation of the best, the recreating of the world nearer to the heart's desire

Mr. Haji's Bill—a National Issue

Mr. Haji's Coastal Reservation Bill has come in for a good deal of criticism of late even at the hands of some Indian politicians. It is therefore interesting to read the eloquent plea of the Hon'ble V. Ramdas Pantalu to make it a national issue. In course of an article in the *Triveni* he writes :

I should have briefly narrated the facilities which other countries had given and are giving to develop their national mercantile marine so as to contrast the attitude of self-governing countries with that of the Indian Government, had I not already run to prohibitive length. Since the Great War, no maritime country having a national government neglected to develop its own merchant shipping. Italy, Spain, Japan and Germany made in recent years enormous developments by subsidising their navigation enterprise. Italy sanctioned a loan of 45 crores lire at a cheap rate of interest for building new tonnage. Spain recently entered into agreements with one of its shipping companies by providing to its facilities to acquire 14 big ocean liners to compete with foreign ships calling at Spanish ports and specially with those running to Central and South America. The case of Japan's progress was specially urged upon the Mercantile Marine Committee, one of whose European members was deputed to study Japanese development. Germany's case is phenomenal. The Treaty of Versailles left Germany in 1920 with practically not a single ship of any consequence in international trade and her small fleet had no more than a tonnage of 6 lacs. In five years' time the German Government so encouraged their ship-building companies as to enable them to build up 30 to 40 lacs tonnage. Unfortunate India with a vast sea board and other natural facilities for shipping could do nothing along those lines of progress, for her destinies are in the hands of a foreign government and her economic enterprises are dominated by foreign commercial interests. We are really indebted to 'Ditcher' in the *Capital* for the following candid warning :—"The Legislative Assembly may pass Mr. Haji's Bill, but the Council of State will almost certainly throw it out. Mr. Haji is a skilled and persistent propagandist. But it is highly improbable that his Bill will reach the statute book unless and until India attains Dominion status." This warning must serve as a powerful incentive to us to make the Coastal Reservation Bill of Mr. Haji a national issue. If the Bill can reach the statute book only when India attains Dominion status, let Indians of all shades of opinion unite in demanding in one voice immediate and full Dominion status for India. The one remedy for India's political and economic ills is Swaraj.



A Former Naval Conference

The London Naval Conference has now been holding its session for something like five weeks, and no one can yet with assurance say what its final outcome will be. But since all the delegations of the Great Powers concerned profess complete satisfaction with the progress made, the outside public, we believe, have little right to complain. One of the American representatives for example, is reported to have said that they were prepared to talk it out all the summer. The American delegation has reason to be complaisant, for they have secured the one great aim of American naval ambitions,—equality in all respects with the greatest naval power of the world. We do not always realize what a psychological revolution this recognition of implies on the part of Great Britain. Whatever the reason, the American claim to parity in the face of American competition Great Britain has abdicated her century-old claim of maintaining a navy equal to the navies of two greatest naval powers of the world. The policy for which she fought the most disastrous war in history was abandoned at a stroke at the Washington Conference in 1921. Even a Liberal journalist might well rub his eyes in amazement as Mr. H. W. Nevins, in his retrospect of the Washington Conference which he has contributed to the *Manchester Guardian*, says he did when the dogma of parity was enunciated by Mr. Hughes and enthusiastically acquiesced in by Mr. Balfour :

It was in Washington, November 12th, 1921, a Saturday. The day before, a prolonged procession, with President Harding, ambassadors, delegates, troops of all arms, and poor ex-President Wilson in a carriage behind, had trailed out to the military cemetery at Arlington, overlooking the city, and had there, with elaborate ceremony, deposited the bones of an Unknown Warrior gathered in France. Then the population had paraded the parks, shouting with exultation at the radiantly illuminated arches, and, as a paper reported, "the whole city was drenched in tears."

But, having wiped their eyes before breakfast, they swarmed around the classic building known

as the Hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution, a very patriotic body. Inside, we were crowded to suffocation around the various international delegations seated at a square table in the centre. The President entered and read a long address in his accustomed style of peculiar platitude, concluding with the fairly intelligible sentences : "We are met for a service to mankind. In all simplicity, in all honesty, and all honour there may be written here the avowals of a world conscience refined by the consuming fires of war, and made more sensitive by the anxious aftermath."

The President vanished, and Mr. Balfour proposed that Mr. Charles Hughes, as Secretary of State, should be elected chairman. There was no opposition, and the vital business began. Mr. Hughes stated his proposals abruptly, and I am convinced that they were previously unknown to the British and other delegations. Certainly they were startling. Their main point was a declaration of absolute naval equality between the United States and Great Britain. I am not a violent patriot, but I had been brought up to sing 'Rule, Britannia' and to recite 'Ye Mariners of England.' I had been taught that Britannia needed no bulwarks, and that the meteor flag of England would still terrific burn. But here was a foreigner talking in the face of all the world about naval equality with us. I expected the British delegates to rise in silence and sail for home, while from every wave our fathers would start at the rumour of such a suggestion. What could I think when, within a few hours, the British delegation issued an official notice that, in their opinion, Mr. Hughes' scheme was bold and conceived in a statesmanlike spirit.

At the next plenary session Mr. Balfour rose and announced that the British Government accepted the proposals 'not with cool approbation, but with full, loyal, and complete co-operation.' Unperturbed as though he were opening a flower show, and speaking almost without notes, he continued : 'We have considered your scheme with admiration and approval, and we agree with its spirit and purpose as making the greatest reform ever carried out by courage and statesmanship.' The whole audience rose and applauded as in a theatre. Mr. Balfour had won for England a position of favour and confidence that was never lost.

The Revolt Against Islam

Mr. Lootfy Levonian is a specialist on the movements of thought, in the Islamic countries of the Near East. In a recent contribution to *The International Review of Missions* he draws our attention to the changes that have come over Moslem minds

in the field of dogma and faith. A new conception of life has, he says, given rise to a revolt against the whole body of Islamic religious thought :

The Moslem peoples have been awakened to great national aspirations. The idea of nationalism has captured Moslems all over the world and has moved them deeply, profoundly affecting their political, social and religious ideas. One cannot glance even superficially at Moslem lands without noticing this new change in thought. ..

The country where these changes seem to be taking place most rapidly is Turkey. Turkey is a hotbed of new ideas in Islam to-day. Leaving aside statements of individualistic character and taking an all-round view of the ideas expressed by the Turkish leaders, one can fairly say that in the Turkish mind Islam to-day has lost its primary importance as a vital part of the national life. So far Islam has been considered as basic and fundamental, giving motive power to all other activities. Now the national sentiment is considered as primary, and Islam as of secondary importance. In no period of Islamic history have Islam and Mohammed undergone such serious criticism as during the last ten years in Turkey.

Husein Jahid Bey, once the editor of the well-known Turkish daily *Tanin*, who translated Leone Caetani's critical book, *Annali dell' Islam*, into Turkish and published it in ten volumes at Constantinople, naively says in his brief preface that in translating such a book literally and exactly, he wants to open the way to Moslem theologians to criticize the anti-Islamic ideas expressed in it.

The writer can remember the great procession which brought a hair of Mohammed's beard as a most sacred relic into a town in Asia Minor some years ago. To-day Mohammed is regarded merely as a prophet, and a prophet of the seventh century Arabian desert at that. The change is amazing : the Moslem mind is completely dissatisfied with Islam in its accepted form ; in fact, the verdict is that it can have no place in modern community life.

But the movement does not remain there : it has spread wider than a mere reconsideration of Islam. It has begun to deal with religion itself, to question its essence and origin, and especially its value for life. 'What is religion and its essence ? Has religion any meaning and place in society ? Has it anything to do with life in general ?' are burning questions in the Moslem mind in Turkey to-day. To these questions the present tendency seems to be to give the answer of pure positivism ; on the one hand, denying the meaning and place of religion in social life, and, on the other, appealing to science to fill up the gap left by the elimination of religion. No names are so familiar in Turkish thinking circles to-day as those of Durkheim, Frazer, Bergson, and Bertrand Russell. Religion is considered merely as a social product, without any objective basis, moulding itself always according to the influence of the environment and always liable to change. 'There is no absolute truth in religion,' seems to be the opinion, 'therefore it is not reliable.'

The Achievement of Stresemann

When Gustav Stresemann died, the Press of the world, in a united chorus of sincere praise, paid its homage to a man of peace. His achievement in this field was great, but not greater, it seems from an article contributed by M. Pierre Lafue to *La Revue Universelle*, than his services for his fatherland. What Germany owes to him is appreciatively recounted by M. Lafue :

Within less than a century Germany will have possessed two statesmen of the first rank, two founders of empire. Next to Bismarck can be named without undue exaggeration a man whose achievements may seem to have been greater than he was—Gustav Stresemann. Of what did his work in Germany consist ? Unquestionably he made himself the saviour, or at any rate, one of the principal saviours, of a vanquished, troubled, and divided nation. Just like the Iron Chancellor, he had to make the country over and re-assemble its dispersed member states...

It was in the midst of tumult and at the moment when the divided parts of Germany seemed ready to come to blows that Stresemann appeared. The date was August, 1923. Cuno, the willing tool of the currency manipulators, had yielded up his office, and the new Chancellor only presided officially for fifty days, but this tragic period possessed the greatest importance, for it decided in a sense the whole future of the country.

Stresemann at once resorted to force. He invested Von Seeckt with full powers. He set the Prussian *Reichswehr* in motion, and allowed militarism to play the old important role as a factor of unity and order that it had lost since 1918. *Vorwärts*, the Socialist organ, announced with a certain wistfulness that the exploits of General Muller in Thuringia were as significant as the Saverne affair before 1914.

From that point onward, the situation changed rapidly. Federal action began against Saxony and the Berlin *Reichswehr* entered Dresden to the sound of fifes and drums. Machine guns rattled. Several persons fell dead on the pavement, but the desired result was achieved. The Saxon Parliament dissolved, the Socialist government was imprisoned and its chief promptly accused of embezzlement. The victorious army continued its march bringing Thuringia back under the jurisdiction of the Reich, and only stopped at the Bavarian frontier because Von Kahr was so afraid of an attack against Bavarian separatism that he himself put a stop to the adventure on which Hitler and Ludendorff had embarked. The form of the German Republic was changing.

Thus, within the space of a few days, Gustav Stresemann had reconstituted an almost shattered country. It was a task worthy of Bismarck and it was attained not in the flushed enthusiasm of victory and conquest, but after the humiliations of defeat and under the scrutiny of foreign eyes. This immense achievement assured the integrity of the nation and for the second time saved the new empire.

An Impression of the Legislative Assembly

Mr. Arnold Ward sat in the House of Commons from 1910 to 1918 as the Unionist member for Watford. He has recently come out to India as the correspondent of an English paper and has been making a special study of the conditions of Indian parliamentary life. He recently contributed to the *Spectator*, the influential Conservative weekly, a series of articles giving his impressions of the Legislative Assembly. It is not possible for us to quote his sympathetic account in full, but the following passages in it should give pause to think to friends and enemies alike of Indian aspirations :

The second great weakness of the Government is its dependence on the votes of nominees. It is astonishing to see in practice the difference in moral weight between the votes of elected and nominated members, when they are cast in the same Assembly. Especially is this true of non-official nominated members, who in theory are free to vote as they like, but in practice are in this dilemma—that if they vote with the government they are suspected of subservience, and if they vote against it are not likely to be nominated again. Apart from Europeans, only a handful of elected members vote in the Government lobby ; there is no pro-government party, there is no pro-government press. If it is often made matter of criticism against the Nationalists that they are said to have captured the Press, but it seems to me to be a splendid thing to capture the Press, it is far better than being captured by the Press. Be that as it may, no one can listen to the debates of Delhi without being struck by the loneliness of the Government of India, by its utter lack of public support. If, as the Die-hards assert, there exist vast numbers of supporters of the Government far outnumbering the agitators, sick to death of democratic experiments, passionately devoted to British rule, why are they never seen or heard ? If they exist, they must be the most craven set of cowards to be found in the world...

It is perhaps worth recording that after being regularly present at the sitting of the Assembly, during nine of the eleven weeks of the session, I remembered that I had sat in the House of Commons for nine years with the members of another Nationalist Party, a party about equal in numerical strength to the Indian Nationalist parties, and animated by similar aims and aspirations. I mean the Irish Nationalist party led by Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon. And I came to the conclusion that leader for leader, and man for man, the Indian Nationalists were superior to the Irish Nationalists in knowledge, education, industry, political ability, and not inferior to them in patriotism, courage and zeal.

The Irish Nationalists did not win power. It was won by the insurgents who supplanted them. Will history repeat itself in India on a colossal scale ? Or will statesmen of Britain and India control the situation and reach a solution of the crisis by consent ?

Proletarian Literature

Can there be a class poetry ? To a person familiar only with the past history of poetry, where in theory, at any rate, it makes no other claim but to be universal in its appeal, the question seems manifestly absurd. But not so to the theoreticians of the Bolshevik revolution. We learn from an article contributed by M. André Rousseaux to the Paris *Figaro* that :

It is Communistic Russia which has enlisted poetry in the Soviet State. This happening has been described for us by Serge de Chessin in the study which he has devoted to Russia, and which he has called "The Night Which Comes from the Orient !" A resolution, signed by all the members of the Central Committee, became a law, and deals with the literature of the worker and the peasant. It is not only a law, but an innovation, for it proclaims : "The new literature, from its embryonic manifestations to the superior productions which are ideologically conscientious, characterise, in the best manner possible, the progress of the cultural movement of the masses of workers." This is what has been so pompously announced, even though it is not quite clear. Let us be thankful that the Soviet writers do not take the text of their charter as a model for style.

"But what is the object of that charter ?"

It leads to this : "The rift in the classes must continue in literature as everywhere else. There is no form of neutral art in a society where class exists, and the task of the proletariat is to occupy, in increasing number, as many sectors as possible on the ideological front..." In other words, the proletariat imposes its dictatorship upon letters as upon everything else. Ought one to be astonished ? Serge de Chessin ably says : "In a State which is at the same time a church, a conservatory of metaphysics, and a school of morals, it could not be otherwise. In esthetics as in philosophy, in politics, and in religion, orthodoxy is an affair of the police."

Practically, the administration of the republic of letters has been confided, in Russia, to one of those committees designated by a bizarre assemblage of letters, which make up the wheels of the U. R. R. S. The particular one calls itself the *Vapp* (*Vserossiskaia assosiatzia proletarskikh pissatelei*), all of which means a Pan-Russian Association of Proletarian Writers. The *Vapp* has branches, like the rays of the sun ; each one bears a different name according to the first letter of the village in which it is located ; in Moscow it is the *Mapp* ; in Leningard, the *Lapp* ; in Riogan, the *Rapp* ; in Saratof, the *Sapp* ; in Toulá, the *Tapp* ; and so on. Thanks to the committees with their little doglike names, the bourgeois literature will be closely watched, as it should be, and the class literature will be rigorously purified.

Real Class Poetry

All this is fairly dogmatic, even for the Bolshevik theoretician's notorious predilection

for unintelligible jargon. Is it anything more? Does it produce literature in practice?

M. Rousseaux, at any rate, does not confine himself to merely giving an *exposé* of the theory. In the same paper, he gives us a specimen of real class poetry:

Bolshevik literature enfranchises itself of all tyranny, in imitation of Bolshevik politics. The bourgeois literature was the slave of syntax, of grammar, of a sense of words. The Communistic literature expresses itself just as it pleases, even at the risk of not being understood. Another example:

The real-class poet writes thus:

Zgara-amba.
Zgara-amba.
Zgara-amba.
Zgara-amba.
Amb.
Tronc. Lin. Jour. Ombre.
Foc. Lok. Dok. Ook.
Tcha-Tcha.
Amo.
Rziliijara.
Tam-tara-tra,
Tztza-tzap.

I understand full well that Russia has not a monopoly on the Dada poets. But nowhere else has there been such complaisance towards them, for nowhere else has Dadaism so perfectly expressed the official spirit. A thought to the expression which it merits. Communistic poetry, in order to fulfil itself, did well to repudiate our forms of art. The inarticulate cries are much better suited to it.

For this reason, we may do well to ponder upon the conclusion put forth by one of the youngest literary schools of the U. S. S. R., the *Kousnitza* (The Forge): 'Proletarian art is a prism in which all of the rays of class converge. And from this, our task is: to model types of revolutionary humanity, to mould into esthetic forms, Marxian materialism.'

Chicago

Here is an impression of Chicago, a great American city, by an Austrian journalist who has been travelling in the United States and describing it in the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna. The excerpt is quoted in *The Living Age*:

Along the shore of Lake Michigan, villa after villa extends into the distance and here, too, stand the great hotels and clubs of the rich. The taxi-driver calls it the 'gold belt'. Yet Chicago is Janus-headed. It is the city of powerful business men, famous scholars, and doctors, the seat of the biggest factory of agricultural implements in the world, but it is also the city of the boldest criminals to be found anywhere. In New York, for instance, the police are typical officials. Their long trousers bag at their knees, many of them wear glasses and, though they carry guns, they hide them under their coats. In Chicago, on the other hand, the men who maintain public order

have athletic figures. They are dressed in khaki, leather, and steel and look as if they were about to enter a campaign of active warfare. They carry their revolvers, their sticks, and their short daggers in plain view. It is the city of organized gangs, of gunmen, of hold-ups, of bootleggers, high-jackers, and racketeers—and how wonderfully adventurous these words sound. This city experiences almost every day events that would pass as detective stories in any other part of the world.

It was during the nineteenth century the *Chicago Tribune* first remarked that Chicago contained the aristocracy of the criminal classes, and there is no reason why that statement does not still hold true to-day. Of course, there are criminals in other places, too, but in Chicago they still have about them the air of the prairie from whose soil they drew their strength, only to deliver it over to the city. Their wildness seems natural here, their wickedness naive, and in their naiveté one detects a grim, disarming humour.

Can America Survive?

The death-rate in America, if we are to believe some recent investigators in the field, has become a menace to the existence of the American nation. Its causes and implications are analysed in an editorial note in *The Realist*:

Few more sensational documents have appeared in the last five years than Professor Forsyth's recent article on American death-rates in our contemporary *Science*. None has been more completely neglected. He has performed on the mortality statistics of the United States of America a task which our own Registrar-General performs annually in his Statistical Review, namely, a calculation of the death-rates per thousand in each age group of American adults.

In England the death-rate per hundred thousand at every age up to sixty is decreasing fairly steadily from year to year. Above sixty it is, on the whole, rising, though slowly. This is due to the fact that modern hygiene has been more successful in grappling with the diseases of infancy and maturity than of age. The classical example is the failure to prevent cancer or to induce sufferers from it to avail themselves of the only known cures. But we are little better off in our fight with the group of degenerative processes that make up "old age." We are shepherding our people up to the age of sixty, and then dropping them over the edge.

But in America, ever since 1921, the death-rate of males in every age group above thirty has been rising, with very slight fluctuations. The case is not quite so bad with the female sex, but there, too, the general trend is towards death. It is only by a successful struggle with infantile mortality that the United States are preventing a catastrophic rise in the death-rate of the country as a whole.

We do not yet know the causes of this rising death-rate. There are four fairly obvious causes. Increasing urbanisation is suggested by Professor Forsyth, but this would hardly account for the

difference from Europe. The special characteristics of American industrialism may perhaps be blamed. It seems at least probable that "hustle" is playing a considerable part in killing off the workers who are beating the world's records of production.

Prohibition may be responsible in two ways. Not only have former wine and beer drinkers become drinkers of spirits, but the spirits are largely poisoned with methyl alcohol and other chemicals. There is also a fair amount of evidence that moderate alcohol drinking prolongs life, and that a large number of moderate drinkers may have lost several years of life by foregoing its use.

Again, America is the home of anti-scientific medical cults. The best known of these are Christian Science, Chiropractic, and Osteopathy. The last is now running its own medical schools and conferring degrees in several states of the Union. There is at least a suspicion that in competition with these movements a section of the American medical profession are turning their minds to publicity rather than to the prevention and cure of disease.

But whatever the reason, something is very badly wrong in the United States. There is no doubt that the rest of the world is going to copy their industrial methods to a very large extent. We may very possibly adopt their views on religion and alcohol. There are few more urgent problems than an investigation of the reasons why from a hygienic point of view, the great experiment of American prosperity has been a failure.

British Foreign Policy

Till the last decade of the nineteenth century Great Britain had always been in the habit of taking pride in her "proud isolation," and kept aloof from purely European entanglements. This of course does not mean that she did not watch with a jealous eye the developments in the European situation. But her interest in it was on a secondary plane compared to her interest in her colonial and commercial expansion. Only when the power of a European country grew to a height which threatened the equilibrium on the Continent and thus became a menace to her security, did Great Britain intervene in European politics. In no period of history is this cardinal principle of British foreign policy better illustrated than in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and it is this principle which is referred to by Professor Herbert A. Gibbons in course of an article in the *World Unity Magazine*.

As always, England wanted profits outside of Europe. When she has intervened in continental Europe, it has never been spontaneously or because of particular interests on the Continent that she had to safeguard. Whatever State in Europe has threatened to become the dominant

power, Great Britain has intervened on the side of the enemies of that power, because she felt that her security and prosperity depended upon no one nation in the Europe being dominant. You remember that her statesmen were not unduly exercised over the danger to Louis XVI in 1792, and refused the first invitation of Prussia and Austria to form a coalition against France. But when the French Revolutionary armies were in control of Belgium, England intervened. The Germans should have thought of history repeating itself in 1914!

After wars in which she was an ally of Continental coalitions, Great Britain's policy has been to say to the victors whom she was helping, "You can fix up the European situation in such a way to clip the wings of this pretender to European hegemony, and reward yourselves,—but not so much that you will scare us the way the defeated state has done. We do not want to have poured out our blood and treasure simply to substitute one nightmare for another. Although we have been the deciding factor in the victory—you could not have won it without us—we do not want to dominate the Continent politically or commercially, and we have no ideas of revenge. We shall take our reward in tidbits that lie outside of Europe."

The Scientific Imagination

In the same paper Mr. James H. Cousins deals with the question of the place of imagination in science, and illustrates his point by referring to the work of Sir Jagadis Bose:

The claim for the use of the imagination in science recently made by Sir J. C. Bose, the physicist of India, and justified in his own experience, while it would have been scouted by scientists a few years ago as "mysticism," and therefore, anathema, is now listened to, if not with universal acceptance, at least with general tolerance. The change is not merely a tribute to a personal triumph on the part of the scientist who proved that minerals, plants and animals responded similarly to external stimuli; it marks a broadening of the general attitude of men of science towards the whole field and method of scientific research. Science no longer, to take an example, limits the study of the psyche to mental process. It has come face to face with the entity behind the process. Rationalism, which based itself on the evidence of the senses, can no longer be regarded as rational when it ties itself to ratiocination and ignores the spontaneous vital phenomena which science is studying more and more closely under the designation of psychical research.

Heretofore science has regarded the imagination, which is the same thing, with some qualifications, as the intuition, as anything but scientific; on the other hand, the intuition in the past has lacked the service of science in testing its impressions and formulating their expression. It is now realized that both have suffered deprivation from the separation. But the future holds the promise of extraordinary advances through the operation, on the one hand, of intuitive science, such as that which Sir J. C. Bose has spoken of, and, on the other, of the scientific imagination.

Millions of Slaves Still

Slavery, it appears from the following note in *The Literary Digest*, is far from being totally abolished in the world:

The shame of slavery still disgraces the world.

A commission of the League of Nations reports that there are "no fewer than 4,000,000 slaves in the world to-day; probably the number is nearer 6,000,000—people who had not persons, people who have not the right to own property, to exercise their consciences, to direct their own affairs, or to retain wife and children. There are at least 2,000,000 in China, 500,000 to 700,000 in Arabia, a considerable number in the hinterland of Liberia, and a few thousands in other different parts of the world." And, according to *The Christian Century* from which we quote these figures, "conditions of slavery vary from the open and torturing slavery of Abyssinia to the disguised system in China, where girls who are really household slaves are treated, according to a legal fiction, as adopted family members. Under the impetus provided by the League, 185,000 slaves have recently been set free in Tanganyika; 215,000 in Sierra Leone; 7,500 in Burma. "Surely," continues *The Christian Century*, "with the facts thus known, the public opinion of the world will support the League in whatever efforts it may inaugurate to wipe out the last vestiges of human bondage."

Black and White in Africa

The twentieth century has witnessed the revolt of the Brown and the Yellow races of the world against White domination. The revolt of the Black races, too, was bound to come in its wake, though the comparatively backward state of their civilization explains the tardiness of its coming. The post-war ferment has supplied the necessary incentive and we have begun to hear the distant rumbling of the march of insurgent Blacks in the dark and dumb continent. The specifically British aspect of the problem is dealt with by a writer in *The British Empire Review*.

With so many other insistent problems at home, in the Empire, and in the world at large demanding attention, Africa has not loomed as large for the general public as from the gravity of the issues involved might otherwise have been the case. General Smuts could not have rendered greater service than he has done by his vivid and arresting presentment of the facts and of the ideals to be aimed at. The relations of black and white in Africa down to the beginning of this century were not of a character of which the white could be proud. They began in slavery, they continued in exploitation, and they are threatening to end in chaos owing to the break up of tribal institutions on the one hand, and the indiscriminate inter-

mixture of white and black interests, economic and social, on the other.

Whatever the mistakes of the past, whatever the difficulties of the present, the one certain thing is that white and black have to live on the same Continent. Africa cannot dispense with white leadership if her peoples are not to be plunged back into a condition infinitely worse than that from which the white man, whatever wrongs he may have inflicted in the process, rescued them. The African has been brought within the pale of European education and civilization, and the Great War, with its revelation to him of the fact that his European masters could fight among themselves as ruthlessly as African tribes, has accentuated the unrest which European education began. What the ultimate effect on African psychology and African action may be depends no doubt to some extent on what the white man may do in the entirely new chapter which General Smuts tells us has opened in the history of the Continent.

A new policy is called for throughout Africa, especially those parts which are under the British flag, a policy based upon the understanding that white men and black men are as indispensable to the development and progress of the Continent as Labour and Capital to the development of a business. If the natives were destroyed, or were involved in an internecine struggle which left them a miserable remnant of their former numbers, the whites would be in the position of a capitalist with a great industrial opportunity, but no labour available. If the whites were driven out, as the pessimist foreshadows they may be in the fullness of time, Africa would become a monster Liberia without even Liberia's approach to a live and progressive Government.

Africa, like India, China and Egypt, has been brought at a bound out of the condition in which she existed for thousands of years. Education and the permeation of modern ideas have involved inevitable reactions. The changes of a generation are not evolutionary but revolutionary. What will they be at the end of another generation? Suppose all Africa were to rally to the cry "Africa for the Africans," the handful of whites scattered over its vast expanse would certainly not obey the order to quit. One need not be an alarmist to contemplate the prospect with dismay.

The Slogan in Japan and Elsewhere

The Japan Weekly Chronicle has the following interesting note on the slogan habit in Japan and elsewhere:

Respect for politics is not increased by learning that parties are trying to think of new slogans. Nowadays slogans are only too common, and are apt to take the place of thought. It is believed that the word was originally Gaelic, and was used to describe the yells of the rude highlanders when they raided cattle or murdered their neighbours. Each clan had its peculiar cry, which gave a sense of solidarity to all members within hearing, increasing their courage thereby. The slogan was useful in those days, and to yell it loudly had a certain survival value. America is nowadays the

great producer of slogans, and there are even experts who are prepared to supply them to order. The habit has caught on badly in Japan, where a predisposing cause is the facility with which one can put a few Sino-Japanese monosyllables together expressing plenty of meaning and sounding in some strange way, as sonorous to the Japanese ear as sesquipedalian words from the Latin or Greek do to the European ear. At a Minseito meeting at the party's headquarters, it is reported much time was devoted to discussions of slogans for the coming election. But when we are told that "True business prosperity springs from the lifting of the gold embargo," was of all the slogans suggested the most approved, we simply cannot believe it. It sounds like a chapter heading in a book on political economy, but not at all like a slogan. Perhaps it is more concise when expressed in Chinese characters.

Freedom of the Press

We, in India, are not given to be jubilant over the freedom enjoyed by the Press in this country. But our illusions about the freedom enjoyed by the press of free and independent countries is considerably disturbed by the following editorial note in *The New Republic* :

Those Americans who have been comfortably assuming that censorship of the press is a war-time phenomenon which is reduced to negligible proportions as soon as peace is restored, will be interested in a survey recently made in The Editor and Publisher by Albin E. Johnson, the Geneva correspondent of *The New York World*. Mr. Johnson, using the information of the League of Nations, shows that 700,000,000 people, of a total world population of less than 2,000,000,000, are to-day living under either partial or complete censorship. The countries on his list are Italy, Spain, Russia, China, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Poland, Turkey, Albania, Rumania, Lithuania, and French Syria. The figure of 700,000,000 is of course only approximate; no one knows how many people there are in China, but the total number is as likely to be larger as smaller.

At least three-quarters of these 700,000,000 people live under a governmental censorship of newspapers which is virtually complete, and even for the rest of them, the press is subjected to such constant interference that its columns are never reliable and its function as a critic of political action has disappeared. No doubt there are several hundred million of these persons who do not care very much one way or the other; the countries of most complete control (and this is no accident) are also those of highest illiteracy and the least general participation in political life. Yet there must also be large numbers who chafe under the restrictions imposed upon them. Next time you hear some orator congratulating modern civilization on the unparalleled grandeur it has attained, it might be well to remind him of these 700,000,000, who are not permitted to hear the truth lest it might make them free.

Where Japan has not Changed

"It is not in love-making alone," says a Japanese writer in *The Ashah English Supplement* (Present Day Japan), "that a misunderstanding often leads to serious consequences. To misunderstand a nation is far more serious for human-kind than for a lover to lose his sweetheart through misunderstanding. Western people often fail to understand the Japanese because the psychological differences between them and the Japanese are poles apart,"—and this in Japan which we are used to regard as wholly Europeanized or rather Americanized. But the unchanging face of Japan still persists, particularly in her countryside and in the manners and customs of the daily life of her people. As we are told by the same writer :

The Japanese, in addressing a letter to a friend always pays undue respect to him, using adjectives in the superlative degree, while in mentioning themselves and the members of their own families, they use the most humble words. For instance, a husband calls his wife "stupid wife" and his son "pig son." The same person addresses his friend as "the most respected and honourable" etc. etc. A modern young Japanese who addressed his wife as "my darling" or "my love" in the presence of conservative Japanese would be sure to be frowned at or even called bad names.

The Japanese zealously adhere to formality or ceremony in public, but as a matter of course they do not mean what they say, or rather what they show. A conservative husband who scolds his wife for nothing before his acquaintances may bestow on her the sweetest of kisses when the coast is clear.

A Westerner praises his children or wife in the presence of his friends, but a Japanese would never do that. If you pat the head of a man's young son saying what a bright boy he is, you will be met with the reply, "Oh no, not bright at all. On the contrary, he is the dullest boy in the world." The Japanese seem to think that to praise the members of one's family is against the morality of modesty.

We have no space to give the whole exhaustive list of Japanese conservatism, but of all the odd individualities which characterize the people of Japan, the manners of her ghosts seem to be the most individual :

The Western ghost has a body which gets bigger at the bottom, but in the Japanese ghost, the lower portion gets thinner and thinner until it disappears. He cries 'Urameshi', meaning 'I curse you', a very ill-tempered expression. Western ghosts are more optimistic and not so revengeful. They speak quite eloquently as if still living in this world. Japanese ghosts are not so eloquent, the only words they sputter are 'Urameshi', as if they have nothing to do in the other world but curse the ones they have left behind.

The French and the English on the Rhine

The Allied occupation of the Rhineland is drawing to a close. Of the four nations who maintained troops on the Rhine, it is the French who have the greatest interest in promoting what has been termed the Gallicization of the Rhenish provinces, and therefore it is the French occupation of the Rhineland which has been most severe to the Germans. The sovereign rights of the German Empire were constantly violated by the French military authorities; the flags of the allied powers had to be saluted by uniformed Germans, whether they were firemen or postmen, while German residents of the Rhineland had to possess pass-ports to cross into other parts of their native land. This harsh regime is described by a writer in *Current History* :

The Germans compare this severity with their own methods during the occupation of French territory in 1871 after the Franco-Prussian War. These comparisons are particularly popular now that some of the important State documents of those days have been included in the collection of secret papers published by the French Government. The Germans dwell on the fact that their negotiators at the Frankfort Peace Conference did not press for humiliating terms. At the first sign that the French Government was willing to fulfill its obligations they released the territories held as a security. They remind France that Bismarck left no stone unturned to strengthen the position of Thiers, the first President of the third French Republic. Can the same be said, the Germans ask with a touch of malice, of contemporary French statesmen? Have some of them at least not impugned the motives of the very men who have died as martyrs to the cause of Franco-German reconciliation—Erzberger, Rathenau and Stresemann? They point to the correspondence between Bismarck and General Manteuffel, commander of the army of occupation in France, which shows that the German troops were instructed to celebrate the birthday of the French President and that the French found themselves under the necessity of reciprocating the courtesy.

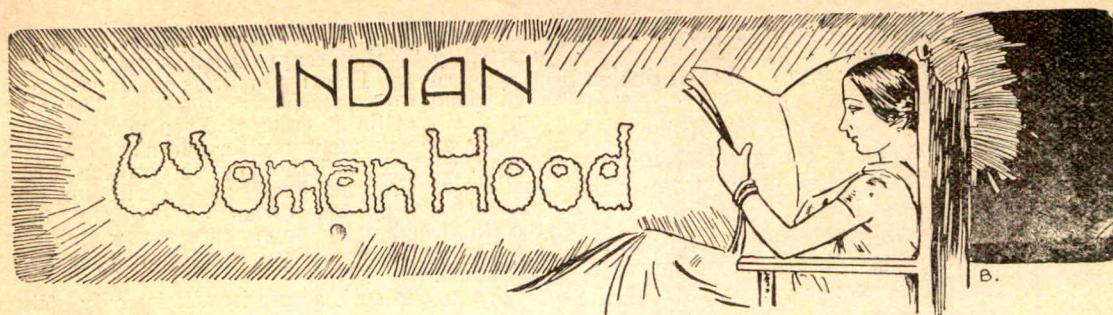
Even now, the Germans complain, they are being insulted and humiliated in their own country.

In 1928 nearly 1,500 Rhinelanders were court-martialled by the occupying military forces. Even now shoals of French lecturers descend on the Rhineland to preach to the inhabitants the superiority of Gallic culture. Even now the French schools are waiting vainly for German children to attend, while French theatres are open for German audiences. French does not desire to wake up from the age-old dream of one day finding the Rhineland ready to embrace a new faith and to become the eastern frontier of the French fatherland.

In reply to such accusations, it is only fair to say that the French, as well as their allies, have done their best to tide the Rhinelanders over the worst spell of currency inflation and economic collapse. When the poverty of the Reich threatened to engulf the Rhine provinces the French promptly sent relief workers to the territory under their authority, opened public kitchens and milk stations, collected clothes in France and distributed them among the poor, and endeavoured generally to stave off catastrophe. It is quite possible they did so for political reasons in order to give a practical demonstration of the superiority of living conditions in France, but the result remains the same—the Rhineland did receive help from the French.

The Rhinelanders are disinclined to look back upon their past tribulations with a forgiving smile. No crying German girls were seen when the French recently evacuated the second zone. There is practically no intercourse between Rhenish society and the French occupying army. Attempts at fraternization have been promptly and stinging rebuked by the Germans. France has gained no friends in the Rhineland. In other words, as regards spiritual Gallicization, the occupation was a huge failure.

The case of the British occupying forces is quite different. After Great Britain's refusal in 1923 to take part in the Ruhr expedition the Rhinelanders looked to the British for protection whenever they thought their French masters were too hard on them. The doors of the best society were always open to British officers. If they did not always avail themselves of the social opportunities it was because of regard for French sensibilities rather than personal disinclination. Therefore, so as not to offend their comrades in arms, the French officers, the British showed a certain amount of reserve in accepting invitations. In the opinion of the Rhinelanders, the British performed a very useful service as shock-absorbers; without them Rhenish relations with the French might have been even more strained.

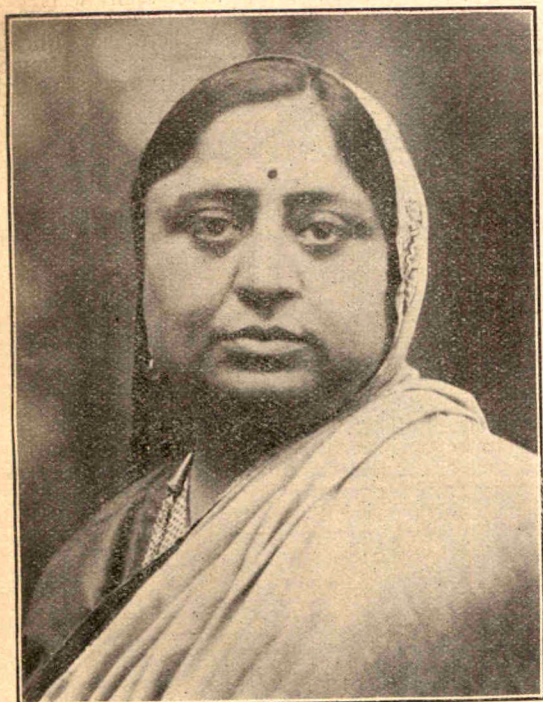


The Fourth All-India Women's Conference

The All-India Women's Conference, which held its fourth sitting at Bombay during the third week of January 1930, was a great event in the history of the women's movement in India. It was presided over by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu from whose presidential address we have quoted some extracts elsewhere. The conference was opened by Lady Sykes, and there was a

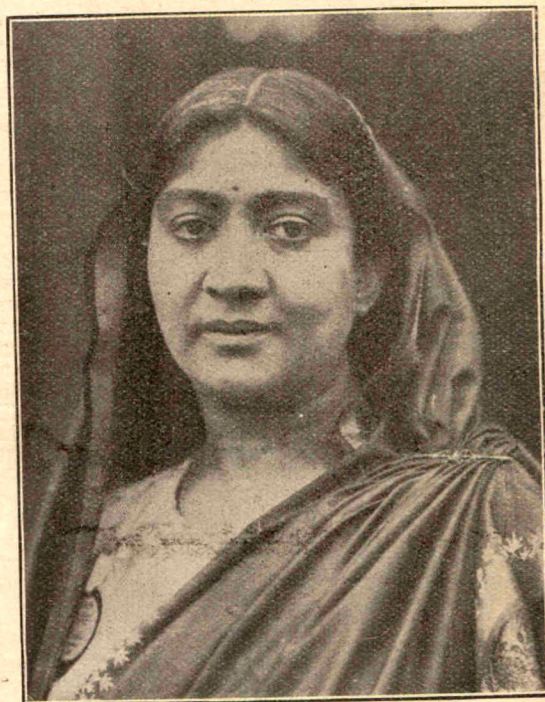
The conference passed a long series of resolutions connected with all phases of women's life in India. The two dealing with child marriage and inheritance attracted a great many speakers, who spoke with a zeal and eloquence that indicated how deeply Indian womanhood felt on these two points.

MISS MITHAN TATA placed before the House the resolution dealing with the laws of inheritance and was followed by speakers in



Mrs. Brijlal Nehru

very large and representative gathering of delegates from all parts of India and the hall was packed with visitors from far and near.



Mrs. P. K. Sen

Gujarati and Marathi. MISS FEROUZUDDIN spoke feelingly on this question in English. Without the economic independence of woman, she said, her emancipation could only be a dream.



Office-bearers and the Standing Committee of the Conference

Speaking on that part of the resolution which deals with Muslim women's rights in accordance with the laws laid down in the Quran and the current customary law as practised in some parts of India, MISS FEROUZDIN emphasized that Muslim women, in desiring a rectification of the present state of affairs, were not humble suppliants for favours, but were demanding what was their right.

The child marriage question was sponsored by Mrs. Nehru, who spoke very ably on the need for Indian States' co-operation with British India and the passing of an Act similar to the Sarda Act, for the present position enabled an evasion of the law by child marriages not being penalized in Indian States. Speakers in all languages and including some from Indian States with one accord supported Mrs. Nehru's proposition, which was passed without a dissentient note.

MRS. SHAFI TYABJI and MISS FEROUZDIN condemned in strong terms the opposition raised by Muslims against this Act and said that it did not in any manner violate the

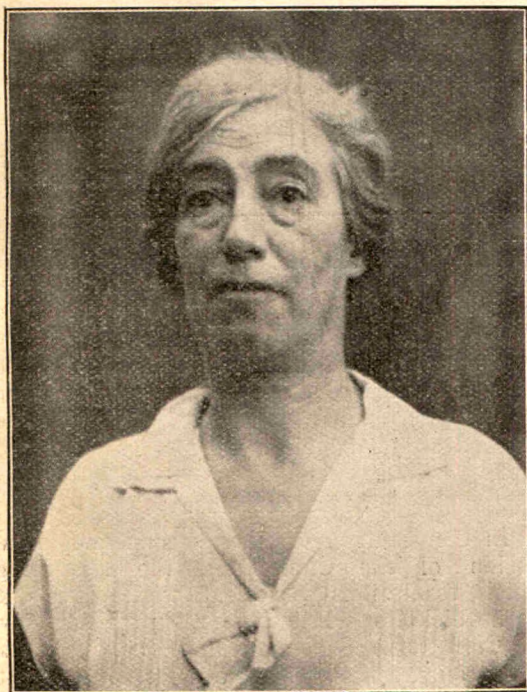
"Shariat" of Muslims. The latter declared that a marriage among Muslims was only an agreement and it was commonsense to understand that the agreement could not be entered into unless both the boy and the girl had attained majority.

Social Resolutions

In the course of the second and final session of the Conference, the remaining social resolutions were dealt with. Five out of the eight resolutions were proposed by the Chair (MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU)—dealing with unequal marriages, with the need for at least one woman magistrate to be present at each sitting of Juvenile Courts and the establishment of these Courts in all provinces, a resolution that marriage should not be compulsory for girls, giving the support of the Conference to the further amending of the Special Marriage Act of 1872 and desiring the inclusion of women representatives well-acquainted with Indian conditions in conferences and commissions appointed to deal with questions of the national welfare of India. The resolution on polygamy was

proposed by MRS. ASAF ALL, supported by two other Indian ladies and was carried unanimously. Of the two resolutions dealing with labour questions the first desired the appointment of an adequate number of Factory Inspectresses to look after the welfare and requirements of women and children employees in all industrial areas. This was ably put forward by Miss B. A. Engineer and supported by Miss IRIS WINGATE, both of Bombay. The second sponsored by MRS. KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA desired the Standing Committee to inquire into the condition of women and children, employed in organized labour areas and also to inquire into the agricultural and indigenous industries of their area and to foster such industries.

The Conference was also a great success from the social point of view.



Mrs. Cousins

From the daily papers, we learn with regret of the death of MISS BASANTI DAS, a lady student of the M. Sc. class of the Presidency College, Calcutta, who died of heart-failure on the 16th February last at Silchar (Sylhet) at her father's residence there. Miss Das was a brilliant student of the Calcutta University. She stood first among

the female candidates of the I. A. and I. Sc. examinations and took her B. Sc. degree last year with Honours in Mathematics.

The scarcity of lady graduates in Science makes her early death all the more regrettable for us.

The SAROJ NALINI DUTT Memorial Association is playing a great part in furthering the cause of women in Bengal. Its fifth annual meeting was held at the grounds at 8A, Russa Road, on Jan. 20, 1930. Lady NIRMALA SARKAR presided.

Pointing out the increasingly national character of the movement being carried on by the Association, Miss N. B. SHOME, who presented the annual report, said that the outstanding feature of this year's activities was that a number of Bengali women volunteered their services for organizing Mahila Samities in the interior of the Presidency.



Srijukta Anurupa Devi

During the year the Association sent out lecturers to nearly every district in Bengal for organizing the women movement and it was largely due to their activities that more than 60 new Mahila Samities were started. The activities of the Association, which has so far organized 305 such Samities, are not confined to Bengal only but extend to other provinces.

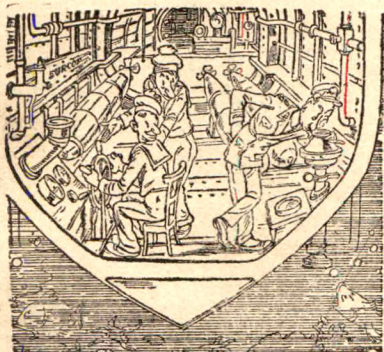
Commending the very useful work being done by the SAROJ NALINI Industrial School

or women at 45, Beniatala Lane, Calcutta, the report says, established in December 1925, with only 30 pupils, the institution has now grown to be perhaps the biggest industrial school for women in Calcutta with 200 pupils on the roll, nearly half of which are widows and married women.

MRS. ANUGUPA DEVI is a distinguished woman novelist of Bengal. Her numerous works in Bengali enjoy a wide popularity

with her countrymen and countrywomen. She is the grand-daughter of the well-known Bengali writer and thinker, Bhudeb Mukherji and in social thought, she shares the conservative outlook of her grandfather. She also takes part in various public movements of the day, and recently presided over the Ladies' Co-operative Conference of the Muzaffarpur district in Bihar and Orissa.

The Humour of the World



THE BIGGEST SUBMARINE IN THE WORLD.

"Captain, why do you want to go down so deep?"

"To get a chance of seeing the Kellogg Pact in operation."

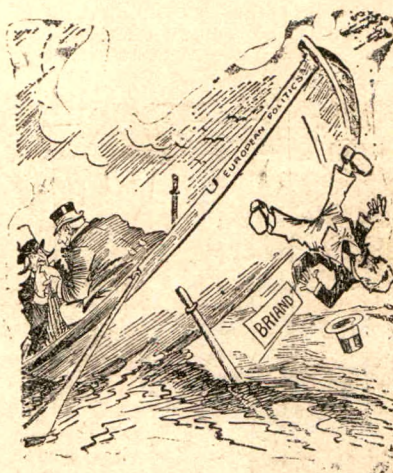
—Guerin, Meschino, Milan.



THAT TREATY HAPPENS TO BELONG TO ALL OF US.

Russia: "Well! What are you going to do about it?"

—New York Tribune



MAN OVERBOARD!—Washington Post.



Motorist: "Run and fetch the doctor."

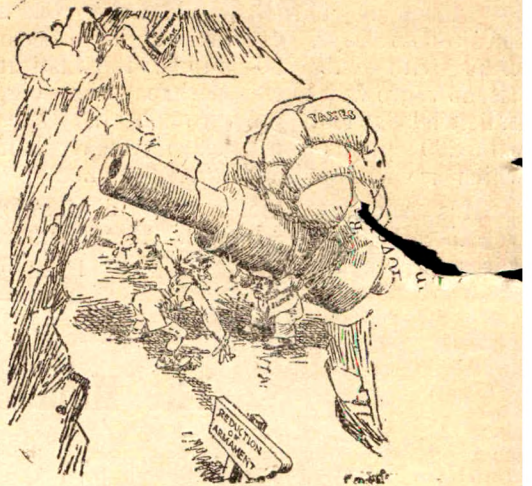
Rustic: "I can't."

"Why not?"

"He is under the car."—Il 420, Florence.



"I want some beauty cream."
 "Yes, madam, how many tons?"
 —Pages Gaies Yverdon.



GIVING HIM HIS CHOICE
 Uncle Sam: "Which way do you want to
 race, up or down?"
 —New York Tribune



"Hey, girl! This soup ain't fit for a pig."
 "Right oh! I'll bring you some that is."
 —Bulletin, Sydney.



SOME PEOPLE NEVER LEARN BY EXPERIENCE
 —Washington Post



Chauffeur: "Keep to the right, you idiot."
 —Il 420 Florence.

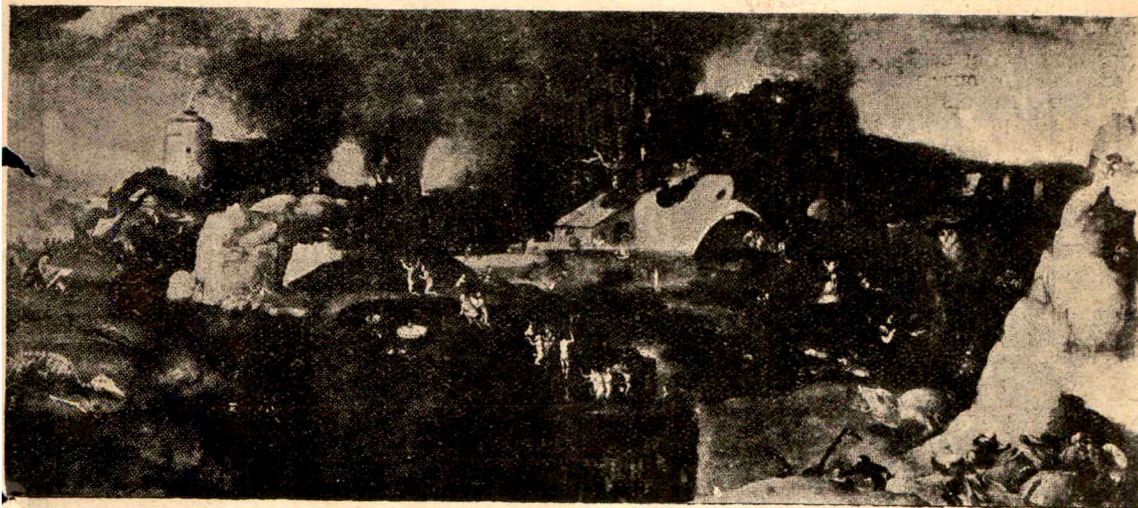


A Modern Inferno

You recall Dante's immortal story of his visit to Hell, and of the souls of the historically famous and infamous damned who were being tortured there by exposure to the torments of the extremes of ice and fire. The grandeur of the poetry will probably never be surpassed. But the modern scientist's only comment upon the scene it pictures is upon the poverty of the omniscient imagination which would employ such altogether ordinary temperatures to produce the desired effects. The scientist has liquefied air by cooling and compressing it and allowing it to expand repeatedly. The product is a pale blue liquid which resembles water from a distance but as a temperature of -310 degrees. In comparison, a cake of ice is literally red hot. By a similar process

burn a mixture of ordinary illuminating gas and air in a blast lamp and obtain a temperature of 2700 degrees; and with an oxy-hydrogen torch, 3600 degrees; and with an oxy-acetylene flame, 6300 degrees—the latter will cut through a quarter inch steel plate with about the same ease that a hot knife goes through a cake of butter. Then in the electric arc he can produce temperatures which are limited only by the resistance of the furnace itself as it melts and breaks the circuit, the highest temperature so far being about 9000 degrees or more than half the estimated temperature of the sun.

Picture for yourselves the sublime heights of torture which could be attained in an inferno properly designed and equipped with up-to-date heating and cooling devices by the scientist, and



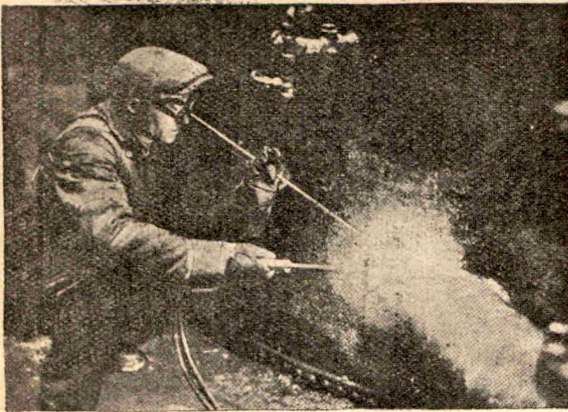
AN OLD MASTER'S CONCEPTION OF HELL

Christ's Descent Into Hell, by H. Bosch, a Flemish painter (1462-1516). Early writers who wished to depict a horrible hell and thus frighten the common herd into better morals would doubtless have used with avidity the modern scientist's knowledge of heat and cold

applied to helium he has produced a temperature below -458 degrees or less than 1 degree above absolute zero, the lowest temperature which can possibly be attained.

On the other hand, going up the scale, he can

compare it with the feeble attempt of the theologian. For the scientist, of course, these are merely the tools with which he works, but with them and others he achieves the wonders which distinguish the present world from any which preceded it.



TEMPERATURES EARLY CHEMISTS NEVER DREAMT OF
Picture for yourselves the sublime heights of torture which could be attained in an inferno properly designed by the scientist, and compare it with the feeble attempt of the theologian.

When the Coal Supply will be Exhausted

It is a well-known fact, that, both for the biological processes in plants and animals as well as for the maintenance of human civilization, a continuous import of energy from outer space to our planet is necessary. The only source of energy that practically needs to be taken into account in this respect, and which daily furnishes enormous quantities of energy, is our sun. In whatever form we meet with energy on the earth, whether it be stored in coal or oil, or be immediately available to us, as in the flowing or falling water, or in the winds, it can in all cases easily be understood that this energy has always its real origin in that of the radiation which the sun continuously emits in all directions into space and some of which strikes the earth.

The differences in temperature and pressure in the earth's atmosphere that are brought about under the influence of the solar radiation, are the causes of air currents which give rise to the energy of the wind. The radiant energy of the sun given out several hundreds of millions of years ago is now stored up in the form of chemical energy in coal, after having been transformed and accumulated in the living vegetable cells of those far-off eras. Through the process of

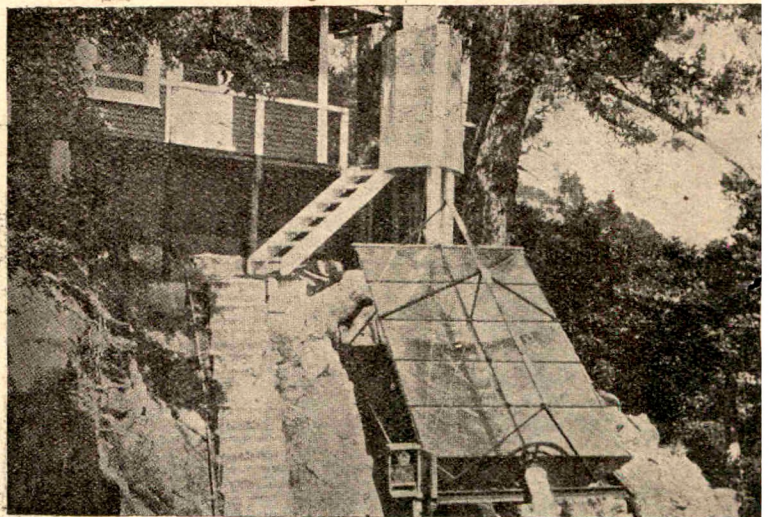
combustion, this stored-up chemical energy is used by us in our steam engines and gas motors of today. This stock of coal and also of mineral oil nowadays represents the principal source of energy that man utilizes for the production of mechanical power.

The necessary consequence of this is that we draw upon our energy capital to so great an extent that it must finally become exhausted, unless some way be found to replenish it by again accumulating the mighty solar radiation against the day when our stores of coal and oil will have been exhausted.

The total quantity of coal on the earth seems not to exceed about 2000 billions tons, of which at the present time about one and one half billions tons are used annually. This yearly consumption, however, is increasing so rapidly that our coal deposits will hardly be sufficient for another thousand years, a period that is very short in comparison with the length of the future existence of mankind on the earth.

The question as to whether it then will be possible to obtain the indispensable energy from other sources on earth must, so far as can now be judged, be answered in the negative.

As the matter now stands, we can say that, in answering the question as to how to make the future necessary energy production most complete



ABBOT'S EXPERIMENTAL SOLAR COOKER

Dr. Abbot, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, devised this cooker, installed it at Mount Wilson Observatory and cooked with it. The parabolic aluminum reflecting surface focusses the sun's heat on a pipe which conducts hot oil to a reservoir. Cooking and baking temperatures up to 447 degrees, Fahrenheit, are obtained. The heat can be stored all night

ly independent of the fossil stocks of energy accumulated in former geological periods, we are chiefly confined to the mighty current of radiant energy that is flowing to us directly and continuously from the sun. This quantity of radiant energy appears to be stupendously great, but it is now almost completely lost by dissipation.

In what way it would be possible to catch the enormous quantity of solar energy that now is dissipated every year, and to apply it to the production of mechanical and electrical energy.

Concentration of the radiant energy may be effected either by means of large lenses or by a system of mirrors; the absorbent heat-reservoir is placed at the focus. In actual practice, only systems of mirrors have been used. These are mounted on a light frame which permits them to

be easily rotated, which is, of course, necessary, because they must follow the apparent motion of the sun in the sky. The radiant energy concentrated by these mirrors falls upon a metallic reservoir which is blackened on the outside and which contains some volatile liquid that shows a considerable vapour tension at relatively low temperatures. Ammonia, sulphur dioxide or certain organic liquids of low boiling point are employed.

—*Scientific American*

Finance and Insurance

India's Economic Position

IT was Sir Basil Blackett who set the ball rolling at the beginning of the year. In the course of his address before the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts, he found it difficult "to quarrel with the view that both politically and economically India to-day bears evidence of arrested development," but according to him, "the explanation of the extreme poverty of the masses... is to be found in the Hindu social system, in the doctrine of *Karma*, in the absence of active effort for material progress, in the presence of the active determination of Brahmanism to maintain and perpetuate the age-old social outlook enshrined in the caste system." He does not stop to inquire why Muhammadans (who do not believe in caste) living within British India have not been able to advance economically by shedding mediæval abstractions like some of their co-religionists elsewhere, e.g., Turkey. On the contrary, he gives some statistics to prove that in spite of the terrible handicap imposed, India has made an astonishingly rapid progress from the beginning of the present century.

Sir Basil was followed by Mr. Birla with his presidential address before the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. Said he:

(1) We are a debtor country with large foreign liabilities.

(2) Our present resources are not adequate for a due discharge of our obligations.

(3) Due to our failure to fully discharge our annual obligations, our liability is increasing at a frightful pace.

To this His Excellency Lord Irwin gave the following reply:

As a result of development which has taken place during the last hundred years, there is an enormous surplus of assets representing gain to India, which has accrued on account of the developments made possible by the use of foreign capital.

According to His Excellency, far from driving India towards bankruptcy, foreign investors have increased economic productivity to such an extent that, even after the payment of interest, there is a surplus available, which is liquidated partly by bullion imports and partly by investments abroad.

Unluckily for His Excellency, he was speaking after the flotation of the 6 per cent £6 million sterling loan in London. If India is so anxious to unburden her surplus savings even in foreign countries, a plain matter-of-fact man will wonder why the loan could not be raised in India. The second conundrum is no less puzzling. When political conditions were so uncertain,—almost menacing in the opinion of British investors, why was the loan floated in London of all places and at that psychological moment? The third riddle is the most interesting of all. Our expert financiers are able to allow for the extravagance of the Lahore Congress by a fine calculation of a proportionate rise in the interest rate and a proportionate premium on the principal, yielding 6.542 per cent, if redeemed after two years and 7.100, if redeemed after 3 years. Why were they not equally successful in estimating the condition of the London money-market, seeing that the loan was subscribed many times over? Probably Sir Basil will reply, it is India's *Karma* to have riddles but no solutions. Lord Irwin may also point out that it is a sign of prosperity to borrow abroad at a high rate.

Can the smoke-screen about political troubles and other platitudes hide India's poverty?

Industrial Banking

With the various Banking Committees in session, the question of starting industrial banks is engaging serious attention. It has been suggested that India's industrial development will be as rapid as Germany's, if we follow her system of industrial banking. It is forgotten that in Germany itself, there is a recent movement for discarding the present system of long-term advances for capital requirements and adopting in its place the English system of short-term advances for trade purposes. The reasons are not far to seek. The cheque habit has developed very fast in Germany during the post-war period, —so much so that banks are now called upon to keep their resources in as liquid a form as possible, in order that there may be no difficulty in meeting the demands of depositors. In other words, banks are unable to lock-up their funds in long-term loans as before, but have to invest their funds in easily realizable securities and short-term bills.

Apart from this stress of necessity, there are some positive advantages in the English method. In Germany, the banker buys shares and bonds in his customer's concern and provides additional money for capital purposes, for which no returns may be available for years. The result is that he is obliged to take part in the management of the industry. In other words, he has not only to look to the safety of the money advanced by him, but has also to consider the interest of the concern as a whole, even in matters not connected with finance, e.g., when a new competitor enters the field, or when a new manufacturing process is invented,—matters in which he lacks expert knowledge. The English method of non-interference, on the contrary, gives greater freedom and scope for development and the banker can take an unbiassed view with regard to the financing of new inventions and new enterprises.

In the present state of British industries, it is no wonder that the charge is too often laid against bankers that they are not doing their duty by industry and trade, and that it is the orthodox English system of aloofness from industries, which badly requires

reform. To this Mr. Holland Martin gives the following reply in the course of his inaugural address before the London Institute of Bankers :

It is a great mistake to treat finance and productive industry as if they are mutually opposed, and to infer that those who suggest and provide the means for carrying out great enterprises are not necessary in our commercial life. The interests of the two should be, and in my opinion, they are in this country and at the present time, the same. Finance cannot for long be successful if industry and trade are not prosperous.

If this identity of interest between trade and industry on the one hand and finance on the other is recognized in India also, much of the present discontent is bound to disappear. While the banks cannot assist with long-term loans with their present resources, they can certainly help by underwriting the issue of debentures and in other ways, working in co-operation with insurance companies, which are in a position to provide long-term funds. Industrialists on their part should try to provide for their fixed capital by an adequate issue of shares and bonds, and require only circulating capital from the ordinary banks. When however new industries and a group of industries of a special nature are started, and the necessary technical skill is available, either the existing banks will have to be reorganized or separate industrial banks will have to be started, in order that finance may not lag behind in the march of industrial development.

Lancashire Cotton Industry

The imports of grey piece-goods into India from the United Kingdom and Japan are shown in the table below for nine months from 1st April to 31st December, for the years 1927, 1928 and 1929 respectively :

	Quantity in million			Value in		
	yards			Rs. (crores)		
	1927	1928	1929	1927	1928	1929
From U. K.	516	412	362	12.30	9.77	8.34
Japan	168	150	291	4.29	3.96	6.75

It is apparent that there is a continuous decline in the case of the United Kingdom, and that Japan has now fully recovered from the slight set back of 1928. The same features are to be found in other markets as well.

What are the reasons for this steady replacement of British piece-goods by Japanese piece-goods? These formed the

subject-matter of a very interesting paper recently contributed by Messrs. Barnard and Hugh Ellinger to the Royal Statistical Society. According to the authors, they can be comprised into four groups, *viz.*, cheaper labour in spinning and weaving, greater proximity to the markets in the Far East, cheaper cotton supplies and better organization of the industry.

The authors are against any all-round reduction in Lancashire wages but plead for a re-adjustment, specially in the weaving section. As regards geographical advantage, it is pointed out that the voyage to India from either country takes practically the same time, but China is certainly nearer to Japan. In any case, Japanese shipping companies follow the principle of charging what the traffic will bear with much better success than British companies. In the matter of cotton supplies, Japan utilizes a higher percentage of cheaper cotton, specially for lower counts. In spinning 20's, for instance, she uses 80 per cent Indian and 20 per cent American cotton and for some coarser counts even entirely Indian. It is in these lower counts specially, that Lancashire feels the keenest competition.

With regard to organization, the authors compare the Japanese cotton industry to a globe consisting of nine—"big 4" and 5 smaller—concerns, which consume between them 70 to 80 per cent of raw cotton imports, and manufacture practically the entire piece-goods exports. Round this globe are four nebulae, consisting like the rings of Saturn, of numerous independent units. On the same analogy, the British cotton industry has at the centre a solid crust consisting of well-known amalgamations, with 3,000 small units inside the crust, many of them possibly well-organized but lacking cohesion; and outside the crust there are many rings, not of nebulae, but very solid price-fixing rings of trade unions, finishers, case-makers, packers, bankers, shipowners, insurance companies, etc.

The result of all this want of correlation is to be seen in the following report appearing in Taltersall's Cotton Trade Review about the Lancashire cotton companies. The average dividend on the ordinary share capital last year was less than that in the preceding year, the figures for 310 companies yielding 1.91 per cent against 2.30 per cent. In no fewer than 243 cases, no dividend was declared. As

many as 42 companies had to call up additional share capital amounting to over £ 1½ millions. It may be added that the year 1928 was also a very bad year for Lancashire cotton companies.

Indian cotton companies have an obvious lesson to be learnt from this analysis. There is no question that they have two advantages, which Lancashire does not possess and Japan possesses only to a limited extent, *viz.*, geographical advantage and cheap cotton supply. If labour is more efficient, the existing wages will be found to be lower than even the Japanese scale. The only stumbling block is lack of organization. That there is much room for economy in Bombay mills is apparent from the fact that Ahmedabad mills are in a better position in almost identical circumstances.

H. C. SINHA

Insurance Notes

I. India is proverbially a poor country. Life insurance is more necessary to the middle and poorer sections of the population than the richer section. But when we go to the figures, we find that in India the *per capita* insurance is only rupees two per head. We give below certain figures collected from the *Weekly Underwriter* of America which will give an exact idea about the financial position of India and also the future possibilities of insurance in India:

Total amount of life insurance in force in some of the leading countries :		
America	Rs. 24,000	crores.
Canada	" 13,000	"
England	" 3,000	"
Japan	" 900	"

The total insurance funds in America is 4,500 crores, in Canada 3,000 crores, in England 1,600 crores, in Japan 600 crores and India comes last of all with 16 crores."

II. Insurance help the industrial development of a country, and more the amount of insurance in a country the more progressive they are industrially. Economists much depend on this point in estimating the prosperity of a nation and the Insurance Year Book gives the exact figures. We give below the following lines collected from the pages of an article written by Mr. S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L.:

"Life Insurance Companies hold large assets against their liabilities on account of

policies issued by them. These funds are invested in various ways to fetch interest which is the life-blood of an insurance company. The old and antiquated method was to invest in Government Securities yielding a low but certain rate of interest. During the last war these securities underwent heavy depreciation and as a result insurance companies suffered very badly; some companies in England had to close their doors. Since then this conservative policy of investment is being gradually abandoned in favour of a progressive and patriotic one. Large funds are invested in mortgages, lands and property and shares and debentures of joint-stock companies and public utility concerns. They generally bring in higher rate of interest than Government Securities, and at the same time this modern policy of investment contributes greatly to the development of Industries and Railways of the country. America has given this patriotic investment policy a definite shape and has pursued it to its full extent. In Canada, life insurance companies own more than half the shares of railway companies. There, in all public utility concerns the biggest shareholders are the life insurance companies. In this way the insurance companies are utilizing the premiums paid by thrifty people not only in relieving the distress of their *clientele* but also in developing industries and increasing national wealth."

III. The general impression in India is that the funds of insurance companies must be invested in Government Securities and that the safest and best investment. But if we refer to the methods of investments of the West, we find a quite different thing, and

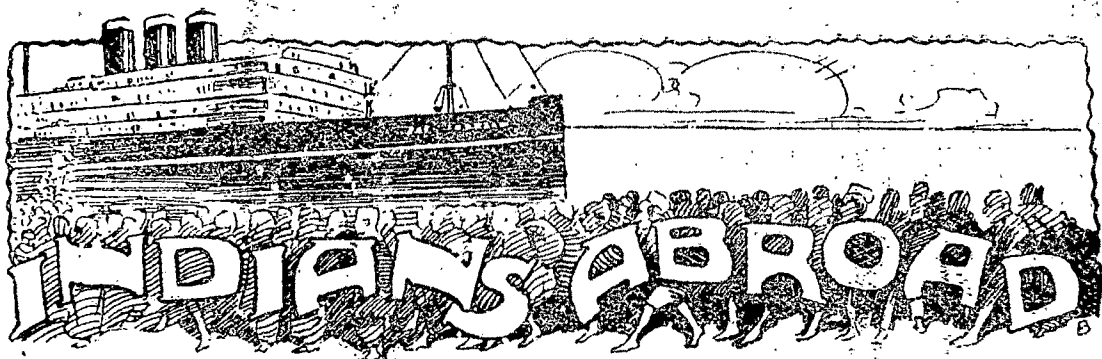
the following figures collected from an American Year Book is an interesting reading.

"Out of the total funds 45,000 crores, 35 per cent are invested in Railways, 30 per cent in Real Properties and 16 per cent in farm mortgages and 10 per cent in industries and other public utility concerns and only 9 per cent in Government Securities."

IV. We in India have not yet appreciated the value of insurance as it has been done in the West. There everything of value is insured and in addition to the life insurance, they do huge amount of insurance against all risks such as fire, marine, accident, motor car, workmen's compensation, burglary, fidelity, theft etc. Indian Insurance Companies Association in trying to impress upon the public the importance of insurance, has given some interesting figures regarding general insurance in the following words:

"There can be no doubt that several crores of rupees are being spent every year by the millowners, cotton merchants, seed and other merchants, property-owners and several other trades in insuring their respective factories and business premises. Excepting for a small fraction, most of the motor cars used in India are owned by Indian people. A very large amount is being spent in insuring these cars, the bulk of which to-day goes to non-Indian companies. The important crops of India every year are valued at Rs. 1,500 crores. The imports into India of foreign articles are valued at over Rs. 232 crores a year. The insurance premium, therefore, on all these heads must be enormous. But I am quite certain that not even 5 per cent of this goes to the share of the Indian industrial companies."

S. C. R.



By BENARSEDAS CHATURVEDI

Indian Leaders and Indians Overseas

It is very natural that in the midst of urgent and peremptory domestic affairs, the leaders of political opinion in India should find comparatively little time to devote to questions affecting the Indian communities overseas. National emergencies necessarily absorb the major energies of the leaders and it is with difficulty that the voice of these overseas communities can be heard.

I have, more than once, heard the complaint of the representatives of the colonial Indians that their countrymen in India seem too busy with their own affairs to be able to devote any special attention to these, and yet, unless such attention be carefully given and time found for the intelligent study of overseas problems, disaster may easily overtake one or other of these communities with dishonour and indignity to the motherland.

In matters overseas one always has to be on guard and though much pioneer work has been done and programme has been made for the laying of solid foundations, those foundations are not yet secure, and until they are made secure the erection of a durable superstructure must remain a matter of difficulty and uncertainty. Yet in regard to these questions of Indians overseas we are dealing with a problem on which there is a complete absence of domestic controversy and a maximum of understanding and collaboration between Government and public. Mr. Sastri has recently paid a happy tribute to this fact upon his return to India and his successor in South Africa derives his strength from this very fact. Whatever criticism Gandhiji may have to level in other directions against the Government, he has, in fact, very cordially collaborated with them in aiding Mr. Sastri in the accomplishment of the arduous task to which he set his

hand. Indeed, it is inconceivable that any useful results could have been possible in South Africa but for this unity of purpose of Government and public in India.

Two consequences flow from this. The first is that the same unity should be preserved and developed as regards both South Africa and the other overseas countries with an Indian population and this attendant problem. The need is especially emergent in the case of East Africa, for the very best informed opinion among public men in India will be necessary in order to enable the Government of India to conduct most delicate negotiations with the Colonial office and so to secure satisfactory results for the Indian communities there. What Mr. Sastri has been enabled to achieve in South Africa ought to be made possible by some other accomplished and fully accredited representative of the Government of India in East Africa, and I, for one, do not believe that this is a matter that ought to be left to the recommendation of East African Indians. Unless there is a sympathetic Government and people of India, it is very doubtful, in my opinion, whether the East African Indian population will be able, in the circumstances that will prevail there for some time to come, to reap the full benefit of any policy that may ordinarily be agreed between the two Governments.

The second consequence to which I have referred is the one to which Mr. Sastri has himself alluded. It is natural for the Indian leaders to expect that the overseas Indian communities should have sympathies with the national movement in the Motherland, and there is no doubt whatever that these communities are in general sympathy with that movement; but it would be a fatal mistake, I am sure, if they were to be drawn into any domestic controversy as to any particular method or immediate objective of

any party or school of politics in India. In the first place, these overseas communities are ordinarily ignorant of the principles, details and difficulties of these home-land controversies and, therefore, cannot usefully contribute one way or the other. In the second place, they have their own local difficulties which should not be increased by the setting up of controversial matters that are bound to result in internal disunion, with consequent weakening of the communities' powers of resistance. And lastly, it must be remembered that no Indian community abroad can hope to secure any status at all, except as an integral part of the Empire. From the moment that it is regarded by its self-confession as an alien group, it can no longer call in the aid of the Government of India, nor is it entitled to look for support to those of its countrymen at home who are not persuaded that the immediate goal of India is complete national independence; in any sense other than that of Dominion Self-government, and it is bound to alienate the sympathies of a substantial minority of the white settlers in these overseas territories upon which the Indian settlers can at present count and, by the exercise of tact, self-restraint, and intelligent propaganda, they would be able increasingly to count in the future.

The problem of Indians overseas is in the way of solution, and the present favourable current of events ought not in any circumstances to be interfered with. If it should be, it is almost inevitable that Indian prestige abroad will suffer irrevocably, with no commensurate gain to the Motherland, and whilst, for the moment, the overseas Indian communities might feel an artificial exaltation under the spell of an exciting and attractive slogan, they would prove to be its first and its easiest victims.

H. S. L. POLAK,

Hony. Secretary, Indians Overseas Association

The Problem of Religion in Greater India

MR. RISHIRAM, B. A., Arya Missionary writes. About three millions of our countrymen have gone outside India mostly in the search of their livelihood. A large percentage of these men belong to poor illiterate labourer classes with the exception of those educated middle class people who have gone of their free will in pursuit of trade and service. Burma and Africa have men of the latter class. Wherever men will live together in large numbers, there will certainly arise opportunities of social functions and religious ceremonies. If they are conducted in a proper manner they will

be conducive to welfare of the people concerned and will have a beneficial effect on others. So far as the Hindu emigrants are concerned it is unfortunate that no collective effort is made to improve their general social and religious life. In South Africa fire walking and piercing the body with nails by the Indians is considered to be a religious ceremony. Whatever else its significance may be but it has nothing to do with the spiritual life of those people and is generally ridiculed by the non-Indians. In far off colonies like British Guinea, Jamaica, Trinidad and such other places, in the absence of Arya Samaj organizations most of the Hindus have embraced Christianity and their descendants have become strangers to their Motherland and her culture. The Hindus in general have lost the missionary spirit and they have no ambition to propagate their religion beyond their little narrow home circles. It must be said to the credit of the Arya Samaj that though single-handed it has held aloft the banner of Vedic religion in far off places like Fiji and Mauritius Islands. In whatever part of the world an Arya-samajist goes he will try to grow and spread beyond his own little self and create associations around him which will keep fresh the memory of his Motherland with all her noble traditions. He will reject with contempt the life of sloth, self-gratification and isolation, but will try to make himself useful to his fellow-men. It was this spirit which made a handful of Arya-Samajists in Mesopotamia during the war days while stationed in military camps in the vicinity of battlefield, hold congregational prayer meetings, lighting the fire of *Yajna*, celebrating their national festivals and contributing thousands of rupees voluntarily to the institutions in India. Arya-samajists in Burma and Africa have sent lacs and lacs of rupees to support religious and social activities at home. I have every admiration for their generosity but I shall be failing in my duty as an humble worker of the same mission if I ignore the other side of the picture. For the last twelve years I have been engaged in the missionary work outside the Punjab and have visited Burma and East Africa and have personal experience of the Arya Samaj activities in those places. I am definitely of opinion that the situation needs considerable improvement not only by way of constructive work but also by means of elimination of certain undesirable tendencies associated with the Arya Samaj activities outside India. It was not without great pain and sorrow that I witnessed the armed hostility between Arya-samajists and other Hindus creating bad blood and dividing the general public into different camps opposed to each other. The Arya Samaj cannot escape the responsibility for this state of affairs. Others may act out of blind faith and short-sightedness, but there is no justification for the Arya Samaj that claims to lead the people to higher ideals to be a party to vindictive and irritative propaganda. Let the Arya-samajists remember that their religion was never meant for dividing people but for uniting them in spite of their differences. There is much which is common to all religions worth the name and we should appreciate the good points of all. It is in our own interest that we should love those who differ from us and thus bring them closer to us so that they may be able to appreciate our point of view. If we by our

offensive and irritating attitude drive them away there is no possibility of their ever giving any attention to our preachings, however true or elevating they may be. It is in the hands of the Arya Samaj to bring all Hindus outside India into their fold. Hindus who once cross the sea, give up the antiquated ideas of caste and touch-me-not religion out of their own accord and are naturally inclined to be more liberal in their outlook. It is for the Arya Samaj to approach them in a spirit of tolerance and sympathy. If the Arya-Samajists follow any other policy they will not only miss an opportunity of their lifetime but will also be responsible for reproducing an ugly picture of India in Greater India—a crime for which the posterity will never excuse them.

Mr. M. Panday for the City Council

The *Daily Chronicle* of Georgetown, British Guiana, contains the following news in its issue of 13th January 1930.

Georgetown, January 8.

The distinction has fallen upon Mr. M. Panday, well-known merchant of Water Street, a former president, and now member of the executive committee of the B. G. East Indian Association, to be the first member of his race to occupy a seat on the Georgetown Town Council.

Mr. Panday has been nominated to fill the seat rendered vacant by the recent resignation of Mr. J. E. Strickland (Government nominee), and it is expected that he will take his oath of office at the next statutory meeting of the Council, to be held on Monday next.

We congratulate Mr. Panday for the opportunity of service that has been given to him and we hope for the time when our compatriots will enter the town council not by the back door of nomination but by the vote of the common people.

A Fundamental issue

The following news has been published in the *Daily Chronicle*:

INDIA'S "INDEPENDENCE"
TRINIDAD INDIANS FOR INDEPENDENCE
Port-of-Spain, Jan. 1.

A large gathering of Indians resident in Trinidad met at 12 Charlotte Street yesterday under the Chairmanship of Mr. Timothy Roodal, M. L. C., to pledge their support to leaders of the All-India National Congress in the move for National Independence.

It raises a fundamental issue:

"Should our compatriots abroad support the movement of Independence in India or should they keep themselves absolutely indifferent towards it?"

In April 1929 I contributed an article to *Kenya Daily Mail* of Mombasa and discussed this question at length. I will reproduce here what I wrote at that time:—

INDIANS OVERSEAS AND HOME POLITICS

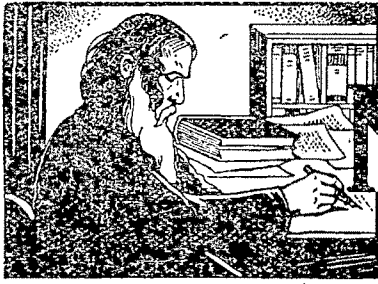
Our countrymen abroad have always helped the cause of freedom at home and the Motherland expects them to do the same again. How can we forget the magnificent donation of Kaka Rustumjee of South Africa for National education during the days of the non-co-operation movement? And the help that the Sikhs of Canada gave to the Akali movement cannot be too highly praised. Not less than a lakh of rupees were subscribed by overseas Indians to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Now that Gandhiji is determined to sacrifice his all during the coming struggle, our countrymen abroad should help him as much as possible. The time may soon come when he will appeal to them and then it will be the duty of every one of our Colonial friends to help him, for, who has done more work and made greater sacrifices for Greater India than Gandhi? In fact, Mahatma is the creator of Greater India. But this help should be restricted to and earmarked for certain items. There are several works which deserve the patronage of Indians overseas e.g., Khadi-Prachar, national education and removal of untouchability.

This brings us to the question whether it is advisable for Indians overseas to take part in party politics in India. In my humble opinion it is not advisable under the present circumstances. That is why I have named the movements which ought to be helped by Indians overseas. Indians abroad are situated under very difficult circumstances and they have to approach the Government of India again and again for the redress of their grievances. Now if Indians overseas were to help the movement of mass civil disobedience, for example, they cannot approach the Government of India for any help. Moreover, party politics in India are passing through a critical stage and it will be a mistake for us—Indians overseas—to ally ourselves with any particular political party.

I still hold these views and will request our people overseas to give them serious consideration. I may be wrong but it will be cowardly on my part not to publish my views at this crisis.

To Our Colonial Correspondents

I shall be obliged if our colonial readers will send us names and addresses of those English and Hindi-knowing gentlemen in different parts of the world who are interested in the problems of Greater India. I shall send them my overseas bulletins if they give me one shilling for necessary postage for the whole year.



NOTES

Further Raising of Dominion Status Recommended

How autonomous the Dominions in the British Empire are, has been described in our last issue, page 235. The "Report of the Conference on the Operation of Dominion Legislation and Merchant Shipping Legislation, 1929" shows that this Conference has made recommendations which, if accepted by the next Imperial Conference, will further raise the status of the Dominions and increase their powers and rights. This is good news. It reached India some days ago in the form of a brief message cabled by Reuter.

India's Interest in the Above News

The receipt of the above message has caused a certain amount of crowing in certain political camps in India, which amounts to telling the Independentists, "See what Dominion status means! Is your Independence, which you cannot possibly gain, superior to Dominion status in any substantial respect?"

We have no desire to disturb this mood of triumph and rejoicing, *altruistic* though it be. But being Indians ourselves also, we must try to understand what all this means to India.

If some famished or half-starved weaklings are told that some other persons have been enjoying substantial and dainty fare and are very strong and that they (the former) would fare as well and be equally strong at some far off indefinite future time—when they would most probably all be dead!—We do not think such a vague assurance—particularly if it came from parties not famous for keeping their promises—ought to cause any rejoicing among the aforesaid weaklings.

If additional information reaches the weaklings that more nourishing, invigorating and dainty fare has been recommended for

the aforesaid well-fed and strong persons, and if the promised future good luck of the weaklings remains as indefinite and remote as ever, should the tidings make the latter crow?

The answer is obvious.

Dominion status may be good for those who have it. The further raising of their status may be still better. And lovers of liberty, even if they be not themselves free, should be glad that the bounds of freedom are becoming wider in some regions of the earth. But it should not be forgotten by any Indians that the pleasure, if felt by those in bondage, is altruistic, and that the good luck of those who were already free does not mean the same good fortune to subject peoples.

The recommendations may also be taken to illustrate the saying that to those who have more shall be added, but from those who have not, even what they have shall be taken away. For, the free Dominions are recommended to be made freer, but for Indians greater and still greater repression is being provided, showing that what little practical freedom they had been enjoying is being taken away.

Nor is this the whole amount of India's loss, actual and threatened. We shall take some recommendations of this Conference to illustrate their

Menace to Indian Coastal Traffic Reservation

It is understood by all that, if Mr. Haji's Coastal Reservation Bill were passed by the Indian Legislature, effect would have to be given to its provisions, unless the Governor-General withheld his assent to it, which would be awkward for him to do. But if the Bill became law, the usurping monopolistic coastal traffic in Indian waters of British shipowners would be gone. This Conference, therefore, may be taken as their

guardian angel to secure continuance to them of their enormous profits, and to save the Viceroy from an awkward position. Some of the Conference recommendations on merchant shipping legislation are as follows :

100. (b) Under the new position, each part of the Commonwealth will have full power to deal with its own coasting trade. *We recommend that the Governments of the several parts of the Commonwealth might agree, for a limited number of years, to continue the present position, under which ships of any part of the Commonwealth are free to engage in the coasting trade of any other part.* (The italics are ours.—Ed., M. R.)

Should the "limited number of years" soon become really limited, that might be a disaster to British owners of coastal ships in India. So the Conference further suggests that

an agreement might be made between the several parts of the Commonwealth for a limited term of years, *containing a provision that the principles would not be departed from after the expiration of the agreed term without previous notification to the other members of the Commonwealth and consideration of their views.* (Italics ours.—Ed., M. R.)

As regards India, it is said on page 40 of the Report :

124. Subject to certain special provisions of the Merchant Shipping Acts, the legislative powers of the Indian Legislature are governed by the Government of India Act, and general statements regarding the position of the Dominions in matters of merchant shipping and Admiralty Court, legislation may therefore not be entirely applicable in the case of India. At the same time, as the position of India in these matters has always been to all intents and purposes identical with that of the Dominions, it is not anticipated that there would be any serious difficulty in applying the principles of our recommendations to India, and we suggest that the question of the proper method of so doing should be considered by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of India.

Principle of Haji Bill Accepted by the Conference, But—

It will be seen that in theory the Conference has accepted the principle underlying the Haji Bill by stating that "each part of the Commonwealth will have full power to deal with its own coastal trade." But this acceptance has been sought to be made futile by the recommendation that for a "limited number of years" the present position should continue. Now, so far as the Dominions are concerned, their present position is not disadvantageous to them, because each of

them already has a mercantile marine or legal or other means to build up one. It is only India, in her present position which has practically no mercantile marine, and if the present position, so far as the law is concerned, is continued in India, we cannot have one.

Thus the Conference practically takes away with one hand what it gives with the other.

Support in Bengal to the Haji Bill

A huge public meeting, held at Albert Hall, Mr. Nirmal Chandra Chunder presiding, reiterated Bengal's strong support to the principles underlying Mr. Haji's Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill.

Speeches were made by Sir P. C. Ray, Sir Nilratan Sarkar, Messrs. Naliniranjan Sarkar, Hemendraprasad Ghose and Santoshkumar Bose.

The meeting carried, by an overwhelming majority, the resolution : "In view of the necessity of the development of an Indian mercantile marine in the interests of the country and in view of the fact that reservation of the coastal trade of the country is a recognized and legitimate method of building up a national marine this meeting of the citizens of Calcutta strongly supports Mr. Haji's bill."

Moving the resolution, Sir P. C. Ray said he was both a victim and sufferer from the discriminatory tactics of Lord Inchcape and his kinsmen. Being connected with the Inland Steam Navigation Company, Bengal, for the last 22 years, he knew what disgraceful rate-cutting was resorted to by the foreign shipping magnates. Sir P. C. Ray ascribed the failure of the Delhi Conference, convened by Viceroy, to the backstairs influence of foreign vested interests and observed : "The apparition of Lord Inchcape must have haunted Lord Irwin and he must have been shaking like an aspen leaf."

Concluding, Sir P. C. Ray said that the best interests of the country demanded the passage of Mr. Haji's bill and they should issue a mandate to the representatives in the Assembly to support the bill.

There had been a smaller and less representative meeting held previously to oppose the Bill at which some specious arguments were used.

Woman Suffrage in Bengal

In the Legislative Council of Bengal a resolution recommending the removal of sex disqualification for the purposes of election to it was turned down the other day by 34 votes against 28. This defeat of the advocates of woman's rights was due to the Mahomedan members and a number of European members voting against the resolution. The Government remained nominally

neutral. But as Mr. Moberly laid stress on "practical difficulties" in the way of enfranchising the women of Bengal, that must have served as a hint to many members. It is to be regretted that Bengal lags behind most provinces in this matter.

Powerlessness of Bengal Ministers

Kumar Shibsekharewar Roy, a Bengal minister, is reported to have said in a circular letter, meant to be confidential but somehow published in the papers,

I confess that during the short period that I have been in office I have not been able to show you anything very particular to claim your support. In fact, considering the present financial condition of Government I do not hope for any great achievement at any time."

This is an honest confession. The financial condition of Bengal has been brought about by legalized plunder of revenues raised in the province. We have held all along that, so long as the Bengal Government is kept poor, no man should become a minister here. Anybody who is asked by the Governor to become a minister should reply: "First show that you are in a position to give me sufficient money for my department according to the standard of Bombay and Madras, and then I can consider the offer." But, of course, those who want the salary of the minister and the so-called honour attached to the office, cannot possibly give such a reply.

What the Viceroy Intended by His Declaration

In the course of his address to the Legislative Assembly on January 25, on the subject of his declaration of October 31, 1929, the Viceroy observed:

"I have never sought to delude Indian opinion into the belief that a definition of the purpose, however plainly stated, would of itself, by the enunciation of a phrase, provide a solution for the problems which have to be solved before that purpose is realized. The assertion of the goal, however precise its terms, is of necessity a thing apart from that goal's attainment."

His Excellency claims by implication that "the purpose" was sufficiently "plainly stated" in the declaration. We hold a contrary opinion. We think that the purpose was clearly stated by him in his Lucknow Durbar address of the 7th February last in the following words, not before that date:

"Great Britain can never have any other purpose for India than to bring her to a place of equal partnership with the other self-governing Dominions. *As a step towards the achievement of this purpose*, His Majesty's Government, on whom along with Parliament the ultimate responsibility rests, have solicited the counsel of representatives drawn from the several sides of life and thought in India, that desire and deserve to have the opportunity of responding to His Majesty's Government's invitation." (Italics ours, Ed., M. R.)

In the Viceroy's declaration it was nowhere stated that the Round Table Conference was meant for taking a step in "the progressive realization" of Dominion status. We do not say that this omission was deliberate and intended "to delude Indian opinion." We are not concerned with Lord Irwin's intention but with how his declaration was understood in India and abroad. We have been, not excessively happily, convinced by the results of two trials in two law-courts that the Law also in India is concerned not with the declared intention of a speaker, writer or publisher but with what others understand that intention to have been.

Now, in India leaders of different political parties combined to issue a manifesto after Lord Irwin's declaration had been made public. India's foremost leaders were among them. They were all intelligent and educated men. Some were or had been distinguished lawyers. Some were conversant with affairs of State. They were unanimous in saying: "We understood that the conference is to meet, not to discuss when Dominion status shall be established, but to frame a scheme of Dominion constitution for India. We hope we are not mistaken in thus interpreting the import and the implications of this weighty pronouncement."

This is how those who wanted Dominion status understood the declaration.

Let us now see how the opponents of Dominion status for India understood it.

On the 9th November last *The New Statesman*, a well-known British weekly, published an editorial, headed "Lord Irwin's Blunder." Therein the editor observes:

The position of Lord Irwin is clear enough. He wished to be able to make a declaration which would avert the danger of that campaign of "civil disobedience" which was threatened for New Year's Day. Probably he has averted it, but at what cost? At the cost apparently of destroying the last scrap of confidence which remains in India in the integrity and good faith

of the British *raj*. Lord Irwin seems to be a believer in the doctrine of "Peace in our time, O Lord and after me the deluge." *In all the circumstances of the case his official declaration in favour of "Dominion status" could only be taken in India to mean that that status was to be granted in the immediate future. That it did not mean that has been made perfectly clear by Lord Parmoor, but Lord Irwin must have known that it would be taken in that way in India and must have intended that it should be.* (Italics and thick type ours. Ed., M. R.)

Not only Lord Parmoor, but Lord Irwin himself has subsequently at the Lucknow Durbar made it perfectly clear that his declaration did not mean that Dominion status was to be granted in the immediate future.

Evidently the editor of *The New Statesman* does not feel bound to give his countryman Lord Irwin a certificate for sincerity, as some of our countrymen do. After describing why, in his opinion, Dominion status "is simply not possible, either now, or probably a hundred years hence," the editor adds :

"Dominion status" is therefore an intrinsically nonsensical term as applied to India. *It can only be so applied with a conscious or semi-conscious intention to deceive.* (Italics ours. Ed., M. R.)

"India and its Freedom"

Writing on the above topic, *The Nation* (New York, January 1, 1930) observes :

To our minds no compromise is possible. It is the Indian people who must have the final say and no one else. From the day of its foundation this journal has been firmly committed to the doctrine that no amount of good government inflicted upon a people by officials from another country can take the place of self-government, however bad. This may be, as some say, carrying theory to indefensible ends. We can, however, no more yield our position than could the American Abolitionists who were told that if they persisted in their mad demands for freedom for the Negroes the United States would become nothing but a shambles.

So we are for having the people of India achieve freedom by the peaceful means of Gandhi. Any other course will obscure the issue, rouse the bitterest and vilest human passions, and give to the imperialists of Great Britain the very excuse they seek to renew what Cobden himself characterized as the English "game of fraud, violence, and injustice in Asia." But however the issue may come out in the immediate future the fact is, in our judgment, that the day of white supremacy in backward and undeveloped countries is drawing to a close, if only because of the lessons of hypocrisy and deceit and wholesale murder which the superior races taught to their inferiors from 1914 to 1918.

Mr. C. F. Andrews on India's Right to Freedom

Mr. C. F. Andrews has contributed to the same number of the same American weekly an article, entitled "What next in India" in which occur the following paragraphs :

If then the question be asked: "Would you be ready to intrust India during this coming year with full responsible government, both provincial and central?" I would answer, "Yes." If I were further asked concerning any safeguards to the minorities and to the depressed classes that might be needed, the reply would be that there would necessarily go along with the new constitution a declaration of rights, these rights to be so framed as to comprise a statutory law which no Parliament could overrule or annul.

Lastly, if the problem of military and naval defences were raised, I would point out that India is already an original member of the League of Nations and a signatory of the Paris Pact and also of the World Court. Her record is one of peace with her neighbours, not of war. Also it should be pointed out that not a single dominion within the British Commonwealth of Nations has a full self-supporting armament as yet, either by land or sea. If officers from England were still needed to carry over the Indian Army intact into the new constitution, they would surely be willing to continue their service for that purpose as long as they were needed. Important details of gradual transference of responsibility could be agreed on, with the necessary accommodations, when once the main issue of full self-government was decided.

Earl Russell's "Famous" Speech Practically Supported

The reader knows that Earl Russell, the new Under-Secretary for India, speaking at a Labour meeting at Cambridge, referred to Indian affairs, and said :

"No one knows better than the Indians that the brave words demanding complete independence are very foolish words." Dominion status, he said, was not possible at this moment, and would not be for a long time."

This is from the brief report of his speech which appeared first. Subsequently a full report appeared in the *Evening Standard*. Writing on the subject to the *Manchester Guardian*, as reproduced in *New India*, Major Graham Pole, M. P., observes :

The *verbatim* report of the speech of Earl Russell, the Under-Secretary of State for India, does little to clear away the disastrous impression caused in India by the summarized report of his speech first published.

In the *verbatim* report of his speech Lord Russell says that "resolutions have been passed demanding the complete Independence of India." These were "brave words," he said, but they were "very foolish words," and "nobody knew better

than the Indians themselves that complete Independence at the moment is impossible." But he then went on to say that between Dominion status and complete Independence there is not much difference, and he urges Indians to go along the road of the Reforms "until they have become really capable of Self-government." He continued that a child must learn to walk before it can run, and without in the least disparaging our subjects in the Indian Empire I say they have not yet learned to walk and it will be some time before they can run." [They learned to walk when Britain was a country of savages.—Ed., N. J.]

While Earl Russell's words have not been contradicted by any member of the British Government in Britain or in India, they have been practically supported by the Viceroy, Lord Irwin in his address to the Legislative Assembly, from which we again reproduce the following passage for convenience of reference :

"I have never sought to delude Indian opinion in the belief that a definition of the purpose, however plainly stated, would of itself, by the enunciation of a phrase, provide a solution for the problems which have to be solved before that purpose is fully realized. The assertion of the goal, however precise its terms, is of necessity a thing apart from that goal's attainment. No sensible traveller would feel that a clear definition of his destination was the same thing as the completion of his journey, but it is an assurance of direction and in this case I believe it to be something of tangible value to India that those who demand full equality with the other self-governing units of the British Commonwealth should know that Great Britain on her side also desires to lend her assistance to India in the attainment to that position.

"With the unity of purpose thus assured they could approach the question of its complete attainment with a feeling of confidence that on the main purpose they do not differ

"The existence of those difficulties cannot be seriously disputed, and the whole object of the conference now proposed is to afford an opportunity to His Majesty's Government of examining in free consultation with Indian leaders how they may best and most rapidly and most surely be surmounted.

"The conference, which His Majesty's Government will convene, is not indeed the conference that those have demanded and who claimed that its duty should be to proceed by way of a majority vote to the fashioning of the Indian Constitution which should thereafter be accepted unchanged by Parliament. It is evident that any such procedure would be impracticable and impossible of reconciliation with the constitutional responsibility that must rest on His Majesty's Government and upon Parliament."

It seems to us, therefore, that Lord Russell was not indiscreet or thoughtless, but only carefully careless.

Sir Basil Blackett on *Karma* and Caste

In the course of his address before the Indian section of the Royal Society of

Arts, Sir Basil Blackett observed that "the explanation of [the extreme poverty of the masses (of India)...is to be found in the Hindu social system, in the doctrine of *Karma*, in the absence of active effort for material progress, in the presence of the active determination of Brahmanism to maintain and perpetuate the age-old social outlook enshrined in the caste system."

These words are meant indirectly to prove that British rule and exploitation have—nothing to do with India's poverty. In spite of the fact that it is sedition to "show to what extent India's poverty is due to these factors, Indian speakers and writers have proved their case. But let us examine Sir Basil's explanation.

Religious beliefs and social polity undoubtedly have something to do with the progressiveness or backwardness of nations. But, other facts ought not to be ignored. America, Germany and Britain—all profess Christianity. But America and Germany are beating Britain in industries. Spain, Portugal, the Balkans and Abyssinia also profess Christianity; but they are not as go-ahead as many other Christian countries, though all of them are disbelievers in caste, Brahminism and *Karma*. We are not apologists for caste or fatalism. But one must explain why the Gujarati Hindus—particularly the Bhatias—and the Sindhi Hindus are very enterprising, while the Bengali Hindus are not, though all believe in caste and *Karma*. Indian Christians do not believe in caste and *Karma* and are not Brahmin-ridden. But they are not more enterprising than the Hindus. Indian Mussalmans do not believe in caste, but are not more prosperous than the Hindus.

Belief in *Karma* is not synonymous with fatalism. One may be a fatalist without believing in *Karma*, and may be very active in spite of faith in *Karma*. In its essence it means that one must bear the consequences of one's bad actions and reap the advantages of one's good deeds; or, as Jesus taught, "as you sow, so shall you reap." There is no religion or philosophy worth the name which says the contrary—says that what one is or does has nothing to do with what he may afterwards become or accomplish. The doctrine of *Karma* lays down a perfectly logical and sound rule of conduct.

The law of *Karma* is the basis of the Buddha's creed. But he led a very active life, which was a long one. The Buddhist

age of India was remarkable for its missionary, cultural and colonizing enterprise in the greater part of Asia (including Japan and the Philippines) and the Indian Archipelago. Buddhism with its belief in *Karma*, is one of the principal religions of Japan. "The debt Japan owes to Buddhism, especially in early days, in the development of her civilization must be said to be incalculable." (*Japan Year Book*). Yet Japan is progressive and is beating Lancashire even in Britain.

Sir Basil Blackett and men of that kidney always manage to forget that caste is losing its hold on Hindus and that many of those who have been and are most active and determined in destroying the rigidity of caste and the hold of priests on the Hindu community are themselves Brahmins. Apologists for British rule will not succeed in making the world believe that it has done its duty in India and has done nothing to make and keep India poor and illiterate.

Compulsory Education for Girls in Allahabad

The Allahabad Municipal Board is to be congratulated on having unanimously passed a resolution to introduce compulsory education for girls in a part of Allahabad city. For this progressive step great credit is due to Babu Sangamlal Agarwala, who moved the resolution. He it was that started the idea and has all along taken great interest in the subject and in women's education generally. He may be called the father of the Mahila Vidyapith at Allahabad, which is a kind of women's university. The *Leader* rightly observes in this connection that "the Allahabad Municipal Board is the first in northern India and one of the fewest in all India, of local bodies to take this forward step in the direction of progress, and this greatly redounds to its credit." It is to be hoped that other municipalities in India will emulate its example.

Bengal Irrigation Problems

The inaugural address on the "Ancient System of Irrigation in Bengal and its Application to Modern Problems" which Sir William Willcocks has delivered as a Reader of the Calcutta University is a very important one. According to this great authority :

"That the system of overflow irrigation of the ancient Bengal rulers is the only one adapted to Bengal and to all countries similarly conditioned is amply borne out by what has happened in the last 70 years."

In his opinion, the system of "overflow irrigation, evolved by the rulers of ancient Bengal some 3,000 years ago, could be re-introduced in the Ganges and Damodar deltas." Continuing he said :

The delta of the Ganges is not rainless like Egypt, nor is it a dry thirsty land like Babylonia. It enjoys a rainfall of from 50 to 60 inches just when all the rivers are in flood; and it was to make full use of the rich waters of the Ganges and Damodar floods and the abundant but poor water of the monsoon rainfall that some early Bengal king thought out and put in practice the system of "overflow irrigation" of the Ganges and Damodar deltas which insured health and wealth to Bengal for very many hundreds of years. This system is as perfectly suited to meet the special needs of Bengal as "basin irrigation" suits those of Egypt or "perennial irrigation" meets those of Babylonia.

The overflow canals of Bengal fall behind the great irrigation works of other countries in no particular whatever.

We may be quite sure that the ancient irrigators of Bengal did not hit upon it at once, but adopted it after trials and experiments lasting over many years, and we may rest assured, after seeing the results of seventy years of abandonment of it, that there is nothing before the country but to return to it.

Mr. Kirby Page on the Indian Situation

Mr. Kirby Page, editor of *The World To-morrow* and author of *Jesus or Christianity*, who recently toured through India, has contributed to *Unity*, Chicago, an article on "Gandhi, Nehru, and Revolting India," which was written at Sabarmati. The following paragraph in it may be taken as a convincing reply to those who want that all Indians and all sections of them must make a unanimous demand before it can be listened to :

It is easy to sneer at the Indian National Congress, as is the fashion in Anglo-Saxon circles out here, and say that it represents a mere handful of India's three hundred millions and that the masses are utterly indifferent to politics. It is beside the point to say that the revolt against British rule is confined to an infinitesimal minority. When in human history did the populace at large ever support a revolutionary movement until it had already achieved success? Slavery and serfdom were not abolished by collective action on the part of slaves and serfs. The group of Indians who are determined to win freedom for their nation is already sufficiently large and vocal to make life simply intolerable for British

rulers if responsible self-government is not granted at an early date.

Mr. Page supports non-violent methods and gives reasons for his opinion.

India obviously cannot gain freedom by war. But other methods are available. The non-violent non-co-operation movement led by Gandhi in 1920 and 1921 came very nearly succeeding, as British officials have since admitted. In desperation the Mahatma may again summon his people to a programme of non-co-operation. More than 30,000 Indians gladly went to prison during the former campaign and an even greater number may again crowd the jails of the land. If another General Dyer, under the sway of the military mindset that law and order must be maintained at any cost, should again shoot down in cold blood hundreds of Indians as was done at Amritsar, the situation might easily get out of hand all over the country. After all, there are only 165,000 Britishers in the whole of India. An inflamed and infuriated nation of 320 millions cannot permanently be ruled by British bayonets.

"Student Life in Munich"

We have received a copy of an advisory guide book with the above title. It is illustrated and popularly written and gives one an adequate idea of Munich and its educational facilities and the cost of living, etc., there. What is true of Munich must be true to a considerable extent of other university towns in Germany. Those of our students who want to go to Munich or any other German University for post-graduate studies will do well to get a copy of it from the Managing Director of Deutsche Akademie Auslandsstelle, Munich, and read it.

Cause of Growth of Madras Non-Brahmin Party

According to the *Searchlight* of Patna, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani related the following anecdote in the course of a lecture at Vizagapatam :

The speaker happened to be in England in 1919 at the time of the deliberations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee when Lord Sinha was cross-examining Sir Alexander Cardew of the Madras Government. Lord Sinha asked him what was the cause of the growth of the Non-Brahmin party in Madras, whereon the ex-Member of the Madras Government stated that it was due to the down-trodden condition of the non-Brahmins brought about by the Brahmins in Madras. Lord Sinha then asked whether the Government was in any way responsible for the growth of the movement, whereon Sir Cardew answered in the emphatic negative. Lord Sinha then read a passage from

the Blue Books in his hand where it was said that the Government encouraged the Non-Brahmin movement headed by Sir P. Thyagaraya Chetti and Dr. Nair as an antidote to the influence of the politically minded Brahmins and asked Sir Alexander whether he subscribed to that opinion and whether he ever expressed such an opinion when he was in the Madras Government. An equally emphatic "No" was the answer. Lord Sinha then showed him the despatch from the Government of Madras bearing Sir Alexander's own signature and asked him whether the signature was not his. Sir Cardew had to admit that the signature was his, and, when asked what he had to say, he said he had no more to say, whereon Lord Sinha said he had no more questions to put either.

Sir Malcolm Hailey on Civil Disobedience

On the 19th February last, speaking in the United Provinces Council, Sir Malcolm Hailey, Governor of that province, said with reference to civil disobedience : "When we are promised civil disobedience we remember Chauri Chaura..." But why he did not remember the civil disobedience movements in South Africa, Champaran, Kheda, Bardoli, Bandabilla, etc., in all of which the Indian passive resisters were strictly non-violent, can be easily explained. It does not suit the purpose of Anglo-Indians. Nor does it suit their purpose to remember that during the palmiest days of non-co-operation, owing to Mahatma Gandhi's teaching of *ahimsa*, violent political crimes had almost disappeared from the country.

While saying that "it was out of place to utter threats of repression," Sir Malcolm nevertheless uttered the threat that

If the extreme wing started Civil Disobedience the Government would use every legal means to defeat it and in the event of legal resources proving insufficient the Government hoped that it would receive the support of the public and the Council in securing such fresh legal provision as was required. The Government could not stand aloof if a small section did actually attempt to gain sovereignty for itself by shattering the existing social order.

That is quite clear to those who are preparing themselves for the non-violent struggle for freedom, and they are quite ready to suffer for the cause. "In the event of legal resources proving insufficient," the Government need not ask the Council for "fresh legal provision." Many executive officers have been known in the past to have had recourse to non-legal, if not illegal, resources to repress political activity.

The Bengal Budget

So long as Bengal continues to be deprived of the greater part of the revenues collected in the province, its budget can never be satisfactory. Governor after Governor has pointed out that the arrangement which gives rise to this state of things is unjust and unsatisfactory. But not one of them has resigned in consequence, though that is the only practical way to protest against it.

It is waste of time and energy and space to examine the Bengal budget in detail.

Dr. Gokul Chand at Anti-Caste Conference

Dr. Gokul Chand Narang, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Jat-Pat-Torak Conference, held at Lahore, observed that caste was the greatest curse of the Hindu community. To illustrate the absurd lengths to which caste superstitions can go he quoted the following from a writer on the subject :

"In Cuttack, the most southerly district of Bengal there is, as pointed out by the same author, no intercourse between potters who turn their wheels sitting and make small pots, and then who stand up to manufacture large pots. A certain class of dairymen who make butter from unboiled milk have been excluded from the caste and cannot marry the daughters of milkmen who follow the more orthodox principles. In certain parts of India fisherfolk who knit the meshes of their nets from right to left cannot intermarry with those who knit left to right."

He told the following story from Maratha history as an example of what caste had to do with the defeat of the Hindus in battle by foreigners :

Even in the palmiest days of Hindu renaissance under the glorious Mahratta empire, Caste did not cease to have its baneful effects and ultimately proved, *inter alia*, a potent factor in the disruption of the Mahratta confederacy. During the third battle of Panipat, the Mahrattas had assembled in all their strength and glory on one side and Ahmad Shah Abdali lay encamped on the other with a comparatively small army. He had been feeling depressed and nervous over the superior numbers of the Mahrattas. One evening he went out reconnoitring with his generals and while looking at the Mahratta camp he saw innumerable lights shining like stars, and enquired what these lights represented. He was told that the Mahrattas were cooking their meals. "But surely," said the king, "they cannot have such an infinite number of messes." He was told that the Mahrattas had so many castes and each caste had its own mess and almost each soldier cooked his own food separately ! "Is that so ?" said Abdali, "then I am

not afraid of the Mahrattas." The result is known to the world.

Sir Pheroze Sethna at the Liberal Federation

When Sir Pheroze Sethna delivered his able presidential address to the National Liberal Federation in Madras in December last, the Congress had not passed its independence resolution. Therefore, he was quite accurate in saying, "We are all agreed as regards our political goal," so far of course as the majority of political parties in India were concerned. He added :

It is to us a matter of the sincerest satisfaction that the British Government have made it absolutely clear that that goal is no other than and nothing short of Dominion status. Dominion status will give us every scope for rising to the fullest height of our national stature. As regards this goal there is perfect agreement not only among all Indians except those who want independence, but also between them and the British.

The British Government's promise, not being definite as to time, is not much of a promise, and so it is useless to speculate as to what scope it will give us. Sir Pheroze was not accurate when he said that the British were agreed as to India's goal. Did he not read the British die-hard and Liberal outbursts against Lord Irwin's declaration of October 31, 1929, before inditing his address?

Professor Ruchi Ram Sahni at the Social Conference

As Chairman of the Reception Committee of the 42nd Indian National Social Conference, held at Lahore in December last, Professor Ruchi Ram Sahni delivered an important address. In the course of it he said :

We have definitely decided to extend the scope of the Conference by including in our programme such subjects as child-welfare, domestic hygiene, mother craft, public health and sanitation, factory labour and the social problems connected with it, and generally questions like co-operation, cottage industries and primary education which affect the social well-being of the masses and which are included in the comprehensive phrase "rural reconstruction."

The All-India organization for social reform for which he pleaded is also an accomplished fact. We hope it will give a good account of itself.

Social Conference—Presidential Address

Mr. Har Bilas Sarda's presidential address at this Conference was thoughtful and inspiring. He held the correct view that social and political advancement should go hand in hand.

Life forces are not static; they keep ever changing. A social system, to be a living and growing organism, must adjust itself to the needs of the times. "A readiness to revise the valuation of facts and standard of life, whenever necessary or called for, is essential to the continuance of social life.

To India's women his exhortation was:

Let the sons and daughters you rear be such as would uphold the honour of the country and restore to our motherland her past grandeur and glory.

To our men:

Cultivate the spirit of self-denial of the Brahmin of old, become as fearless and as devoted to duty as the Rajput of medieval times.

Shanno Devi Collects One Lakh

Shrimati Shanno Devi, Head Mistress of the Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Jullundur, had taken a vow that she would not return to her school before collecting a hundred thousand rupees for it. She toured in India in pursuance of her vow and collected varying amounts from the different provinces. But as the total (Rs. 65,000) did not come up to one lakh, she crossed over to Africa. The balance she secured in Tanganyika alone. We had seen her more than once before, and it gave us great pleasure to meet her again in Lahore in December last. Her self-sacrifice, devotion, courage, perseverance and endurance cannot be too highly praised. She is the pride of the Punjab—nay, of the whole of India. Other Indian women who want to devote themselves to and promote some good cause would do well to follow her example. The New Delhi correspondent of *The Tribune*, having met her at the metropolis, wrote to that paper some time ago:

Giving the remarkable experiences of her tour she says that Europeans in East Africa were so ill-informed about India's civilization and progress that they were surprised to find her so free and travelling all by herself and holding such advanced views. This indeed enlisted the sympathy of some of the Europeans and they not only gave her donations but also helped to get them from others.

She found the Indians in East Africa burning with the desire for Swaraj for India which they believe would give them real strength. She found



Shrimati Shanno Devi

Indians in Tanganyika very generous with their purse and very anxious for the advancement of education of women, so she started schools and also inaugurated a movement for the removal of purda among women. She also advised them to see to it that the native interests were not subordinated to those of the others.

She says Hindu-Muslim friendship in East Africa should be taken as an example to be followed by the two communities in India.

She hopes soon to return to the other parts of East Africa and also proposes to visit South Africa, as she feels that our countrymen in those colonies need assistance of pioneer educational workers especially for the uplift of women.

Sir P. C. Ray on Swadeshi

"If I had Swaraj to-day," said Sir P. C. Ray in the course of his opening address on the Gospel of Swadeshi at the Congress Exhibition on December 22 last, "I would by anti-dumping and anti-luxury laws stop all the imports which are involving us in ruins."

There were many other arresting passages in his address. For instance:

When the great Benjamin Franklin was questioned as to the non-importation of British goods by the Americans, and asked whether they would not soon get tired of it, he said that he knew his countrymen; that they had materials and industry to work them up and they would never purchase British manufactures as before. His examination was closed with the two following questions and answers: "What used to be the pride of the American?" He answered: "To indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain." "What is now their pride?" Answer: "To wear

their old clothes over again till they can make new ones."

Akshay Kumar Maitra

By the death of Akshay Kumar Maitra Bengal loses one of her leading historical and antiquarian writers. He was the first among them to question the truth of many of the accusations heaped by British writers on Siraj-ud-daula. All his conclusions may not be accepted, but it must be admitted that he has proved the falsity of some of the charges. His work on Siraj-ud-daula is remarkable for brilliance and elegance of style. He wrote much on other historical subjects also. He contributed several articles to this Review on the "Stones of Varendra." He wrote on other topics of archæological interest also, particularly some relating to Bengali cultural and other achievements at home and abroad. He worked hard in connection with the editing of *Gauda-Rajamala* and *Gauda-Lekhamala*. He will be long remembered with gratitude in connection with the foundation and carrying on of the work of the Varendra Research Society, which has so much excellent work to its credit. Latterly, for years, he had been in indifferent health and could not, therefore, actively pursue his favourite studies and researches. But educated Bengalis of even the younger generation feel grateful to him for the work of his earlier years which did so much to revive national self-respect in Bengal.

The Indian Olympic Association

The *Tribune's* special correspondent has furnished that paper with particulars of the meeting of the Council of the Indian Olympic Association, held at Allahabad on the 6th, 7th and 8th February on the occasion of the All-India Olympic trials.

PLAYING FIELDS FOR ALL

The Council considered the question of 'playing fields for all' and very strongly recommended to all the provincial associations to make surveys of the requirements and facilities for playing fields in all census towns. The council felt that such surveys were absolutely essential but could not be carried out without Government help. The provincial associations were, therefore, asked to approach their respective Governments for help in this matter.

All villages also should have playing fields for all. But they are more easily available there than in towns. Separate playing fields

should be provided everywhere for girls and women.

STADIUM

The Council also considered the question of the stadiums and resolved that while it was desirable to have a stadium in every province, the Government of India should be approached to erect a model stadium at Delhi where inter-provincial and Far Eastern championships could be held.

There should be a model stadium in every provincial capital, and stadia in all other towns.

ATHELETICS FOR WOMEN

The Council was strongly in favour of encouraging athletics for women and called upon every provincial association to take steps to organize them in a suitable manner.

Part of the scheme should be to provide all girls' schools and colleges with playgrounds.

INCLUSION OF OTHER GAMES

The Council was of the opinion that the scope of the bi-annual Indian Olympic games be enlarged to include any other game or sport for which four provinces were willing to enter teams.

Indian games, such as *ha-du-du-du* in Bengal, should be included.

SWIMMING CHAMPIONSHIP

The Council decided to hold a Swimming Championship every odd year from 1931 onwards in the month of May.

An Incorrect Viceregal Statement

At a state banquet given by the Nawab of Malerkotla Lord Irwin said:

"Your Highness is at one with your brother princes and the preponderance of the people of India in giving voice to your approval of the Conference which is before long to take place in London."

All persons in India who have eyes and ears and use them—particularly those of them who are literate—know that, of all representative political bodies, the Congress has by far the largest following. And this body has declared itself against taking part in the Round Table Conference. The demonstrations held all over the country on January 26 in celebration of "Independence Day," in pursuance of the Congress mandate, show the influence of that body. If in spite of such facts, Lord Irwin thinks that the majority of politically-minded Indians are in favour of the Round Table Conference, his opinion cannot but be taken as a fresh illustration of the saying "None are so blind as those who will not

see, none so deaf as those who will not hear."

Failure of British Mandate in Palestine

The Times (London) in its issue of December 20th, 1929, publishes the following interesting letter in its editorial page.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—As members of the War Cabinet which was responsible for the Balfour Declaration 12 years ago and for the policy of the National Home for the Jewish people which it foreshadowed, we view with deep anxiety the present situation in Palestine. On the events of last August, which are now the subject of inquiry by a special Commission, we forbear to comment. But it seems clear that, whatever the finding of that Commission may be on the responsibility for the August outbreak, *the work to which Britain set her hand at the close of the War is not proceeding satisfactorily.*

The Balfour Declaration pledged us to a policy; the Palestine Mandate entrusted us with vital administrative duties; but causes which are still obscure have impeded the task of administration, and consequently the full carrying out of policy.

In these circumstances we would urge on the Government the appointment of an authoritative Commission to investigate the whole working of the Mandate. The Commission at present in Palestine was appointed with limited terms of reference to inquire into specific matters. This Commission, in our view, must, as soon as it has reported, be supplemented by a searching inquiry into the major questions of policy and administration. *Our pledge is unequivocal but in order to fulfil it in the letter and the spirit, a considerable re-adjustment of the administrative machine may be desirable. Such a Commission would be an advertisement to the world that Britain has not weakened in a task to which her honour is pledged, and at the same time an assurance to Jews and Arabs alike that any proven defects in the present system of government will be made good.* (Italics ours)

BALFOUR

D. Lloyd George J. C. Smuts

The Times in the same issue publishes an editorial entitled "The Palestine Mandate," in which occurs the following significant passage:

"The success of the Palestine Mandate is a major interest to the British Empire. Nor will the obligations of honour and the prompting of a natural sentiment inspired by the Holy Land counsel the abandonment of a plain duty."

So far as we understand, the Mandatory system was inaugurated for the supposed purpose of saving the people under Turkish and German misrule through the trusteeship of the League of Nations! Of course, it is well known that the Balfour Declaration championed the policy of establishment of the National Home for the Jewish People in Palestine; because by so doing Great Britain would secure the support of the Jewish

world in her international policy. This phase of the real purpose of the Balfour Declaration has been amplified by Col. Joshua Wedgwood, M. P., in his work "The Seventh Dominion." But the interesting and most important fact is that Lord Balfour, Mr. Lloyd George, and General Smuts are anxious to let the world know that Britain is determined to maintain the British Mandate; whereas the *Times* in its editorial makes it clear that for the promotion of imperial interests of the British Empire and also for religious reasons, Britain should control the destiny of Palestine.

What is the relation between the British control (Mandate) over Palestine and the promotion of British imperial interests. Is British control over Palestine a necessity for the preservation of the British Empire and its further expansion in Asia? Is the Mandate system nothing less than an instrument to promote imperialism?

T. D.

Are Indians Able to Assume the Responsibility For National Defence?

Sir Jadunath Sarkar and some other Indians have no faith in the Indians' ability to assume full responsibility for Indian National Defence. In the December issue the editor of *The Modern Review* has ably disposed of the principal arguments of Sir Jadunath. In this connection, I take the liberty of drawing the attention of the Indian public to the following opinion of a British admiral on Indian ability to master the problems of naval defence. *The Times* (London) of December 31, 1929, published the following:

Extracts from a review of the progress of the reorganized Royal Indian Marine, dated June 7, 1929, by Rear-Admiral H. T. Walwyn, Flag Officer Commanding and Director, during the first six months of his command, have been issued by the India Office. The chief points are as follows:

I arrived at Bombay, and assumed command on November 16, 1928, hoisting my flag in Dalhousie. The first matter to claim my attention was the acute shortage of *personnel*, both of officers and men. To remedy the shortage of men, approval was obtained to replace the trained seamen and stokers, 61 in all, serving in the Dockyard Police, by newly entered sepoy, so that the former could be drafted to ships. This has eased the situation for the time being, and the sepoys are satisfactory. A certain number of ex-Royal Indian Marine men were coming back to enrol in the reorganized Service, but recruitment from this source has now, to all intents and purposes, ceased. At the present moment the Service is still 184 men short of establishment.

A recruiting party was organized and dispatched with a lieutenant R. I. M. in charge to tour the Punjab districts. The Punjab was chosen, as many letters had been received from there concerning service in the Marine, and it seemed likely to prove the most profitable source. A most satisfactory result was obtained, many hundreds applying to be recruited. Fifty boys were entered, and a further 50 will be taken in October, as the training ship Dalhousie cannot accommodate more than 100 at one time. The present Punjabi boys are of excellent physique, and all appear to be happy and contented; they are quickly taking to their new surroundings.

The officers of the Royal Indian Marine are excellent. They are very keen on their service and only too anxious to be told what, to my mind, they do wrong. They are rapidly picking up gunnery, tactics, etc., and will do very well. They are all very glad that the period of doubt and shadow as to the future of their service is at an end. I am most favourably impressed with the men. Their discipline and bearing are excellent, and their behaviour on shore is exemplary. They are very keen and take the greatest interest in competitive exercises. They are good at boatwork and quite good seamen. They are not in the slightest bit "gun-shy" and only rather overkeen and excitable. I consider the present boys under training will be ideal material for the sea service.

From the many letters and applications I have received from good-class Indians to join the commissioned ranks of the R. I. M., I think that there will be no lack of volunteers. From what I have seen of the cadets of the Indian Mercantile training ship Dufferin I should be delighted to have the best of them for the R. I. M. I see a great future for the Indian youth who joins this service with his heart in it.

Commanding officers have rapidly improved in the handling of their ships, and, although at first there was much to be desired, by the time the Squadron returned to Bombay [after a month's cruise] they were quite good and will be a great deal better before long.

The signalling efficiency of the force calls for my outstanding commendation. The signalmen are really quite excellent, quick, accurate and most keen. Evolutions and tactics by day and by night were carried out with a rapidity to which every one was quite unaccustomed, but throughout the cruise the Signal Department never failed.

The gunnery has, of course, a long way to go before ships are satisfactory, but, from my personal and daily observation during the cruise I can safely say that by December next the ships will be efficient in elementary single-ship gunnery.

What the recruits from the Punjab have proved about their ability to master the problems of naval science, can also be accomplished by the youth of Madras, Maharastra, Bombay, Bengal and other provinces; and it is to be hoped that recruits for the Royal Indian Marine will be chosen from all provinces. Lastly, it may be emphasized, to remove the curse of inferiority complex of Indians, due to their political slavery, *that there is nothing like "nordic superiority*

or racial superiority of certain European peoples over the Asians. Whenever equal opportunity has been afforded to Indians, they have proved that they can hold their own in competition with others. Indians need unfettered opportunity to master all branches of national defence; and then they will be able to give a very good account of their ability. In the meantime Indians will have to work harder to acquire efficiency in mastering the problems of national defence and developing the required conditions to assume responsibility for it.

T. D.

Are Indians Inferior to the Siamese in their Ability to Assume Responsibilities of National Defence?

The Times (London) of December 31st publishes the following news item about the visit of the Siamese air-officers:

Colonel Phya Vehasyan and Lieutenant Phalanusandhi, of the Siamese Air force, who are among the airmen visiting India at the invitation of the Government, made a forced landing on the banks of the Ganges near Curzon Bridge, Allahabad yesterday. The machine was badly damaged and the officers were injured, though not seriously, and are in hospital.

So there are Siamese Colonels in the Siamese national air force. Siam's population is about one-fortieth of that of India; yet Siam can develop a national air force manned and officered by Siamese, whereas in India, under the enlightened and progressive leadership of British military genius it is not possible for Indians to become officers in the Indian air force. The British masters of the Indian people and some Indians labouring under the inferiority complex may say that the Siamese are superior to the Indian people, but very few sane Indians will believe in this assertion. Let the Indian people have their own national military academies, Naval Colleges and Air Colleges, and let them have unfettered opportunity in mastering the science of National Defence and then they will be able to give a good account of their ability.

In this connection I may record the opinion of one of the foremost European scientists, who very recently visited India, about Indian ability to master pure and applied science. This scientist in answer to my question of what impressed him the most about India, told me that the most

astonishing thing of all was that within the last twenty-five years Indian scholars have shown marvellous ability in mastering various branches of pure and applied science. The world was told that the Indian people were meditative and could not master modern science, but this false assumption has been completely shattered now.

Those who are able to master pure and applied science are quite capable of assuming the responsibility of National Defence; because modern methods of national defence are nothing but applications of various branches of science in warfare. Let me again emphasize the point that Indians are capable of assuming the responsibility of national defence, if they only have the opportunity of acquiring knowledge. It seems to me that the British Statesmen are fully aware of Indian ability and for this very reason they do not wish to afford opportunities to Indians to acquire military, naval and aerial experience and knowledge.

T. D.

Lady Irwin and the Education of Women of India

The Nizam celebrated the visit of Lord and Lady Irwin by sending a cheque for £2,000, to be devoted to charities in which she is interested. "*Lady Irwin intends to give the whole amount to the All India Women's Education Fund of which she is President.*" The general appeal issued last year has so far met with a disappointing result and Lady Irwin is very anxious to raise sufficient money before she leaves India to make possible the initiation of at least one of the schemes urgently required for the advancement of Women's Education."

We heartily commend Lady Irwin's desire to promote the cause of education of the women of India, though it cannot be admitted that the efforts of Viceroy's wives to extract money from Indian rulers and capitalists for philanthropic projects prove the sincerity of the British-Indian Government's professions of zeal for India's welfare or are an atonement for its neglect of the same. It may be that Indian Princes and rich men and women will follow the example of her



Workers and Members of the All-India Women's Education Fund Committee

ladyship in encouraging the cause of women's education in India by establishing endowment funds in connection with the existing institutions and association devoted to the cause of education of women. Furthermore, we hope that her ladyship will be able to induce the Viceroy to take practical steps so that the Central Government of India and provincial governments will establish adequate number of state scholarships for the education of women of India. We may point out that even Afghanistan under King Amanullah appropriated a very large sum of money for state scholarships for women, when the resources of the government of that country are very much less than those of the British Indian government.

We have always heard that owing to lack of funds, the Government of India or the provincial governments cannot undertake far-reaching schemes for education. India's military expenditure is a great burden on her revenues, and the Indian Government has increased its expenses for its C. I. D. forces and sedition trials. It can borrow millions of pounds from foreign capitalists to meet such expenses as are not vital for the progress of the nation, but it cannot undertake much desired schemes for the education of the people. Let us hope that Lady Irwin will be able to do something to induce the Government of India to spend some money for the education of Indian women! Her pleas may be respectfully heard while Indian agitation on the question may be labelled as spreading disaffection!

T. D.

Dr. Kitchlew's Address at the Congress

The long address which Dr. Shaifuddin Kitchlew delivered at the Lahore Congress as chairman of its reception committee was a powerful and thoughtful one. He had evidently taken great pains to write it. Without meaning to underrate his opinions on other subjects, we may say that his pronouncement on communalism and connected topics was very timely, as the following portion of it will show:

The dreams of Hindu Raj or Muslim Raj are just as foolish, as wild and mischievous, as the false and meaningless cries of religion in danger. The talk of Hindu Raj or Muslim Raj is not practical politics. There is only one Raj—the Indian Raj which must be our goal and for the attainment of which we must be ready to lay down our lives.

People who talk so loudly of religion, do not really understand what they talk about. They only exploit the religious susceptibilities of poor ignorant men for their selfish motive, and personal gain. It is not religion that is in danger. It is the overwrought sense of religiosity that is in danger. Religion is a great moral force and is safe in India but religiosity as preached and practised by a selfish hierarchy or by pseudo-religious leaders is rotten to the core.

The Dacca Riots

The recent Dacca riots, like all other previous Hindu-Moslem riots, will no doubt be used by opponents of Indian self-rule to show what India will be like without British domination. But in reply, we must point out again and again that these riots take place *under British rule, not under Swaraj*, and, therefore, they cannot prove what India will be like under Swaraj. Should it be argued that if the strong arm of the Britisher were withdrawn, things would get worse, it would be open to those who believe that communal tension has increased because of certain British methods and measures, to answer that there would be at least an equal probability of things improving if British domination were to end.

As regards the origin of the riots, it is significant that the police anticipated communal disturbances on "Independence Day." As that day's celebrations were not a communal function but one in which Indians of any faith could join (and in fact did join in many places), it is open to any one to say that the very anticipation of evil may have served as an incitement to evil-doers.

Unlicensed processions were prohibited by the police in Dacca on that day. So, according to *The Statesman's* special correspondent, the Congress leaders made it known among their followers that there would be no processions that day, but the students announced by means of handbills that there would be. According to the same paper,

The handbills came to the notice of the police, who were placed in a dilemma. Eventually they decided that to attempt to stop the processions would be courting disorder and that the best policy was to let the processions alone and to prosecute their leaders afterwards.

This was a strange decision. At first unlicensed processions were prohibited by the police "to avoid any disturbance"; but when the prohibition was disregarded, such processions were let alone, i. e., allowed, in

order not to court disorder, *i. e.*, in order to prevent disorder. This is blowing hot and cold in the same breath with a vengeance! In the opinion of the Dacca police, such processions might both cause disturbance and prevent the same! However, as the sequel showed, they did cause disturbances, as the police had apprehended or anticipated. Would it be a very unfair comment to say that the processions being allowed, disturbers of the peace got their chance, whatever the intentions of the police might have been?

If the police apprehend that some people are going to engage in something unlawful—say, a disturbance, a riot, a robbery or a murder—would it be the correct thing for them to say, "If we try to prevent this crime, the would-be offenders may resist, and there may be a disorder in consequence. Therefore, it would be better to arrest the leaders of the offenders after they have done the deed?"

That would be to indirectly act like *agents provocateurs*.

We need not describe or discuss the riots in detail. There was bloodshed, including murders. Various allegations were made against the police and the magistrate. Some of the allegations against the police and others were as follows:

Some Mohammadans, accompanied by S. I. and A. S. I. and a few constables, and breaking open the bolt of the main gate of the house of the late Babu Govinda Chandra Banikya, found free access into the inner apartments of the house including the temple of Dadhimangal Thakur. The party then made their way into the house of Babu Akhil Chandra Chatterji of 47, North Maisundi, where they are said to have entered the cook-shed and abused the ladies in foul language. The wife of Babu Amritlal Banerji of 16, North Maisundi, too, it is said, told the signatories that she had been grossly abused by Mohammadans. The house of Sanatan Banik of 18, North Maisundi, an empty phial dealer, was then searched and the Mohammadans scattered the phials and other belongings broadcast. The house of Radhakanta Saha and Krishtolal Banik of 52, North Maisundi, was searched and the women who were taking their midday meal were filthily abused by Mannaf, Jalil Meah and Lathia Meah. The house of Uday Chand Jarria at 9, North Maisundi, was next searched by the party and the signatories state that they saw cooked food thrown on the floor and they further state that Gauri Dasi was knocked down by a policeman and near her cook-shed she was again pushed down by a Mohammadan. Mannaf and Jalil found their way into the room in which Haridasi and her husband were sleeping.

According to *The Statesman*:

In connexion with the allegation made by Mr.

Pratul Chandra Ganguly, an ex-M. L. C., and others against the police during the search in a number of houses in north Maisundi during the riots, the Superintendent of Police (Mr. Hodson) held a local inquiry last evening in the presence of the complainant.

Some female and male members of the houses which the police were alleged to have entered with some Mohammedans and defiled the temple and kitchen, were examined.

The Superintendent of Police made the police responsible for those acts to apologize, and he, on behalf of the police, also apologized to the aggrieved persons.

Mr. Hodson has done the right thing. But the offending police officials should not be allowed to escape with a mere apology. We hope Mr. Hodson will punish them in some fitting manner.

No enquiry has been made into the allegations made against the Magistrate. It is said that he will be transferred to Darjeeling.—Because the job there is a prize-job, or because the Himalayan heights cool the brains?

Imperial Ideals

It was a highly characteristic speech that Lord Irwin delivered before a Durbar at Lucknow on February 7. But we fear we cannot call it anything more. It will not help matters much to be told once again at this stage that mass civil disobedience is fraught with grave perils and that the free membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations is preferable to a state of isolated, powerless and precarious independence. On this last topic, Lord Irwin was particularly eloquent, and we must admit that coming from the mouth of an Englishman who has learnt to take pride in the Empire, such words—albeit a little uncritical and idealistic in their enthusiasm—do have an appeal to us of a disarming, though quite ineffective and ineffectual, sincerity: on the lips of a Maharajah of Patiala or an Indian politician of the extreme right they merely ring cantingly untrue.

But at the same time we cannot overlook the extreme unreality of Lord Irwin's hypothetical pictures and alternatives. A free India will not be what he anticipates, and perhaps hopes, it will be; the British Empire is not what he tells us it is; and, last but not least, there is absolutely no choice before us between the two. The Viceroy, we hope, will forgive us if we refuse to take his apocalyptic visions of India's independent.

future very seriously. But as regards the British Commonwealth of Nations we have a right to expect him to be closer to realities. His description of the British Empire as a Commonwealth "where the diverse gifts of each constituent part may be linked for the common betterment of whole society and of the human race," leaves us absolutely unconvinced and cold. It is the sort of eloquent commonplace which, since the promulgation of the Report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee of 1926, it has become the proper thing to say about the British Empire in after-dinner speeches. And as regards the report itself, we have never had much respect for it on the score of logical consistency or even sincerity. That, perhaps, is a rather strong expression to use, but we do not think it is quite undeserved. There are many able English observers who frankly admit that the report of the Imperial Conference of 1926 was the outcome of an English inferiority complex in the face of the attitude of some of the Dominions. We find, for example, Sir John Marriott, the well-known constitutional historian, writing in the *Nineteenth Century and After* for January, 1930 :

The Imperial Conference of 1926 was greatly influenced by a desire to make the Imperial "yoke" as light as possible for the least loyal of the Dominions. Phrases, undeniably if not designedly ambiguous, were inserted in the Report on Inter-Imperial Relations in the interests of unanimity and in the hope of reconciling the irreconcilable. The central doctrine of the British constitution—the sovereignty of Parliament—was seemingly surrendered with similar intent. Is it worth while?

Are we not running a serious risk of poisoning the whole body-politic of the Empire for the sake of saving a diseased limb? Would not amputation be a healthier alternative?

Yet, we do not wholly deny that the pacifistic and cosmopolitan ideas of the post-war years have not played their part in the shaping of the new theory of the Empire. As a matter of fact, they have served a very useful purpose in the transition, having on the one hand helped the British people to the pleasant self-deception that they were acting upon magnanimous motives when they were really weakly surrendering to the rampant nationalism of the Dominions, and on the other, enabling the Dominion statesmen to cloak their ambitions under a thin disguise of loyalty to a typically illogical British edition of the League of Nations. This, in fact, is the farthest point

to which the interaction between two sets of ideas which respectively underlie the organization of the British Empire and that of the League of Nations can profitably be demonstrated. Beyond it they part company.

The analogy between the British Commonwealth of Nations and the League of Nations which seems to haunt the mind of Lord Irwin has also been drawn by other writers. But it is no more than a surface resemblance. The League of Nations is founded upon positive ideals, however weak, at the present moment, in their hold over the thoughts of the present generation; the evolution of Dominion status is a negative phenomenon, a progressive surrender to the self-assertiveness of the Dominions, an uneasy and unstable compromise between the two irreconcilable ideals of Imperial unity and Dominions Nationalism, a loosening of the central authority which once was effective, the dissolution of a super-state, a recognition, in fact, of the impotence of Great Britain, which no amount of lip-service to the ideals of international co-operation will hide from the eyes of the world.

An Anglo-Saxon Federation

These are the conclusions we cannot resist when we consider the centrifugal tendencies of the Dominions and the ever-growing defeatism of the people of Great Britain. But it would be a very inaccurate description of the British Empire as it exists today. Even after the resolutions of the Imperial Conference of 1926, Professor Berriedale Keith would not admit that any change has come over the basic powers of the Imperial Government. This we should think is a rather questionable opinion to advance, but leaving aside niceties of constitutional law we venture to think that the realities of the political relationship as between the Dominions and Great Britain are to be found reflected in the last paragraph of chapter 2 of the Report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee rather than in the theoretical declarations of equality, autonomy and perfect freedom from compulsion. The paragraph to which we allude runs as follows :

"Equality of status, so far as Britain and the Dominions are concerned, is thus the root principle governing our Inter-Imperial Relations. But the principles of equality and similarity, appropriate

to *status*, do not universally extend to function. Here we require something more than immutable dogmas. For example, to deal with questions of diplomacy and questions of defence, we require also flexible machinery—machinery which can, from time to time, be adapted to the changing circumstances of the world."

If this passage means anything, it means that the so-called "equal partnership" of the Dominions with Great Britain is not a reality in some very important respects. Here we have also a justification for the practical supremacy of the mothercountry and a mental reservation which makes it easy for the people of Great Britain to go back upon the vague concessions they have made to the Dominions. Great Britain, no doubt, is only the managing director of the Company, but it is a managing directorship which she would not like to see go out of her hands. But what if the Dominions take it into their head to exercise their theoretical powers in right earnest? In spite of the illogical genius of the English people, of which we have heard so much, it would result, one is justified in thinking, in confusion worse confounded. As a matter of fact, the concessions already made by Great Britain to the Dominions have made the problem of conducting Imperial affairs one of transcendental difficulty. We are therefore not surprised to find political thought veering round to a tightening of the Imperial bond. Even General Smuts, the representative of a potentially disloyal Dominion, felt called upon to raise his voice in warning against the extravagant nationalistic aspirations of the component parts of the Empire. Purely British opinion in this matter is as was only to be expected still more emphatic in its protest. "Augur" of the *Fortnightly*, for example, writes :

The Commonwealth—a free partnership of nations—by all means, but not a house, some of the inhabitants of which remain to set it on fire. Dominions with centrifugal tendencies of this sort should be told : We are the strongest, richest and all round the most powerful member of the Commonwealth, which without us cannot exist. If you dislike our company, you are free to leave it. Such language we are certain will have the result of strengthening the Imperial bond, because those that protest today will then discover the advantage to them of remaining in the combination. (*Fortnightly Review*, January, 1930.)

No less outspoken is Sir John Marriott from whose article we have already quoted a passage :

Nationalism today is suspect, and it is the

primary function of a League of "Nations" to minimize its implications. And this is the moment selected for the re-assertion of an obsolescent and disintegrating principle in the bosom of an Empire which provides the most powerful instrument yet devised for the maintenance of world peace. The irony of the situation is manifest. Can anything be done to alleviate it? Of the legal links of the Empire the only two which possess much practical validity today are the Crown and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Of some of the Dominions the loyalty to the Crown is not above suspicion....

Most ardently do I hope that the ensuing-Imperial Conference will take a stronger line than the last with the malcontents.

Perhaps it will. But will it not by pursuing that policy precipitate the very crisis it wants to avoid? This is a question which makes it incumbent upon us to look closer and explore the real sanctions of the unity of the Empire. It lies as everybody knows in the sentiment of solidarity of the Anglo-Saxons in the Empire which safeguards its unity against the disruptive activities of the Dutch, the Irish, the French Canadians, and the insurgent nationalism of the Blacks and Browns. It is this fact, which Prof. Arnold J. Toynbee had in mind when he wrote the following words which were quoted in the February number of the *Modern Review* (p. 236) :

".....The fact that the Dominions were no longer held within the British Empire by any sanction imposed by Great Britain did not mean that they were subject to no sanction at all. The real sanction which practically precluded secession at this time, and would probably continue to preclude it for a long time to come, was the certainty that no Government, party, or national element in any Dominion could propose secession without splitting the country to such an extent as to imperil the national unity of that Dominion itself. In other words, the sanction to which each Dominion was subject was internal and not external ; but possibly it was all the stronger for that."—*The Conduct of British Empire Foreign Relations since the Peace Settlement*, pp. 16-17.

And it will be this sentiment of Anglo-Saxon solidarity that Great Britain will have more and more to lean upon in the future in order to preserve even a semblance of unity in the Empire. As Lord Beaverbrook, the leader of the Empire Crusade, recently said :

"We who comprise the English-speaking peoples of the Empire, have ties of race, of loyalty and of outlook which must inevitably prove stronger than the chance of geographical neighbourhood, which indeed grows less important daily as transport is continuously accelerated and improved."

This is a clear indication of the lines along which British Imperial policy will

develop. The British Empire of the future must either be an Anglo-Saxon Federation or it will not be. It cannot remain where it is.

The Choice for Practical Men

If we have given a disproportionate amount of our space to the discussion of a more or less theoretical question it was because we thought it imperatively necessary, considering the looseness of thought the propaganda for Dominion status was giving rise to, to rid ourselves once for all of the hypnotic tyranny of a phrase and dispose of the specious legend that the British Empire stood for a comity of races and nations and cultures, in which even at some distant and hypothetical future, the diverse gifts of each constituent part could be linked for the common betterment of humanity. The British Empire stands for no such ideal. As Mr. Wells has confessed:

"For me, I live in the Empire as a man who occupies a house with an expiring lease. I can contemplate the disappearance of the last imperial links with equanimity. The Union Jack now signifies neither exceptional efficiency nor exceptional promise. Let us admit the fact. It did, but it does not do so any longer. The world would not wait for the British." (*The Realist*, September, 1929).

It seems our Liberals would. They still proclaim their faith in Dominion status and quote, as Sir Sankaran Nair did in the Council of State, the Report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee. It is this incurable complacency of theirs and their inability to perceive with what mental reservations Britons usually make *theoretical* concessions, which have compelled us to examine at some length the present state of public opinion in England on the question of Dominion status. Otherwise, the less we agree to be drawn into that spider's web of theoretical discussion the better for our sense of the realities of things.

We know what we want, and we know that it is not a phrase. Dominion status may mean complete autonomy or it may mean partial autonomy—a subsidiary, though honourable, position in the British Empire. In either case, the status has no meaning for us until it is definitely promised, and no one in touch with current events will, we think, claim for a moment that it has been. The utmost that the Labour Government has actually promised us, and is likely—considering all the forces of Imperial and British

politics—to concede at the impending Round Table Conference falls far short of the minimum demands of even the most moderate of Indian leaders. Expressing his strong disapproval of a speech made by Mr. W. L. Travers at the annual meeting of the European Association, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad said:

"Let Mr. Travers and those who think with him clearly understand that India is in no mood to have graded doses of responsible government. Autonomy in the provinces would be a mere shadow of self-government and would not be acceptable to any political party in the country. The only thing which would satisfy Indian opinion was the inauguration of Dominion status with such reservations and safeguards as were necessary during the brief transitional period.

India was in no mood to have her future tried and determined by Britain from stage to stage. Such an arrogant claim had been and would be repudiated by all thinking Indians."

But will Sir Chimanlal Setalvad claim that anything else has been promised in the Declaration of Oct. 31, 1929, in the subsequent debates in Parliament, in the Viceroy's address before the Assembly of January 25, 1930? If, on the contrary, the tone of the entire British Press and that blazing indiscretion—Earl Russell's speech—means anything, we may with confidence assert that the likelihood of India's being granted Dominion status within a predictable length of time has sensibly receded as a result of the discussions following the Viceroy's pronouncement. From this point of view the comment of the *Manchester Guardian* is particularly illuminating.

"There is, we fear, little use in speaking of Dominion status if the university student of to-day may not be encouraged to hope that he will live to feel himself the citizen of one of the co-equal Dominions of the British Commonwealth. If we cannot encourage such a hope it is certainly better to say so at once than to wait till the intended conference meets and then find ourselves charged with bad faith for having raised expectations which we never thought to see fulfilled. Indian politicians can truly assert that when they asked for an assurance about Dominion status they meant an assurance that they would be enabled to attain that status within a reasonable period of time. No doubt the Labour Government was naturally and rightly influenced by a desire to spare India the danger and folly of the threatened campaign of civil disobedience, and perhaps it hoped strongly that progress could be made more rapidly than Lord Reading contemplates. But it was not fair to the Simon Commission, to Parliament, or to India to gamble on a mere hope without waiting to study the evidence which has been laboriously collected in accordance with the considered decision of the British Parliament."

The truth seems to be, that the Labour Government is temporizing and counting upon time to ease the situation, and in the meanwhile they are determined not to make it worse by hasty measures. In that case Labour's ultimate decision will depend not upon our readiness to accept doles, but upon the capacity we shall have developed to bring pressure to bear upon them.

The choice before practical men lies, therefore; not between the acceptance of Dominion status and its rejection—a fictitious alternative—but between our desire and resolve to safeguard our legitimate national interests and our readiness to be let down with our own enthusiastic consent. That is where the blindness of the Liberal and Moderate leaders lies. They repeat the ridiculous cliché that Dominion status is a higher development than independence, and perhaps have succeeded in persuading themselves into believing it: no paradise is more difficult to lose than the paradise of fools. But what they cannot see is that they have nothing to suffer by not acquiescing in a policy of alms-giving. They do not see that Great Britain is definitely committed to a policy of concessions in India and she cannot go back upon it without irreparable injury to her interests in this country. As it is, we hold all the cards in our hands; and it is for us to play them with skill and with dash.

A Difference Between India and the Dominions

It seems to us that Great Britain may agree to concede Dominion status to India only if and when she finds that there is a probability of Indians winning independence in spite of Great Britain. But some Indians think that Dominion status may be obtained earlier and more easily and as a boon. We should like to remind them of one important difference between India and the Dominions. In the Dominions, though there is in each either a majority or a minority of inhabitants of non-European indigenous stock, the inhabitants of European stock are everywhere in a position of unchallenged and at present unchallengeable supremacy. In most of them men of British stock are supreme. Therefore, the bestowal of autonomy on them is after all an extension of British domination. If in the other Dominions men of non-British European extraction form the majority of the

white community, which is dominant, they are also of European descent and descendants of Britishers share supreme power with them. It is easy for Britain to recognize the right to freedom of descendants of Britishers and other Europeans in the Dominions in such circumstances. But the case of India is quite different. Here the native inhabitants (of non-European stock) are not only in an overwhelming majority, but, unlike the aborigines of the Dominions, they are a civilized people and were civilized when the forefathers of the Britishers were painted savages wandering in the woods. The number of British and other settlers in India is very small. It is not likely to increase. Therefore, the conferment of Dominion status on India would mean the supremacy in India of Indians—not the supremacy of white settlers in India. We do not think Britishers can feel any happiness in contemplating such a consummation. It is neither easy nor pleasurable for them to recognize the Indians' right to freedom and fitness to rule themselves.

The Example of the "States"

Some time ago, the telegraphic summary of an article on the Indian problem, by Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, the well-known British journalist, was cabled out to India by the Free Press Beam Service. The article appeared in the *Daily Telegraph*, and among other *obiter dicta* on the Indian situation indicative of the hundred per cent die-hard mentality, it contained the following heart-rending comparison between the state of things as they are respectively in British India and the Indian States:

Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, it is stated in the Free Press message, compares the conditions prevailing in British India and the Indian States and declares that there could be no greater contrast than that provided by the deafening noise of unrest and confusion created by a small group of intelligentsia in British India and the *absolute calm, peace, and contentment which reigns in the Indian States*.

Mr. Bartlett declares that the Government of India have failed to benefit *by the lessons presented by the Indian States* and they would be well-advised if they followed a firm policy in dealing with a small coterie of agitators. (*Italics ours*)

It appears from a later message of Renter's that the cue did not take long to be taken up by at least one Conservative member in Parliament:

During question time in the House of Commons, says a Reuter's message of the 17th February, Brigadier-General, Clifton Brown (Cons, Newbury) drew a contrast between the unrest and sedition in British India with the law and order maintained in the Indian States. He suggested a common measure against the disruptive elements.

Mr. Wedgwood Benn, replying, said he saw no reason why the authorities in India responsible for law and order, should make a special approach to the rulers of the Indian States.

Adversity brings us strange bed-fellows, and we may yet live to see the day on which British statesmen would be sitting at the feet of the Indian princes, taking a cheerful lesson in the art of good government from, say, the Maharajah of Patiala; otherwise we should have been inclined to think that these pronouncements were another example of English humorousness sharpening itself at the expense of their dull-witted proteges.

The Indian Princes and Swaraj

But there is another side to this matter. Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett's authority is said to be an anonymous Indian ruler who, it is claimed, expressed his opinion that the Indian discontent was the work of a few agitators who ought to be put outside the Indian frontier just as the Indian States did not hesitate to expel beyond their frontiers the agitators against their authority.

It is extremely unfortunate that the prince who stands behind Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett should insist upon anonymity. We are thereby debarred from duly honouring a prince who has, in some measure, set an unprecedented example, for we are used to seeing princes who are inspired by British professors and British politicians, but we have never yet seen the reverse and a prince who has been able to influence a British journalist and a British politician.

There are, however, we are glad to see other princes whose courage is not unequal to their convictions. The Maharajah of Patiala upon whom has fallen the task of warning the Congress on behalf the Indian princes has spoken bravely, though it is the sort of bravery which springs, we are almost tempted to say, from an unforgettable consciousness of the precariousness of one's position. We refrain from quoting any part of the Maharajah's speech² because, in our opinion, that would be giving it an importance which

it in no wise deserves. Those for whom self-interest makes it necessary to exploit the selfish fears of the petty Indian princes, will, of course, claim that he has spoken as the representative of the rulers of seventy millions of Indians who are resolute in their opposition to the policy of complete severance of the British connection and will not be coerced, but we refuse to have our sleep very much disturbed by this nightmare. Not that the Maharajah of Patiala does not possess the average intellect of a petty Indian ruler, and does not also possess the desire to do as much harm to the nationalist cause as it lies in his power to do, but even here he does not speak quite as a free agent and as the representative of his fellows. He is the ruler of a petty state of 5,932 sq. miles with a population of 1,499,739 souls—we have only to compare it with Hyderabad with an area of 82,698 sq. miles and a population of 12,471,770 (1921) to realize its insignificance—against whom serious allegations have been and are still being openly made and allowed freely to circulate without so far as we know any contradiction. Whatever moral authority such a pronouncement as Maharajah of Patiala's might have had in the mouth of any other prince, even were he not one of the great Indian princes who as a rule keep discreetly silent in these matters, (in this connection it is worthy of note that even this year the great princes of India like the Nizam and the Maharajah of Mysore did not attend the Chamber of Princes in person, but were represented there by their principal state officials), coming as it does from a prince so circumstanced it fails utterly to intimidate us with its threat of employment of force as it was its avowed purpose to do.

But even if it had come in a united chorus from the whole turbanned host of medieval derelicts whom the Government of India maintain, like the *chopdars* and other survivals of Mughal times, to add colour and quaintness to their durbars, we should not have been disposed to take it very seriously. We do not know whether the princes really believe that all the discontent in India springs from the activities of a coterie of agitators—they are terribly mistaken if they do—but what we do know is that the Indian princes are not free and energetic enough even to speak for a small coterie of reactionaries which they are. They simply speak for their

masters. The Maharajah of Patiala spoke of the nationalist movement deciding to act as if the States did not exist as an hypothetical contingency. It is actually acting—not as if the Indian States did not exist—but as if the Indian princes did not. Can you blame a man if he refuses to take a marionette more seriously than the man who works it? The nationalist movement is not blind. It is sufficiently in touch with the realities of things not to forget that the British Government in India exists, but if it persists in disbelieving in the reality of that tremendous factitious hoax—the problem of the Indian States—we imagine, it is not its perspicacity which is at fault.

Divide et Impera

Divide et Impera is an ancient and wise maxim of statecraft. But it has fallen into a good deal of disrepute among a spoon-fed generation whose fear of moral obloquy has never been wholly conquered by its love of an empire. Governments of today, therefore, do not as a rule brag of the existence of a second and third line of defence in the enemy's territory nor expose them unnecessarily. But their prudence is not often shared by ideologues who profess to give them a lesson in political strategy. Recent events in India have perturbed Sir Arthur Conan Doyle so much that he has gone to the length of writing an excited letter to the editor of the *Times*, that providential safety-valve of disgruntled persons in England. In this letter Sir Arthur says:

"We hear of agitation for independence, but we hear nothing of that counter-agitation which could be so easily evoked. For example, have the Moham-madans of India been asked whether they are prepared to obey laws passed by a permanent majority of Hindus? Will the Native Princes state definitely whether they wish their lands to be isolated islands in an independent country?"

"Has it been explained to the Punjab that it will be left bare, without British help to face any invasion from the North? Have the Parsees been asked to state publicly whether they prefer the security of British rule or chaos? Have 60,000,000 Untouchables been asked whether they would wish to be left to the mercy of Brahmins? Have agitators themselves been reminded of the lesson of the Moplah rebellion?"

"All these are cards in our hand, but they are of no use unless we play them."

This simple-mindedness has caused a good deal of amusement, not wholly free from just a shade of severe disapproval if we

are right in our conjecture, to the *Statesman* of Calcutta. It writes:

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle worries himself unnecessarily, we think, when he clamours in *The Times* for counter-agitation against the Independence-wallahs. No one need ask whether "the Moham-madans of India are prepared to obey laws passed by a permanent majority of Hindus," because that is a question that is frequently being mooted by Moslems on their own initiative. There is no call for the Indian Princes to "state definitely whether they wish their lands to be isolated islands in an independent country." Because it has been well known for some time that they do not. Nothing would be gained if it were "explained" to the Punjab that in an independent India "it would be left bare without the British to face any invasion from the North," because in such a state it would either be concerned too much with internal dissension to trouble itself unduly about invasion, or else would be quite capable of self-defence. The fact is that what Sir Arthur knows is also known to most Hindus, Moslems and Parsees, and Punjabis of all sects. The counter-agitation that he wants is actually coming from among them, as many of their leaders note with gladness.

This reads almost like the joke of a clever husband trying to cover the indiscretion of a stupid wife.

Civil Disobedience

We had postponed writing anything on the Congress Working Committee's resolution on civil disobedience and Mahatma Gandhi's observations thereon in the hope of doing so after his communication to the Viceroy on the subject has been despatched and made public. But as it is announced in the papers that this communication will not be made till next Sunday, the 2nd March, we reserve our comment on the civil disobedience programme for our next issue.

Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar's Appointment in the Technische Hochschule, Munich

We are glad to learn that at the instance of the India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie, Munich, of which, it might incidentally be mentioned, Dr. Taraknath Das is an honorary member, the Bavarian Ministry of Education has invited Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Professor of Economics, Calcutta University, to lecture on economic and social problems of modern India, for one year, in the Technische Hochschule, Munich. The object in appointing Prof. Sarkar is to promote cultural relations between Germany and India. It is intended to establish an India Institute in Munich, the avowed object of which would be to cultivate cultural

relations between these two countries. For this purpose this opportunity is being given to Prof. Sarkar to help Germany to form a correct estimate of the economic condition of India and to promote cultural relations between the German and the Indian people by lecturing on the economic condition of India at the culture centres of Germany.

Lahore Congress News in America

Mr. Ramlal B. Bajpai informs us that the "American Branch of the Indian National Congress made a determined effort to arrange for direct cable service from Lahore, reporting the proceedings of the Indian National Congress to the American press, as well as that of other countries served through the same sources. Thus the news of the Indian National Congress has been given first importance for a number of weeks recently. This is the first time that such a widespread and sympathetic account of Indian political views and activities has appeared in the American press. Of course this result was only achieved with considerable difficulty and heavy expense, but it was well worth the effort, since the people of the United States have become very much interested in India's programme of independence.

"American statesmen have now begun to take India seriously. A resolution declaring sympathy with India's demand for independence and recommending recognition of Independent India, has already been introduced into the U. S. Congress by United States Senator Blaine, with the approval of other senators.

He took the position that in order to arrive at disarmament it was necessary to do away with the causes that led to armament. He pointed out that Great Britain had to maintain a large land force and also a large naval force on account of the possession of India and that if India were free this would not be needful. He applied the same idea to the possession of the Philippines by the United States.

This resolution is now with the Foreign Relations Committee.

"It took Ireland, with its vast population, five years to get recognition, and there are other nations still waiting for American recognition. It seems, therefore, next to incredible that American sympathy towards India should have developed almost overnight. It certainly demonstrates the importance of press sentiment in creating public opinion.

"Thousands of newspapers all over the United States have daily carried long columns about India and her independence programme, showing the general attitude of sympathy and support which the American press has so recently expressed.

American Interest in India

According to a Free Press Beam Service message.

That the situation in India is drawing considerable attention of the international public opinion is proved by the interest shown in the press and on the platform in countries like Germany, America, Russia, etc.

Premier MacDonald, it would be remembered, was the recipient of representations of leading American citizens on the Indian question when he visited the United States.

Now, according to a despatch to the *Manchester Guardian* from its New York correspondent, a manifesto has been issued over the signatures of prominent members of the American Liberal group, appealing to the British nation on the Indian question in the name of world peace. The signatories to the appeal, it is stated, include Professor Dewey and the Editor of the *New York Nation*. Copies of the manifesto have been sent to both the American and British Governments.

The manifesto, it is stated, appeals to the British Government not to use force for dealing with the present crisis in India. The manifesto recognizes that neither the American citizens nor the American Government can claim to exercise direct responsibility or power, but declares that America cannot look unmoved, especially when it considers it an urgent duty to bring to bear on the situation the power of public opinion to which the national movement makes an appeal by its persistent adherence to non-violent paths. The manifesto appeals to the British Government to justify the world's confidence in Britain as pioneers of world peace by agreement and good-will.

The manifesto recognizes that the Indian non-violent national movement is in the nature of a lead to mankind as well as to the British Government.

The following telegram probably refers to the same manifesto :

Ahmadabad, Feb. 16.

The President of the Congress has received a cable from New York stating that twelve leading Liberals including Professor Dewey, Dr. Sunderland, Mr. Roger. Mr. Baldwin, Mr. John Haynes Holmes have issued a manifesto appealing to Americans to support the Indian movement for independence and demanding that as Indians are adhering to non-violence England should also avoid all violence and grant freedom.

A cable received from London states that in his recent lecture tour in America Mr. Fenner Brockway, M. P., was surprised at the interest shown by Americans in Indian affairs. Though the subjects of his lectures did not relate to India, yet many among his

audiences put him questions relating to this country.

"India in Bondage" in America

From the reviews of "India in Bondage" in some American papers and the long and telling advertisements in prominent positions in others, it is evident that the book is having a large sale in U. S. A. This is due, no doubt, mainly to the merit of the book; but its sale has been certainly helped considerably by the very wise prosecution of two persons in connection with its Indian edition and its suppression here.

Six and 4½ per cent Loan

Only recently the Government of India borrowed £6,000,000 in England, the interest payable being "six per cent. According to a Reuter and British Official Wireless, dated February 23, a new British Loan has been floated at 4½ per cent.

Why this difference in the rates of interest for the Indian and the British loans? Why take so much more from India, the "ward" of the British "trustee"?

Indians in Ceylon

The immediate cause of interest being taken in the question of franchise for Ceylon Indians is no doubt the Assembly debate on the subject. But the main credit for it is due to the persistent efforts of Mr. St. Nihal Singh to bring their grievances before the public. Even *The Pioneer* says:

What is wanted is that there shall be no sort of endeavour to discriminate against Indians domiciled in Ceylon. The Colonial Office points out that the Ceylon Council passed a resolution in favour of a literacy test which, if accepted, would have resulted in 99 per cent of Indians being disenfranchised. That may be so, but it does not lessen the responsibility of the Colonial Office to see that local prejudice does not operate to the detriment of Indians who have done so much for Ceylon's prosperity.

Claim of Transvaal Nationalists

At the last meeting of the Transvaal Nationalist Congress held at Pretoria, a resolution was passed which runs as follows in part:

The Nationalist party acknowledges the Declaration of the Imperial Conference of 1926, and aims at exercising the sovereign powers of the Union which have been acknowledged in the said Declara-

tion and the exercise of all State functions on our own authority.

Further, the party declares with emphasis, notwithstanding any other interpretation of the Report aforesaid of the Conference, and especially in connexion with co-operative Imperialism, that the exercise of our existing rights, which also remain our ideal, includes the development of our rights of controlling our destinies for the purpose of determining upon a change in the form of government at any time constitutionally; and the party will not prevent anyone giving expression freely to his honest opinions regarding one or other form of government, and will not place any obstacles in the way of any lawful propaganda in favour of one or other form of government.

In other words, the Transvaal Nationalists have proclaimed their right to be independent whenever they like.

Allegations Against the Maharajah of Patiala

We have received a copy of the Report of the Committee of Enquiry appointed by the Indian States Peoples' Conference to look into the truth of certain allegations against the Maharajah of Patiala as contained in the memorial submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy by ten respectable citizens of the Patiala State. The report is embodied in a fairly big volume containing material having bearing on the enquiry, including statements of prominent witnesses who appeared before the Committee.

It will be enough for our purpose to quote the following opinion of Mr. Jamnadas Mehta on this report instead of going into all the highly unsavoury details:

"The report of the Committee appointed by the Indian States Peoples' Conference is a shocking revelation.

"The signatories to the report are gentlemen with an established reputation in public life, and while the evidence recorded before them has not been tested by cross-examination, *prima facie* it makes out a strong case for a committee of enquiry by the Government of India. Nor can the princes and rulers of Indian States allow such disclosures unnoticed. If the statements recorded before the Committee are even partially true the subjects of the Patiala State deserve the utmost sympathy from their fellow-countrymen in British India and other Indian States.

"The sordid and loathsome details contained in the report create a sense of unrelieved disgust and the public ought not to lose any time in expressing their unqualified protest in an unmistakable manner and press for an independent committee of enquiry by the Government of India."

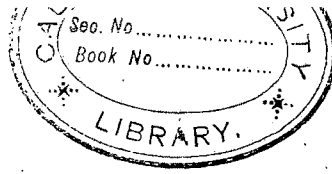
The public will also eagerly wait to see what action, if any, the Government of India take on this report.



RAJPUT PRINCESS

From an Old Painting of the Kangra School
By the Courtesy of Mr. Samarendranath Gupta.

Prabasi Press



VOL. XLVII
NO. 4

APRIL, 1930

WHOLE NO.
280

The Infinite Greatness of Man

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

When I consider thy heavens, the work of
thy fingers,
The moon and the stars, which thou hast
ordained,
What is man, that thou art mindful of him?
And the son of man, that thou visitest him?
Yet thou hast made him but little lower than
God,
And crownest him with glory and honour."
The Bible, Psalm 8: 3-5. Revised Version.

THIS fine poetical passage of the old Hebrew psalm expresses very vividly the thought of the littleness, yet the greatness, of man.

As the psalmist looks up into the night heavens above his head, so far-reaching and so wonderful, and sees the moon and the stars shining so gloriously, and moving with majesty through the wide spaces, a feeling of awe comes over him, and a sense of his own insignificance, and he exclaims with a reverence and humility which we can well understand—

"What is man"—puny, insignificant man—"that thou art mindful of him?
And the son of man that thou visitest him?"

This is the psalmist's first feeling. But the next moment he catches a glimpse of something in man which transcends all this seeming littleness, something greater than the stars, and he exclaims again. Yet, after all,—

Thou hast made him but little lower than
God,
And crownest him with glory and honour.

The feeling of the insignificance of man in the presence of the greatness of nature, and especially in the presence of the vastness and splendour of the heavens above, is one that has been very common in all ages. Nor is it wanting to-day. Indeed, since the rise of modern astronomy, which makes the heavens incomparably more vast and glorious than the boldest mind dreamed in the ancient times, this sense of disproportion between the physical littleness of man and the vastness of his environment, becomes all the more clear and strong.

When the ancient Hebrew writer looked up to the sky, what did he see? A wide expanse which he called the firmament, stretching its dome like a blue tent over the earth. In it were set, in some mysterious way, the sun, moon and stars, movable, having it for their duty to serve as signs for men, to mark off the seasons, and to give light to the earth by day and night. All revolved around the earth, were very small as compared with the earth, and were created solely for the benefit of the earth and its inhabitants. The earth was the largest thing the Hebrew thinker knew anything about; and

even that, as it lay in his conception, was very limited compared with our earth of to-day.

How has the rise of the modern science of astronomy changed all this! The earth, though it has grown to be many times larger than the ancient thinker understood, is now known by us, not to be the centre of the universe, or the largest object in nature, but relatively only a mere speck amidst the immensities of creation. The silent, mysterious, changeful moon, from a pale sky-lamp, has become a world. The sun does not revolve about the earth, but the earth and all her sister planets revolve about him. The stars, from curious wandering torches of the night, have become gigantic worlds, and centres about which worlds revolve. Vast as we think our solar system, even it occupies but a small corner of space while beyond it stretch worlds, and systems, and galaxies, innumerable and illimitable.

Such is the situation as we see it to-day. If the men of the ancient world had reason to feel humble and insignificant in the midst of their little universe, what shall be said of ourselves, in the midst of the universe that modern astronomy reveals—which compared with that of the ancient Hebrew is as infinity to a hand breadth?

I think we all have seen times when this thought of man's littleness in the midst of the universe as we know it to-day has come to us with painful and almost overwhelming force. We have asked ourselves,—Can it be possible that the Creator of all these innumerable worlds which the telescope reveals, the Architect of this limitless temple of the stars and the galaxies, thinks about or cares for men? Is it reasonable to suppose that our little lives are any more important to him, or of any more value in the universe, than a snow flake on a mountain top, or a bubble on the sea?

I suppose all of us have had experiences somewhat like this: You pass through a great crowd of people, no one of whom you have ever seen before, or expect ever to see again. You say to yourself,—Who are they? What is the significance of all these lives? In what respect do these human beings differ from the birds that fly in flocks over the fields? or the midgets that swarm in the sunshine? From any other world—even from the moon, the nearest of all the worlds, no one of them can be seen, and could not be even with the most powerful of telescopes; so that with a little distance all are reduced

to the same level, bird and midget and men.

You stand on some high eminence in the midst of a great city, and see the thronging thousands threading and blackening all the thoroughfares below you as far as your eye can reach, each man seeming no larger than an ant crawling along the pavement; and how easy it is for you to think of the city as an ant-hill, and all the cities and towns and villages and hamlets of the world as simply ant-hills of differing sizes, inhabited by ants of a peculiar variety, but as indistinguishable from a few miles up in the air, not to say from any of the worlds around us, as any real ant-hills of the fields or woods!

Our race is very proud of the things it has done in the world. It exults over its agriculture, which feeds nations; its commerce which penetrates to the ends of the earth; its railways which span great continents; its enormous and splendid steamers which speed over all oceans; its vast cities with their twelve, twenty, forty, sixty storey buildings; its radios carrying messages in a few seconds around the earth and its flying machines flying around the earth. Yet who up in Mars or Venus, if those planets are inhabited, knows anything about any of these things? Thus our greatest earthly events seem to be confined to ourselves, and awaken not an echo in the home of our nearest sky-neighbours.

If then we are so isolated from our sister planets—members of the same world-family with ourselves,—and if all we do is unknown and of no consequence to them, what shall we say of the incomparably more distant worlds that illumine the night sky and make up the whole universe outside our little solar system? And what shall we say of the great God over all—the mighty Creator and Ruler of all? With so vast affairs to manage will he stoop to notice or care for us, the frail creatures of a day, who people this little dust-grain that we call the Earth—this speck on the far away rim of his creation? Is it not insufferable egotism to suppose that we can claim his attention?

Above all, is it not the most arrant presumption for creatures so insignificant as we, to dream of a perpetuation of our being beyond death? When worlds perish—and worlds a thousand times larger than

our own, shall we, the ephemeral dwellers on this bit of wandering clay, hope to escape?

It is in these ways that the marvellous revelations of modern astronomy seem to many minds to belittle man, and press him down into insignificance and hopelessness, robbing him of whatever dignity and importance in the universe he once seemed to have.

What are we to answer to all this. Is there any answer to be made? If so, what is it?

The matter is not something merely speculative, it is intensely practical. These questions are actually being asked in a thousand places in the world to-day. They are being asked all around us. And many very intelligent and earnest persons do not know how to answer them. Thus they seriously darken many lives. Indeed, are there not some of us who have had hours when their shadows have fallen upon ourselves? Let us try to find, if we can, where the real truth lies.

I think there are several considerations which bring us light. And first this: Mere size is only a slight indication of value or importance. The earth is not necessarily less important than a world a million times larger than itself; and man is not necessarily physically unimportant because his body is small. An elephant is larger than a man, but it is not for that reason higher in value. Many of the small countries of the world far surpass in importance other lands that are a hundred times more extended. Little Greece outweighs a thousand vast Sahara deserts, and London, which is but a point upon the face of the earth, is more important than a score of arctic or antarctic continents. A single Plato, or Shakespeare, or Jesus or Buddha counts for more in the great life-history of the world than whole races of Kaffirs and Bushmen; just as a diamond, which can be held between the thumb and finger, may have more value than a huge mountain. In the same way comparing worlds with worlds, it is not unusual to find the smaller much more highly developed than the larger. Our sun has a mass 316,000 times greater than that of the earth, and a volume 1,250,000 greater than that of the earth, yet the earth sustains very high forms of life, while the sun probably has upon its surface no life at all. It seems likely that the huge suns of space generally are much less mature than their planets.

Thus we see that the human race is not necessarily unimportant because God has given it its home in one of his smaller worlds, any more than an individual is necessarily unimportant because he lives in little Athens instead of in vast Tartary. Mere bulk signifies nothing. Beings of highest nature and sublimest destinies may as fittingly dwell in bodies six feet high as six thousand, and on this fair earth of ours, small though it be, as on the surface of the hugest bulks of matter in the universe.

But, even if we *grant* that the revelations of modern astronomy do seem to dwarf man, it should be borne in mind that science is making known to us *other* revelations, the effects of which are clearly the *opposite*. There is rising to view a universe below man, no less wonderful than that of the starry heavens above him. And if the effect of knowledge of the one is to overshadow man, the effect of knowledge of the other is correspondingly to *exalt* him. Thus the microscope makes good any loss of exaltation or of dignity that comes to him from the telescope.

A few facts will help us to see something of the range and splendour of this universe below humanity.

If we catch a butterfly in the summer time, we shall find left upon our hand from the butterfly's wing, something which we shall be likely to call dust. Looking at it with the greatest care, we shall not be able, with our unaided eyes, to see that it is anything more than fine dust. But bring a microscope and see what that reveals to us. Now we discover that this so-called dust consists of a mass of beautifully coloured and exquisitely fashioned feathers, arranged in as perfect order as the feathers of a bird, yet so minute that a single square inch of the wing contains a hundred thousand of them.

How small and simple a thing is a water-drop! Yet a water-drop is a world. A cubic inch of stagnant water is calculated to contain a billion living and active organisms. Says an eminent New York biologist:

I placed some clean Croton water, which had been boiled, in clean vial, and broke into it a few stems of the broom from a clothes wisp. In four days the vial was crowded with monads in numbers that surpassed estimate, but of which it is safe to say that the two ounce vial contained more than the entire number of the human race from the days of Adam to the present time.

Ehrenberg, the great German naturalist,

tells us that there is a deposit of slate in Bohemia covering forty square miles to the depth of eight feet, each cubic inch of which is found by microscopic measurement to contain forty-one thousand millions of infusoria, or remains of minute living organisms. Thus it is that the microscope opens to us worlds beyond worlds, of the minute, where the unaided eye can see nothing, and where until modern science came on the scene it was supposed nothing existed,—worlds as wonderful as those made known to us by the telescope, but filled with living beings as much *smaller* than man as man is smaller than the great suns in the heavens.

A leaf of a tree is a world. The tree itself is a universe. You see little with your naked and untrained eye. But bring your microscope, and put yourself under the instruction and guidance of a skilled scientist, and he will brush away the veil that blinds your vision, and let you see mystery beyond mystery, and wonder beyond wonder, until, everywhere you look, doors open and avenues unroll themselves leading out into infinities of the minute, as endless and awe-inspiring as the immensities to which the telescope invites.

Even man's own body is a universe.

In each drop of human blood there are more than twenty million vitalized corpuscular disks. Considering all the drops made up in this way, man is a cosmos, his veins galaxies through whose circuits these red clustering planets perform their ceaseless revolutions.

Thus we see that man, even if we forget his soul and think of him simply as a physical organism, stands midway in God's creation. If there are worlds and systems and galaxies above him greater than he, there are also worlds and systems and galaxies below him, and in him infinitely *smaller* than he. If the infinities in the heavens belittle him, quite as much do the infinities of the grass blade, and the drop of water, and his own physical organism, *exalt* him.

When, therefore, any one presumes to reproach us with our littleness, and, pointing up to the starry heavens, asks,—Do you believe that the God of those countless worlds thinks of you? We may well point down to the monad, so tiny that millions dwell in a single water-drop, and reply,—I believe that he who does not forget the infinitesimal monad, can be trusted not to forget us.

This brings me to the thought that the real greatness of man is not physical but spiritual. It is by virtue of his mind, not his body, that he is exalted. What matters it, therefore, whether the physical universe in which he dwells be great or small? Can the heaping up of vast physical dimensions dwarf mind—mind that knows no dimensions, and spurns all physical limits? Is spirit overshadowed by standing in the presence of the greatest possible aggregation of matter? Can we say of a mountain that it is greater than a thought? or of the vastest ocean, that it makes insignificant the intellect that fathoms it, and turns it into a highway, and speaks across it as if its thousands of miles were inches, and makes servants of its fiercest waves? Do all the worlds the telescope reveals, that cannot think, belittle the human mind that can?

No, however completely modern astronomy may take away the old primacy of the earth among the heavenly bodies; it can never disturb the greatness of man so long as man remains the thinker. He is great with a greatness which is inherent in his own nature, and, therefore, which is independent of any possible discoveries that science can make in the material realm. He is great because he can *know*, and *reason*, and *distinguish right from wrong*, and *hope*, and *love*, and *worship*. These things he can do because he is a *spirit*, for these are the attributes of spirit. But the greatest world the telescope ever saw, considered as a mere physical mass, is as impotent to do one of these things as is the smallest molecule or atom that floats in our earthly air. Here it is that we see the infinite superiority of man to all possible physical magnitudes and greatnesses whatever, though they be worlds countless as the sands of the seashore, filling the immensities of space with their shining splendours.

It should be borne in mind that man feels awe in the presence of the starry heavens not because of his own insignificance, but really because of his own *greatness*. It is the *divine* in him that thrills at the great sight. A stone or a clod feels no sense of awe. A brute beast looks up with indifference to the same stars and constellations that bring man to his knees in adoration. The brute is indifferent because he lacks mind. The man admires and worships because he *knows*, *understands*, *feels*; *has the correlate of the great heavens in his own greater soul*.

To *think* the world is to be *superior* to world. To *know* the stars is to be *greater* than the stars.

The sun is very large in size. His vast bulk makes the earth seem very small by comparison. But what of that? Need that abash man? Can the sun, big as he is, measure himself? or weigh himself? or calculate his path through the heavens? or understand even one of the laws which he blindly obeys? But man can do all these things. Therefore man, though his stature be but five or six feet, is greater than the sun.

The science of astronomy tells us much about the stars. But did we ever think, it tells us quite as much about man? Man's mind not only keeps pace with every advance of astronomical knowledge, it is the *cause* of it. If the heavens declare the glory of God, no less do they declare the greatness of the human soul, for it is only because man's soul is great that he can recognize the greatness and glory of God in the heavens.

Thought and love are the creative forces of the universe. Because man thinks and loves, he is a creator—a creator in the finite sphere, as God the Infinite Thinker and Lover is the creator in the Infinite sphere.

"All minds are of one family," said Channing. If that be so, then I am related to the Divine Mind. I am not merely a being created by God's power: I am kin to him, because I am spirit, as he is spirit; because I know, as he knows; because I love, as he loves. Therefore I have a right to look up in his face—even though that face shines with the light of infinite galaxies—and say: "Thou art my Father. I am *not* a *thing* tossed from thy hand. I am *thy child*; *thy great nature is in me.*"

One of the most overwhelming proofs of the greatness of man comes to us from a quite new and unexpected source. It comes to us from the modern doctrine of Evolution. Men used to think the contrary. Long was Evolution feared. Because it linked man's creation with natural processes, and suggested his development from lower forms of life, it was thought to degrade him. But now all this is changing. Profound and philosophical students are more and more coming to see that evolution immeasurably elevates man. As he is unquestionably the culmination of all that has gone before him, so he furnishes the most reasonable and adequate explanation of it all. The evolutionary

process has travelled a long road from its beginning in fire-mist to what we see on the earth to-day. But the progress has all been an ascent, and the *culmination is man*. From the inanimate to the animate, from lower forms of life to higher, from brute to man—that has been the order. Thus man stands on the summit of creation—its crown and so far as we can see its goal. When the physical reached the limit of its possibilities, then mind came in. Henceforth mind was king, and man the thinker wore a dignity second only to that of God the Infinite Thinker.

It is not given to us to know in how many worlds the evolutionary process has reached the same height that it has reached here; but if anywhere it has, then it must have produced there, in some sense the spiritual counterpart and brother of man,—I mean, some being who can know and understand, as man can; some intelligence able to "think God's thoughts after him," as man is able; some being, the crown and consummation of the evolutionary process in that other world, as man is in this; and, therefore, some being who in some true sense is God's image and child there, even as man is here.

Thus it seems to be no extravagance if we say that the whole evolutionary process, from the first movement of primordial matter until this hour, has been one long "travailing in pain" of the Universe to produce (in this world and we know not in how many others) man or his equivalent,—that is, to produce *conscious minds, intelligent spirits, children of the Eternal Reason and Love.*

And have we not here, in the costly origin and high nature of man, a key not only to man's greatness but to his destiny,—to what we have a right to believe awaits him beyond the mystery which we call death? If man has cost the universe so much, and if his nature is so lofty, must there not be awaiting him a destiny to correspond? Must he not be intended for a career greater than can be bounded by this inch of earth and this moment of time? Is the Creator of all things irrational, that he should destroy his highest creature as soon as made? Is the universe a failure, that its most perfect product should be an ephemera? If man is God's child, and thus a partaker of the highest attributes of the divine, can he die? Must he not be heir to an immortality parallel with that of God?

Men talk about worlds and systems and constellations overshadowing and belittling humanity ! Can the less overshadow and belittle the greater ? Can fire-mist, or earth or rock, or any material thing, no matter how stupendous its volume or bulk, *overshadow spirit*, or *eclipse the glory of mind* ?

The universe is God's palace, and a marvellous palace it is. But is not a child more than any building ? What father of you is there, who if you had a palace, so vast that it stretched from the Great Bear of the North to the Southern Cross, and so glorious that the Milky Way roofed it, and Sirius and a million other blazing suns were the lamps that gave it light, would not straightway say,—My child is more than it all ?

So, as I go out under the sky at night, with no one near, and look up into the glorious and illimitable heavens, I hear in silence a voice speaking down from the Eternal Throne : O man, whom I have made only a little lower than myself, thou art more to me than all else. I do not create thee for my palace ; I built my palace—all this glorious palace of green earth and shining heavens—for *thee and such as thee*. Before sun or stars were I loved thee. Even whilst thou wert yet cradled in far away fire-mists, I watched over thee. Our destinies are one ; nothing shall ever pluck thee out of my hand. And then, as the voice from on high dies away, I hear another voice, not less divine, rising out of the silences of my own soul, and responding as deep answereth

to deep : O God of my life, in thee do I trust. From thee I came when I entered into this earthly room, so beautiful, of thy universe-house. Here thou givest me to live a few brief years, with thee, led by thy hand, studying thy wonders in nature and my own soul, learning life's lessons, helping my brothers as best I may, doing the work that thou givest me to do. I thank thee for this earthly sojourn. Soon shall I go forth again ; I do not know where, but thou, my Father, knowest. It is enough that *I shall be still with thee*. Death will but open the door to other rooms of thine infinite house. I am not afraid. All worlds are beautiful where thou art. Even hell would be safe with thee.

I believe that essentially this is the attitude to be taken to-day by the intelligent believer in astronomy, evolution and all modern science,—by one who accepts every word of its marvellous revelations in the earth and the starry heavens.

I believe that the scientist, with all modern knowledge shining full in his face, is justified in saying, with St. Paul : "I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depths," yea, nor blazing suns and stars nor astronomic heavens, nor telescope, nor evolution, nor any other created thing "shall ever be able to separate me from the love and care of God."

Wastage of India's Capital Resources

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ONE of the essential factors of production is capital or the sum total of all those past products or saved up wealth which are utilized for further production. The very conception of capital implies that the capital resources of a country depend upon its capacity of production, desire for savings, and ability to transform these savings into means of further production.

That the productive power of India is low can easily be imagined by the comparatively low national income. Thus, in 1924, for which such data are available for a number of countries, the *per capita* national income was only Rs. 74¹ in India as compared with Rs. 294 in Japan, Rs. 351 in Italy, Rs. 537 in Germany, Rs. 741 in France, Rs. 1,319 in England and Rs. 1,716 in the United States.²

Savings are, however, determined by the margin of income over expenditure. But it is still more difficult to estimate national expenditure than national income. A few estimates made of the family budgets throw some light on the question.

The budget of an average man worker in the Assam tea-gardens was estimated to be Rs. 7.32 in 1921-22, which would give Rs. 87.84 per annum³ as the amount of expenditure.

On the other hand, the average monthly budget of a family of 4.2 persons based on 2,473 families was found to be about Rs. 52.3 in Bombay City in 1921-1922,⁴ giving a *per capita* annual expenditure of about Rs. 149. The cost of living is, of course, the highest in Bombay. Moreover, it must be remembered

that the average expenditure¹ *per capita* for rural communities and the country as a whole is much lower than even that of labourers in Assam gardens.

The *per capita* income of Rs. 74 a year does not seem to leave a very large amount of savings in India as indicated by the family budget, but in spite of the low income a considerable amount of savings accumulates in India, as in fact in all other countries, owing to the unequal distribution of wealth and the capitalistic system of industrial organization. In fact, the most important thing in favour of capitalism is that it has encouraged the accumulation of social capital.

While savings create a source of capital, capital itself depends upon the investment of the surplus in actual production. The productivity of capital is, however, determined by intelligent and effective organization. By far the largest proportion of national capital accumulates annually without any conscious effort on the part of society and in the normal operation of industrial undertakings, such as farms and plantations, forests and orchards, workshops and factories, mines and quarries, roads and railways, irrigation and waterways, docks and harbours, and similar other undertakings.

The farms in India are too small in size for economic utilization of modern implements or machinery. By far the largest amount of capital is invested in livestock, in the possession of which India is one of the leading countries of the world, having in 1925, for instance, 187 million cattle and buffaloes out of the world's 547 millions, and 88 million sheep and goats out of the world's 601 million, that is, 34 and 14 per cent. respectively.²

Another important agricultural investment is the irrigation system by which an area

¹ Refers to the year 1921-22. Cf. Shah and Khambata, *Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India*. According to Professor Findlay Shirras, the *per capita* national income in India was Rs. 107 in 1921 and Rs. 116 in 1922. But these figures have been seriously questioned by several economists as being too high.

² According to the Statistical Bureau of Japan. See the *Economic Review*, Kyoto University, July 1929, p. 40. 100 yen = Rs. 135.

³ Report of the Assam Labour Enquiry Committee, 1921-22, p. 69.

⁴ Report of an enquiry into the working classes' budget in Bombay, Bombay Labour Office, 1923, p. 41.

¹ So is the income.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

² Computed. Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture, Abridged Report, London, 1928, p. 20; *Annuaire internationale de statistique agricole*, 1926-27, p. xx. The figures for India refer to British India and about half of the Indian States.

amounting to about 48 million acres or about one-fifth of the country's sown area was irrigated at a total capital expenditure of over 225 crores of rupees in the year 1926-1927.¹ Closely connected with agriculture are the plantation industries, of which tea, coffee and rubber cultivations are the chief. The capital invested in these industries in British India amounted in 1926-27 to 11.3 crores of rupees and 28.9 millions of pounds as represented by the joint-stock companies registered in India and abroad respectively.²

Next to agriculture, manufacture is the most important industry. It is still largely carried on in cottages. The most important of the cottage industries is hand-loom weaving. According to the census of 1921, the number of hand-looms in all provinces except Bombay, the United Provinces and the Central Provinces and Berar, amounted to about 2 millions.³ It has been estimated that about one-fourth of the cotton fabrics consumed in the country is produced by hand-looms⁴ and the value of hand-woven fabrics has been estimated to be about 50 million pounds a year.⁵ But it is not possible to ascertain the actual capital investment in weaving and other cottage industries. Of the modern large-scale industries, the textile industries are the most important, having in 1926-27 207,000 looms and 9,500,000 spindles, or 4.8 and 5.1 per cent. of the world's totals respectively.⁶ The paid-up capital in the cotton and jute mills amounted to Rs. 44 crores and Rs. 23 crores respectively in 1926-27.⁷

Of the transport industries the most important is the railway system, which had in 1926-27 a length of 39,000 miles, being the fourth largest system of railways in the world. The total cost up to that year on

the railway system was 788 crores of rupees.¹ Mining is another modern industry in which 41 crores of rupees have been invested by the joint-stock companies registered in British India and 21 million pounds by those registered abroad. Of the other important industries must be mentioned the following:

(1) Banking, in which, besides the investment of indigenous banks and foreign or exchange banks, the paid-up capital of the Imperial Bank and the joint-stock banks amounted in 1926, to Rs. 12 crores, the working capital of the co-operative societies to Rs. 25 crores and the total deposits to over Rs. 210 crores; (2) Commerce, in which, besides the investment of individual enterprise, the paid-up capital of the joint-stock companies together with that in manufacture amounted to Rs. 87 crores; and (3) Forestry, which is largely a State enterprise.²

It is not possible to estimate the total value of India's capital investment. By far the largest part of India's capital is invested in agricultural industries, chiefly in such forms as livestock, irrigation, ploughs, tools, implements, and barns; but there exist no records of their total value. The second important class of industries are crafts and arts or the cottage industries, and records are again lacking as to the value of tools, implements and workshops. The third important class of enterprises are the large-scale industries, including transport systems, which are carried on both by private enterprise, such as individuals and joint-stock companies, and by public and semi-public agencies. No records are available as to the value of individual investments. Of the joint-stock companies, the total paid-up capital for the companies registered in British India amounted to 267 crores of rupees in 1927, besides the paid-up capital of 554 million pounds of the joint-stock companies registered abroad but operating in India.³ Since some of the foreign joint-stock companies also operate in other countries, the exact amount of their capital operating in India is not known. Besides, there are also investments by central and provincial governments as well

¹ Statistical Abstract for British India, 1928, pp. 559-561.

² Statistical Abstract for British India, 1928, pp. 575, 579.

³ Compiled: The total number is actually 1,931,072. The Census of India, Rpt. 1: 270.

⁴ Report of the Indian Tariff Board on the Cotton Textile Industry Enquiry, 1927, Report 1: 239.

⁵ Memorandum on the claim of India to be among the eight States of chief industrial importance. India Office, London, 1920, p.6.

⁶ Computed. Cf. Annuaire Generale, Paris, 1927, p. 57.

⁷ The paid-up capital in jute mills in 1926-1927 consisted of 17.4 crores of rupees, 2.1 million pounds and 12 million dollars. Statistical Abstract, 1928, pp. 629 and 639.

¹ Statistical Abstract for British India, 1928, p. 407; The World Almanac, 1928, pp. 348 and 229.

² Statistical Abstract for British India, 1928, pp. 272 and 573; Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, abridged edition, 1928, p. 51.

³ Statistical Abstract for India, 1928, pp. 561-62.

as by municipalities and other public and semi-public organizations.

An attempt is nevertheless made to estimate the capital investment in large-scale industries. The largest part of the capital invested in such industries is however foreign, or more strictly, British. There is, however, a good deal of speculation as to the exact amount of foreign capital in India. It was estimated to be £470 millions in 1909,¹ and 600 crores of rupees in 1923.² According to the latest estimate, the present British investment in India would amount to over £600 millions, consisting of £261 millions of Government loans, £10 million municipal and port trusts borrowings, £17 millions of the balance of India's contribution towards the 5 per cent. War Loans, £120 million guaranteed railway debts, £75 million investment in companies registered in India and £100 million investment in companies operating in India, but registered outside.³ It is thus seen that the foreign capital invested in industrial, commercial and railway enterprises would amount to £295 millions. To these must be added the profits of the foreign capitalists re-invested in India and other investments not accounted for above. At a very conservative estimate the foreign capital invested in India's large-scale industries would be over £300 millions or about Rs. 400 crores.

It is more difficult to estimate the indigenous investment in large-scale industries. Of the Rs. 267 crores invested by joint-stock companies in British India, £75 millions or Rs. 100 crores are foreign, as noted above, and only Rs. 167 crores are indigenous. To these must be added the investment by Government and private individuals. According to the census of 1921, the number of industrial concerns employing 20 persons or more amounted to 15,606, of which only 3,292 were owned by registered companies, and of the remaining, 677 by Government and 11,637 by private

individuals.¹ It must be borne in mind that although the establishments owned by the Government are about one-fifth of the registered companies, some of them are as large as the latter and also that, although the establishments owned by private individuals are small in size, they are three-and-a-half times as many as the registered companies. Including the establishments employing less than 20 workers, the number of the establishments owned by private individuals would be still larger. Moreover, there has been a great increase in the number of indigenous investments since 1921. It might be safely said that the indigenous capital, both public and private, in large-scale industries would be about Rs. 300 crores. The total capital, both foreign and indigenous, invested in all kinds of large-scale industries, might thus roughly be estimated to be Rs. 700 crores.

While the capital invested in large-scale industries and in agricultural and cottage industries might give some rough idea of the amount of investments, it does not indicate how much of it is actually utilized for productive purposes. The unutilized part of the capital goods, the unproductive investment, and the unmobilized social savings constitute what might be called the wastage of India's capital resources.

Unproductive investment is, in fact, one of the most important causes of the wastage of India's potential capital. The most important example of unproductive investment is the purchase of gold for hoarding, either as metal itself or in the form of ornaments. In spite of the fact that the average annual value of the domestic production of gold from 1924-25 to 1928-29 amounted to 2.25 crores of rupees, its average annual net import amounted to 33.40 crores of rupees a year for the same period. From 1872 to 1928-29 the total absorption of gold, including production and imports, amounted to 666 crores of rupees.² In 1926, when the world's estimated gold stock amounted to 20,310 million dollars, or 5,484 crores of rupees, India possessed gold worth 632 crores of rupees or about 12 per cent. of the total.³

¹ See *The Economist*, 20 February, 1909.

² Professor K. T. Shah, *Trade, Tariff and Transport*, 1923, p. 184.

³ Sayer, M. C. B., *The Financial Times*, London, 9 January 1930, p. 5. The British investment of all kinds, including public loans, has been estimated to be as high as £ 700 millions. In the evidence tendered before the Statutory Commission, the sum was put as high as £ 1,000 millions.

¹ Census of India, 1921, Rpt. I, 266 and 292: Statistical Abstract for India, 1928, p. 668.

² Review of the Trade of India, 1928-29, pp. 143 and 221.

³ The World Almanac, 1928, page 286. \$100 = Rs. 270.

Now, a certain amount of gold is used in arts and industries in all countries, and about 31 per cent. of the world's stock has been estimated to be used in that connection in Europe and America in 1924.¹ In most of the countries gold is also the standard of value, and large quantities of gold are used for this purpose. India has no actual gold standard, and except in the year 1918-19, when 5.1 crores worth of gold money was coined, her gold stock is scarcely used for monetary purposes. Even if the gold standard is used, that would relieve India of a considerable amount of silver. Granting that India needs the same proportion of gold for arts and industries as the other countries, it may be shown that at least 66 per cent. or 444 crores of rupees' worth of gold is tied up unproductively and might be regarded as lost to the country for all practical purposes.

Another source of India's wasteful investment comes from the livestock, which represents by far the largest item of India's agricultural capital. Livestock serves a very important function in national economy, and supplies energy, food, and raw material. The most important function of livestock in India is the supply of energy, but the number of cattle, including buffaloes, kept in India is too many and is a pressure upon the food supply. Says the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India: "A comparison of the number of cattle kept in India with those kept in other countries indicates the possibility of reducing the number of working bullocks without necessarily reducing the existing standard of cultivation."² Because of the poor quality of the breed, the productive power of the livestock is also comparatively very poor. Moreover, on account of the prejudice against killing livestock, especially cattle, there exists on Indian farms a considerable number of old, disabled and unfit cattle, which are nothing but "boarders." The wastage from livestock in India thus comes in three distinct ways, namely, excessive number, poor breed and old and disabled stock.

What is the extent of wastage in India's livestock is difficult to estimate. The best period of productivity among cattle is

from the fourth to the twelfth year, depending upon the type and breed, as well as upon the kind of work they have to perform; but most of the cattle in India are left alive until they die a natural death. Supposing they live an average life of fifteen years, and their active life is only twelve years, including the early years before maturity, it is easily seen that about one-fifth of the cattle is superfluous, pressing upon the feed, and thus reducing the quantity of food for the other four-fifths. Moreover, a good breed of cattle would yield milk about eight or ten times as much, and would labour two or three times as much as the average cattle in India. On a conservative basis it can be said that India can do without one-third of her cattle.

The non-utilization of by-products is still another source of India's wastage in potential capital. The most conspicuous example of this wastage is the almost universal practice of burning the barn-yard manure. Manure is one of the most important by-products of animal husbandry. It is not only very rich in nitrogen, phosphoric acid and potash, but contains them in the most available form. At a very liberal estimate, not more than one-fifth of it is utilized as manure, nor does its fuel value, when burnt, amount to more than one-tenth of its manuring value. It is thus seen that, speaking very liberally, not more than 30 per cent. of the barn-yard manure is utilized in India. Granting that the value of the manure per head of cattle is Rs. 10 a year, it would appear that the loss from 187 million heads of cattle would amount to about 130 crores of rupees a year. The wastage from the other sources of by-products is equally great. It has been estimated that the wastage of linseed stalk alone costs India about 6 crores of rupees.¹ Similar wastage occurs in the other by-products of farms, plantations, forests, households, workshops and factories.

Another cause of the wastage of India's capital resources is under-employment in agricultural and cottage industries. The loss of human resources or labour from under-employment has been estimated at one-third of the total. A similar proportion of loss may be attributed to the capital goods employed in these industries.

The inefficiency of the tools and implements used in industrial processes, such as

¹ Cf. G. F. Shirras, *The Economic Journal*, London, June 1927, page 245.

² *Op. Cit.* *The Abridged Report*, Calcutta, 1928, page 20.

¹ Dr. Fowler's speech. See *Madras Weekly Mail*, 18 July, 1929, p. 51.

farm operations and cottage industries, including household work, is another source of wastage. The types and patterns of most of the tools and implements have come down from thousands of years and are now obsolete and antiquated. The plough is practically the same to-day as a thousand years ago, and the same is true of other tools and implements in farms, workshops and households. The reason why they are still there is that nobody has tried to improve them. Even the Spinners' Association has found the *charka* too inefficient and has offered one lakh of rupees for the invention of an improved pattern.¹

What is the extent of the loss from inefficient tools and implements, it is hard to estimate. One of the reasons why the Indian artisans remain idle is that they are unable to compete with the improved implements and machinery of industrially advanced countries. In addition to the loss of one-third of the total capital resources due to unemployment, another third of loss must be attributed to their inefficiency.

The inability to transform the social savings into social capital is, however, the most important cause of the wastage of Indian capital resources. While a part of the social surplus, amounting to 666 crores' worth of gold, is hoarded, the major part of it remains unmobilized and unorganized. What is the extent of this potential wealth, it is hard to estimate. The very fact that, besides the net progressive absorption of gold and silver from 1.8 crores in 1873-74 to 666 crores in 1928-29,² the amount of rupee loans increased from 101 crores in 1886-87 to 416 crores in 1926-27,³ the capital invested in joint-stock companies increased from 29 crores in 1895-96 to 267 crores in 1926-27, and the Government of India keeps a gold standard reserve amounting to £40 millions in London for meeting the unfavourable balance of trade,⁴ indicates that there are surplus savings in India which could be mobilized for productive purposes. "There is sufficient potential capital in India," observed the

External Capital Committee, "to meet the larger part of India's industrial requirements."¹ Sir Basil Blackett, the former Finance Minister of India, thinks that the annual savings of India are sufficient for all possible new capital expenditure. "India could not only supply the whole of her capital requirements," adds he, "but might also become the lender of capital for the development of other countries."² While the last statement might be too optimistic, it might safely be said that there exists at present in India considerable potential capital large enough to take care of all the present industrial activities in large-scale enterprises without the help of foreign capital. The hoarded gold of Rs. 444 crores alone, if mobilized, would have been sufficient to do away with the imported capital. On the basis that the value of the capital investment in these industries amounts to 700 crores of rupees, of which only 300 or 43 per cent. are raised in the country, the remaining 400 crores or 57 per cent. which are at present supplied by foreign countries but could be raised in the country itself, lie dormant, and might be said to be lost to the country.

The wastage of India's capital resources thus takes place in three distinct ways: (1) lack of mobilizing the social savings, (2) lack of economic investment, and (3) lack of full utilization of the existing capital goods. What is the extent of the wastage of all these capital resources, it is difficult to estimate. There exist no authentic data either for capital resources or for actual investments, as noted before. But some very rough idea may be had from the foregoing analysis of the wastage. In the first place, it has been estimated that agricultural capital remains idle for lack of work for at least four months in the year, causing a loss of one-third of its total utility. To this must be added a loss of another third for inefficiency. The wastage in the livestock alone, which is the largest item of agricultural capital, causes a loss of one-third of its total value, and the non-utilization of the barn-yard manure causes similarly a loss of two-thirds of its value. In the second place, the wastage in the capital investment of cottage industries also showed that about two-thirds of it are

¹ See *The Madras Weekly Mail*, August 8, 1929, p. 116.

² Review of the Trade of India, 1920-29, p. 143.

³ Excluding the provisional loan, which was 16 crores of rupees in 1928. Statistical Abstract, 1928-29, p. 221.

⁴ Wadia and Joshi, *Wealth of India*, London, 1925, p. 396

¹ Cf. The Ninth Session of the Indian Economic Conference, Madras, 1926, p. 183, quoted.

² *Ibid*: see also the *Statesman*, Calcutta, 6 June, 1929.

wasted for lack of employment and inefficiency. In the third place, the wastage due to the inability to mobilize social savings for investment in the large-scale industries, indicate a loss of about two-thirds. The hoarding of gold alone causes a loss of about 62 per

cent. of the capital invested therein. The total wastage in India's capital resources including unmobilized savings, uneconomic investment and unutilized capital, would thus amount to two-thirds of the total capital resources.

An American Interpreter of Human Culture

BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE

DR. Will Durant, one of the foremost philosophic interpreters of human culture in America, is on his way to India. This is fortunate.

Dr. Durant was formerly a professor of philosophy at Columbia University. He is the author of several penetrating books such as *Philosophy and Social Problem*, *The Manners of Philosophy*, *The Story of Philosophy*.

These books have been read by hundreds of thousands of people. *The Story of Philosophy* became the best-selling non-fiction book in America within three weeks of its publication, and is still leading. Before I read his books I never suspected that to the lay mind philosophy could be so intelligible, so absorbing, and so fruitful in its relation to the actual problems of life.

Will Durant is also a speaker of rare force and eloquence. He has lectured before vast audiences in the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific. His prose is so lit up with imagination and feeling as to have all the passion and music for poetry. What a gorgeous vocabulary and a rich flow of eloquence! He became prominent for his work in the Columbia University. Many students took his courses simply for the pleasure of listening to him. Men and women who studied under him there still tell of the exhilarating influence of his enthusiasm and his scholarship.

It happened that among the many lectures which Dr. Durant was asked to give outside the University was one on Spinoza, at the great community centre of New York City, Labour Temple. This address led to the formation of two classes under Dr. Durant, which met at Labour Temple every week for

eight years. Out of these lecture courses came the famous Labour Temple School, an institution which has won for itself a high place in the educational life of the metropolis.

The Labour Temple School is one of New York's most successful experiments in adult education. The School gives annually some 30 courses in philosophy, psychology, biology, sociology, economics, history, literature, music and art. It is through the long experience as an expositor of difficult subjects to lay audiences, that Will Durant learned to make his own subject, philosophy, as interesting as dramas, while making no sacrifices of thoroughness or scholarship.

His purpose in going to India, Mr. Durant told me, is to get in personal touch with Indian life and thought. The results of his findings will be embodied in a volume dealing with the philosophic history of human civilization.

Mr. Will Durant is going to India with an open mind. He confided to me not long ago that Tagore and Gandhi are to him "the greatest of living saints and the greatest of living poets." Of Tagore especially he remarked "I feel him to be the profoundest Hindu of our time who has made himself audible to the world."

Will Durant was born in New England, in 1885. He was born a Catholic, and graduated from a Jesuit College in 1907. For a time he worked as reporter on *The New York Evening Journal*, but found the life too fast for a philosopher and retired to the slower pace of professor of Latin, Greek, French, English and other languages at a college.

Thinking that he was called to be a Roman Catholic priest, Durant entered a Catholic seminary in 1909, but did not finish. No dogmatic theology for him. He took up graduate work in philosophy, biology and psychology at Columbia University from 1913 to 1917, receiving from that institution the degree of Ph. D.

Will Durant has emancipated himself from all traditional ways of thinking. He has passed from orthodox Catholicism to religious modernism, and has now reached advanced humanism. Although not yet fifty, his liberal views on religious, ethical, social, political, and economic questions place him among the most progressive thinkers of America to-day.

Dr. Durant, as a stimulating thinker, is interesting on many accounts. He is the greatest popularizer of philosophy in the United States. A few pedagogues have been heard to say that Durant's conception of philosophy is very elastic. They assert that Durant starts with philosophy in the stricter sense—logic, metaphysics, and theology—passes to morality, love, marriage and children, and then, in return, treats aesthetics, philosophy of history, political philosophy, religion, and worth of life. Instead of giving his readers mansions of philosophy, Durant has given them shanties of philosophies. This is one of those magnificent generalizations whose precise worth is between zero and nil.

Philosophy, as defined by Durant, is a total perspective, as mind overspreading life and forging chaos into unity. It must include all questions which vitally affect the worth and significance of human life. The philosopher is not content to describe the fact. He wishes to ascertain its relation to experience in general, and thereby to get at its meaning and its worth. He combines things in interpretative synthesis.

Science, Durant holds, tells us how to heal and how to kill. It reduces the death-rate in retail and then kills us wholesale in war; but only wisdom can tell us when to heal and when to kill. To observe processes and to construct means is science. To criticize and co-ordinate is philosophy.

Alas, philosophy is now in full retreat! It has lost its renowned position of ancient times because it has lost its spirit of adventure, its spacious realms, touch with the majority of real and crucial problems.

Perhaps in time the world will even forget that philosophy ever existed.

Philosophy should, be honoured in all its boundless scope. Philosophy should be conceived as a vast and total problem of the meaning, value, and possibilities of man in the world. Philosophy must "stay on



Dr. Will Durant

earth and earn its keep by illuminating life." The task of philosophy, as Durant sees it, is to clarify men's ideas as to the social and moral strifes of their own day. Its aim should be to become an organ for dealing and adjusting with these conflicts. Philosophy is to direct life and, "life comes first."

Centuries ago Plato asked: "What is Truth?" Durant says that the age-long quest for an answer to this question has revealed the fact that there is no absolute truth. Truth is but reasoning. Locke, two hundred years ago, said: "Knowledge comes from the senses only." Plato had also thought of this but the answer is too simple to be satisfactory. Reason, argued the founders of modern Western philosophy, must be added to knowledge in order that we may arrive at what truth is. I think it was Voltaire who declared that "when once a nation begins to think, it is impossible to stop it." We

must reason, and we reason because we must.

The validity of morality is relative. "Morals are changing today," says Dr. Durant, "like clouds before the wind." Chivalry, gallantry, chastity, and modesty have disappeared, or fallen into low repute. Why? City life has aggregated millions and has resulted in a break-down of home life, marriage, and morals. The change in the economic basis of society is largely responsible for the change in the moral codes. This shifting in moral standards has been brought about by the changing of the people from an agricultural to an industrial basis of life.

Under the agricultural moral system early marriage was desirable, motherhood was sacred, birth control was immoral, and large families in Europe and America were an economic necessity. Everything conspired to strengthen the ties which held the family together.

Then came the Industrial Revolution bringing with it the factories and crowded city life. Under the industrial code marriage is postponed due to economic insecurity, promiscuity has increased by this postponement, family life has disintegrated, agriculture and religion have decayed.

At present the Westerners find themselves at the cross roads: the past has been torn from them, and the future is uncertain. They have scarcely any moral code to accord with the changed conditions of their lives. Professor Durant says that the thing to do now is to found a new moral code which will lift men up, and meet their new problems. The old stereotyped doctrines of the antique mind, which substitutes fantasy for reality, must be forever laid at rest. Morality is to be regarded as the co-operation of the part with the whole. Sin has no meaning except where the good of the whole is involved: nothing is immoral unless it injures one's own self and his fellows. Morality spreads as economic and social units increase.

Durant is an incurable lover of democracy. He believes that aristocracies are often cruel. "What glory is there in an aristocratic culture," he asks in one of his volumes, "that can descend to the brutality of Clive and Hastings in India? It may not yet be true, but it is still a principle worth working up to, that no man is good enough to govern another without his consent. Here the democratic ideal, though it is only an ideal, has

finer possibilities; it encourages every man to be responsible for himself; it stiffens the backbone, and raises the look of the eye. Better a country of chaotic individuals on the road to order, than a nation of slaves whose only refuge is revolution."

Mr. Durant is convinced that future is with the awakened Asia. The effete Europe with its pogroms, its religious and racial discriminations, its militarism and its conscription is rapidly coming to the end of the tether. England, with an aristocratic caste system, is content with thin gruel of a political democracy, not a social one, and becomes year by year an unbearable place for the average man. England is comfortable for the persons at the top. England's faults and vices have been built into it by centuries of aristocratic indifference to the common lot. America has its imperfections; but its predicament is largely the work of certain discreditable politicians against whose appearance from time to time in the government, the American system has not found reliable protection. The American system has not, however, handed over great masses of humanity to apparently unescapable misfortune which comes from birth and ends only with death. It is Asia's renaissance. England is slipping, Europe is losing, America is developing, and Asia is gaining.

Professor Will Durant, the brilliant author of many philosophic volumes, declares that democracy is not a complete success in America, where democracy has become a "government by those who do not know." America is suffering from the consequences of a democracy politically groggy and punch-drunk from hitting its own chin. It took more demagoguery into its system than any electorate can absorb comfortably. The political failure is obvious; but initiative and enterprise have not been slowed down in their stride. And Durant's solution? "My own idea would be an Utopia of education. I would suggest the establishment of great schools of political science where men would receive as thorough an education in the science of government as they do in the science of medicine. Only through education will men develop enough to make laws wisely. And only through education will the entire people learn to entrust their country to the right kind of statesmen." There is, however, no reason to despair of America. Slowly, young America is coming of age.

In regard to the position of women in

society, Dr. Durant believes that woman is primary and basic, the male secondary and tributary. The woman serves the race, while the male is to serve the woman and the child. It is true that "Man's work is from sun to sun, but woman's work is never done." Upon her rests the responsibility of the continuance of the racial strain. The differences in the intellectual make-up of men and women is one of degree and not of kind. Indeed, it is doubtful if there exists any difference between the sexes at all.

Will Durant holds the view-point that it is possible to make character. In this, I think that most of the modern psychologists would agree. Give the instincts as full play as is practicable with enriching environment. "Obviously those qualities which we have called positive and negative are not irrevocably rooted in the flesh; they have their basis in the strength and weakness of body; but they can be transformed indefinitely by opportunity and environment." Recipes for character reconstruction include health, unity, pugnacity and pride, action, marriage, friends, and intelligence. "Some day our brains will catch up with our instruments, our wisdom with knowledge, our purposes

with our powers. Then at last we shall behave like human beings."

The East and West have their troubles; but they are remedial. The world should be a better place for all its people in which to live. Humanity, on the whole, is progressing. Progress! What is it? Progress is "an accumulation of technical knowledge and cultural creation. If these can be passed on to the new seat of economic power the civilization does not die, it merely makes for itself a new home. Nothing but beauty and wisdom deserve immortality. To a philosopher it is not indispensable that his native city should last for ever; he will be content if its achievements shall be passed on, to form part of the permanent possessions of mankind." Let us do our little share to preserve them, augment them, and pass them on.

Is life worth living? Yes, maintains Mr. Durant, a thousand times yes. Life is sweet and good, despite the many cruel pranks played upon unsuspecting persons. The joy of being alive is worth all the struggles we have to go through. No promise of an after-life could dull the joy of this life. We should make our world, live in it, play in it. Be alive.

Germany and the Crime of the World War

By Dr. TARAKNATH DAS, Ph. D.,

"GERMANY was solely responsible for the World War," therefore, she was responsible for the losses of the Allied nations and thus she must pay the reparations. This "legend of Germany's sole responsibility for the World War" was invented by the Allied diplomats and historians, who did not want to "exact indemnity from Germany," but merely wanted "reparation for the losses," who did not want to annex German colonies, but wished to establish "mandates over German colonies," to protect the natives from German misrule! Now honest historians are beginning to recognize the fact that "Germany was solely responsible for the World War" is nothing better than a myth. They also recognize

that "reparation payments are nothing less than exaction of indemnity" and the mandate system is nothing less than annexation of German colonies by the Allies. If the mask of hypocrisy was removed regarding the reparation claims and the mandate system, possibly Germany would have been benefited by it. If Germany was asked to pay an indemnity for her being defeated, she might have agreed to pay the required indemnity, on condition that she would not lose her colonies and territories. She might have also claimed that if she was to be deprived of her colonies "under the so-called mandate system," she would deduct the actual and potential value of these colonies from the sum demanded for indemnity. However, the

ideal of hypocrisy ruled the settlement of the World War, and Germany had to lose her colonies and had to pay an indemnity on the pretext that she was solely responsible for the war.

It is now generally conceded that Germany was not solely responsible for the war. Mr. Lloyd George and his secretary Mr. Phillip Kerr, who played an important part in fastening the "war-guilt" on the German Government, were among the very first of British politicians who declared that Germany was not alone guilty of the World War. Since the publication of the works on the origins of the World War by Prof. Sidney B. Fay, Prof. Gooch and others no serious-minded man or woman ever accepts the myth that Germany alone was responsible for the World War as valid.

If Germany was not solely responsible for the World War, then Germany should not be deprived of her colonies and she should not be made to pay "reparations" and the treaty of Versailles should be revised. This is the contention of many Germans. The argument seems to be logical, but is it practical?

Prof. Charles G. Fenwick of Bryn Mawr College, in an interesting article, entitled "Germany and the Crime of the World War," published in the October issue of the *American Journal of International Law*, discusses the war-guilt question and the possibility of a revision of the Treaty of Versailles. It is interesting to note some of the important views of this learned American authority on International Law. Prof. Fenwick writes:

The truth is that in the ten years that have passed since the signing of the treaty, the enlightened public opinion of the world has become more and more convinced that there can be no indictment of a single nation as the sole cause of the war and the sole bearer of the criminal guilt attached to it. . . . For, the war was fought under the old order of things; it was resorted to as the accepted *ultima ratio* in a system of international relations that recognized the right to make war and put but the most illusive restraints upon the exercise of that right. The consequences of defeat were then, as in earlier wars, that the losing party should pay the indemnities.

He further explains his views in the following passage:

What the Allied and Associated Governments were principally concerned with was the imposition of indemnities for the losses incurred in the war, and here Germany was made the responsible party. The ascription of those losses to a war brought on by the aggression of Germany reflects

the temper of the times, but it cannot be taken as the fundamental assumption upon which all the provisions of the treaty rest. Germany was defeated, and that was all there was to it. The naive attempt to make Germany sign up to her own guilt was not taken seriously by the victors and need not be taken seriously by the German people. At any rate, when the German delegates announced that they were signing the treaty under duress no one suggested that at least they should be sincere about acknowledging the guilt.

Prof. Fenwick suggests that certain provisions of the Versailles Treaty should be revised without a formal revision of the agreement:

Upon two points there should be general agreement. Whatever the degree of responsibility to which Germany was held in 1919, there must be revision of such terms of the treaty as in the passing of the years have proved to be unwise and unjust from the standpoint of the general peace and welfare of the European community, of which Germany is one of the leading members. Doubtless, it will be difficult at any time in the near future to undertake a formal revision of the Treaty of Versailles, but informal revision of particular provisions not only can be effected but is now being carried out. Nothing could be more harmful than to permit the continuance of unjust conditions, simply because they were believed to be just under the tense circumstances under which the Treaty of Versailles was signed.

Secondly, the best assurance that the German people can have that the "war guilt" theory is not as they claim, "undermining confidence (in them) among the nations" will not come in the shape of a formal withdrawal of the alleged accusation that Germany alone caused the war, but will come, as it has been coming for the past few years, in the actual co-operation of her former enemies with Germany in the task of building up the new world of the future."

The above comment of Prof. Fenwick should receive careful consideration of statesmen of Germany as well as other nations which fought her during the World War. In Germany no one believes in the "war-guilt theory" which places all the blame on the shoulders of the German people. But the practical statesmen of Germany feel that as they lost the war, they must pay. However, they believe that with the changed world conditions there will be revision of the reparation payments. These statesmen, however, have no illusions left about the possibility of making any change in the Treaty of Versailles or the reparation payment by the victorious powers, due to their pure sense of justice. This conviction of German statesmen has been confirmed by the attitude of Mr. Snowden, the Socialist British statesman, during the last Hague Conference on the Young Plan, and also by the attitude of the British Labour Government on the

question of returning the German private property which was confiscated by Great Britain during the World War, or returning the surplus fund derived from the sale of German private property, after the full payment of British claims.

The most interesting and discouraging fact is that Mr. Snowden, like many of the professional politicians out of office, several years ago, when he was not a British Cabinet Minister, declared in writing that certain unjust provisions of the Treaty of Versailles should be discarded; but as the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, he justified the use of the surplus fund, realized from the sale of the German property, by the British Government on the ground of the provisions

of the Versailles Treaty. It was Lord Buckmaster, (who is not a Socialist) who accused the British Labour Government of carrying out a policy in violation of established principles of International Law, which "reflect deep and indelible disgrace on this country" (Great Britain).

Germany is not in a position to demand a revision of the unjust provisions of the Versailles Treaty. She has not the economic and political power, which includes military power, to compel other nations to revise the treaty; but the initiative for the informal revision of the treaty, as suggested by Prof. Fenwick, should come from the statesmen of the Allied and the Associated Powers. Will they do it?

The Poems of Chandidas

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

AS the first Bengali poet, Chandidas is entitled to a distinction that can belong to no other poet. The famous Jayadeva was an earlier poet, but he did not use the Bengali language as the medium of his exquisitely melodious poems. Vidyapati was not a Bengali at all; he was a native of Mithila and he wrote in the Maithil language, though his poems became a part of Bengali literature and his language found many imitators. Chandidas wrote in pure Bengali, using a few Hindi and Maithil words then current in Bengal. For a considerable period of time, however, the fame of this poet was confined to a particular section of the community. He was what is called a Vaishnava poet; in other words, his poems and songs treated of the love of Krishna and Radha, and were popular among the Vaishnavas of Bengal. Chandidas lived before Chaitanya, who is regarded as an incarnation of Krishna and Vishnu. The wonderful personality of Chaitanya inspired many poets, who composed lyrics relating to him and Krishna and Radha. These, together with the poems of Vidyapati and Chandidas, and also Govindadas Jha of Mithila, who as well as Vidyapati, were erroneously supposed to be Bengalis, form a considerable literature of

surpassing beauty and lyrical melody. These poems were looked upon as sacred hymns and were frequently sung in *Kirtans*, a particular kind of singing popularized by Chaitanya and his followers. Outside the Vaishnava community these lyrics were not widely known. The works of Kashiram Das, the author of the Bengali Mahabharata, Krittivasa, who wrote the Ramayana in Bengali, and Bharat Chandra Ray appealed to a much larger public. With the prose writings of Rammohun Roy, Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar and Akshay Kumar Dutt began the foundations of a general Bengali literature, and the poet who had the largest vogue about that time was Iswara Chandra Gupta.

A few years later Madhusudan Dutt as a poet and Bankim Chandra Chatterji as a romancer ushered in a new era of creative and imaginative literature, revealing unexplored resources of the Bengali language. Its musical cadences and its latent strength. Even at this time Chandidas was not widely appreciated. The obscure printing-presses of Bat-tala alone, with their hideous typographical errors and cheap paper, rescued many classical writers from oblivion. Out of Bat-tala the poems of Chandidas were first edited and published by Akshay Chandra

Sircar, the well-known writer and scholar, along with the writings of other old authors. His edition was the best, but it has been long out of print and no attempt has been made to reprint it. With the passing years wider fame came to the first Bengali poet and he was recognized as the greatest lyric poet in the Bengali language. The poems on which his fame rests are to be found in the large collection of Vaishnava poems known as the *Padakalpataru*. This collection was made by Vaishnava Das, himself a poet and a devout Vaishnava. Quite recently, another edition was issued by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. This edition contained several hundred new poems discovered in some manuscripts believed to be old, but of which the dates were not mentioned. The editing was most unsatisfactory and displayed lamentable ignorance of the language of Chandidas and the Vaishnava poets, while the new poems are extremely inferior and cannot be compared with the poems that are to be found in the *Padakalpataru*.

Chandidas lived over five hundred years ago and there is no reason for surprise if his original manuscripts cannot be found. But even as regards other Vaishnava poets who flourished much later nothing authentic can be known and their handwriting is not extant. It may quite accurately be said that no original manuscripts of any poet are available. Similarly, very little is known about their lives. Neither history nor biography formed any part of ancient Sanskrit literature and the same defect is to be found in the early period of modern Indian languages. Chandidas has given some particulars about himself in his poems. For instance, he has mentioned the names of the village where he lived, a goddess to whom a temple was dedicated and a woman he loved. This is really all that is definitely known about him. For the rest, there are fantastic legends of miraculous happenings unworthy of credit, invented incidents without any substratum of truth and careless statements without any attempt at verification. It is tolerably certain that in his lifetime Chandidas was not a man of much note, nor did he occupy a position of distinction in society. These are, of course matters of not the slightest consequence, for the possession of a gift like that of Chandidas is infinitely more valuable than mere worldly possessions which are coveted to-day and forgotten tomorrow.

Another incomplete manuscript, of which the beginning and the end are missing, was discovered a few years ago and has been published under the name of *Srikrishnakirtan*. This is also a work by Chandidas and the work of editing has been done with much care and considerable ability. This book is particularly valuable as retaining the old orthography of Bengali words and many obsolete expressions. It is extensively influenced by the poems of Vidyapati, whose language, turns of phrase, expressions and metaphors have been freely borrowed. This in itself is a clear proof that Vidyapati was an older poet than Chandidas, who must have read the writings of the Maithil poet with much admiration and care. There are also certain lines taken from the poems of Jayadeva. The inference appears reasonable that *Srikrishnakirtan* was composed before the maturity of Chandidas's genius and the poems contained in it were not included in the *Padakalpataru* because of their crudity and immaturity.

The *Padavali*, or the poems found in the anthology called *Padakalpataru*, and upon which the fame of Chandidas mainly rests, have been to a certain extent modernized both in the orthography and the form of the words. This is explained by the fact that in earlier times there was no regular or uniform method of spelling and Bengali words were spelt anyhow at the pleasure of the writer or the copyist. In the Sanskrit language there are definite and hard and fast rules of spelling, while the rules in Prakrit dialects are different. Bengali, like all other modern Indian languages from the Sanskrit stock, is derived directly from a Prakrit dialect, but in the earlier period of its growth very little heed was paid to accuracy either in the spelling of words or to grammar. The poems of Chandidas and other Vaishnava poets were sung by professional singers and Vaishnava devotees, who possessed manuscript copies of these poems and songs, and alterations took place in the process of singing and copying these lyrics. Finally, when they were printed the Sanskrit method of spelling was followed in the case of Sanskrit words and other words were spelt in a particular way. This accounts for the somewhat startling modernity of the poems of Chandidas, though there has been no essential or radical change. In the same manner, the different readings of certain passages must be attributed to the caprices

of the copyists of manuscripts. These men were not always fully qualified for their work and minor changes or alterations are easily made. Chandidas, like a true artist and poet, used the simplest language and it was easy to imitate him and make unimportant alterations in his original composition. Nevertheless, the stamp of his originality is quite clear and the careful student may easily detect interpolations or spurious imitations. There is no reason to believe that Chandidas was a prolific writer. He was in reality a composer of songs and the best things that he wrote will be found in the *Padakalpataru*. The poems that have been recently discovered and published do not equal, far less surpass, the original poems that have made the name of the poet famous. Jayadeva wrote barely a score of poems and his fame is as imperishable as it is world-wide.

The love of Radha and Krishna has been a fruitful source of inspiration to poets and composers of songs throughout North India. It requires both imagination and strength of devotion to appreciate the hold that this theme has had upon metrical and musical compositions in this country. The only parallel that we can think of is Solomon's Song, the Song of Songs, in the Old Testament. To the puritan and the prude Vaishnava poems may seem merely the celebration of an illicit love but this is exploded by the single fact that these poems moved the prophet Chaitanya, who left home and wife as a very young man and was a celibate all his life, to ecstatic rapture ending in the loss of consciousness. There is a deep spiritual interpretation of this love, a conception of self-surrender difficult of realization and a mysticism as subtle as it is satisfying.

The prevailing characteristic of the poems of Chandidas is simplicity—simplicity of language, of imagery, of metaphor. There are no elaborations, no finesse, no subtleties of phrase and expression. At the same time, the intensity of feeling, the abandon of passion, the acuteness of the aching of love, the pangs of separation are portrayed with a vivid realism which appeals to the reader with irresistible power. The very first poem which shows how Radha's heart was disturbed on hearing the name of Krishna is wonderfully suggestive:

সই কেবা শুনাইলে শ্রীম নাম।

কানের ভিতর দিয়া। মরমে পশিল গো।

আকুল করিল মোর প্রাণ ॥

না জানি কতেক মধু শ্রীম নামে আছে গো
বদন ছাড়িতে নাহি পারে।
জপিতে জপিতে নাম অবশ করিল গো
কেমনে পাইব সই তারে ॥
নাম পরতাপে বার এছন করিল গো
অঙ্গের পরশে কিবা হয়।
যেখানে বসতি তার নয়ানে দেখিয়া গো
যুবতী ধরম কৈছে রয় ॥
পাসরিতে করি মনে পাসরা না যায় গো
কি করিব কি হবে উপায়।
কহে দ্বিজ চণ্ডীদাসে কুলবতী কুল নাশে
আপনার যৌবন বাচায় ॥

Radha is speaking to a companion: "My friend, who spoke to me the name of Syam (Krishna)? Through the ear it has entered my heart and has distracted my soul. I do not know how much sweetness (honey) there is in the name of Syam for the tongue cannot leave it. Constantly repeating his name I have become distraught; oh, my friend, how am I to get him? When his mere name has such power what will happen when he touches me? Where he lives how can young women preserve their honour after seeing him? I think of forgetting him but I cannot forget; what shall I do, what is the remedy? Says Brahmin Chandidas, women throw away their family honour and offer him (Krishna) their love unsought."

The beginning of this poem is nothing like human love. There may be such a thing as love at first sight, and even a name may be lovable but no one falls distractedly and hopelessly in love with a mere name. This is only possible when a man or woman loves the name of the Lord beyond everything else in the world. Part of the language of this poem is devotional as when Radha says that she repeats the name of Syam as a worshipper turns a rosary. Just as there is the intoxication of God-love, so the name of Syam, who is identified with God, inspires boundless love. Although human, in delineation and expression, there is at the back of all Vaishnava poetry the conception of a divine love which transcends everything human. From the first realization of the deity as a personal God the longing and the intimacy of the human heart has sought to establish human relations with the Creator, every step seeking to bring man closer to God. The first sense naturally is of awe. In the Upanishads the deity is spoken of as the

Purusha, the all-immanent and all-conscious male principle of creation. He is not designated by any human relationship. In the Old Testament and the New he is called Father, the old conception representing him as a God of wrath, swift in retribution and terrible in vengeance. Jesus of Nazareth preached of a different God, a God of infinite love and infinite compassion. In India the transition of spiritual thought gradually conceived God as Father and next as Mother. In the Song of Solomon God is represented as a lover in impassioned allegory, and later on virgin and devout women in moods of religious exaltation fancied themselves the brides of Heaven and Jesus Christ. The famous Sufi poets of Persia used the language of love in reference to the deity and the same characteristic distinguishes the writings of the Vaishnavā poets of Bengal. Men sacrificed wealth and position and kingdoms for the love of God; women went a step further and sacrificed their good name and their reputation for virtuousness for the same cause. The meaning of the allegory is that everything that the world prizes, a place in the family, the unsullied reputation for virtue, weighs as nothing in the balance against the overwhelming love for the deity. The love of Radha inspired by the mere name of Krishna represents the complete and unhesitating sacrifice of all that the world holds dear.

This poem that has been just quoted is the keynote of Radha's love. She has heard only the name of Krishna, but it has moved her to the depth of her being. She is no longer mistress of herself, she is distrait, she wishes to forget the name she has heard, but it is beyond her power to do so. What the ear began the eyes complete and the sight of the cloud-like beauty of Krishna brings about her undoing :

সজনি কি হেরিলু যমুনার কুলে ।
বজ্রকুল নন্দন হরিল আমার মন
ত্রিভঙ্গ দাঁড়াঞা তরুশূলে ॥

"Friend, what did I see on the bank of the Jumna! The son of the family of Braja, standing cross-legged underneath the tree, has captured my heart."

There are poems descriptive of the great beauty of Radha as seen by Krishna and Radha tells her companions how her heart has been overpowered by the handsome figure of Krishna. Krishna is telling a friend :

খির বিজুরি বদন গৌরী
পেখনু ঘাটের কুলে ।
কানড়া ছাঁদে কবরী বাঁধে
নব মল্লিকার মালে ॥
সই মরম কহিলু তোরে ।
আড় নয়নে ঈষৎ হাসিয়া
আকুল করিল মোরে ॥

"I saw her on the bathing bank like unto still lightning with her fair face; her hair was put up in a fine fashion and wreaths of fresh jasmine flowers were entwined in it. Friend, I tell thee the secret of my heart: She distracted me as she smiled and glanced at me."

Radha becomes as one possessed and her friends and relations become anxious about her :

রাধার কি হলো অন্তরে ব্যথা ।:
বসিয়া বিরলে থাকয়ে একলে
না শুনে কাহার কথা ॥
সদাই ধ্যাননে চাহে মেঘপানে
না চলে নয়নের তারা ।
বিরতি আহারে রাঙ্গা বাস পরে
যেমন যোগিনী পারা ॥
এলাইয়া বেগী ফুলের গাঁথনি
দেখয়ে খমায়ে চুলি ।
হসিত বয়ানে চাহে মেঘপানে
কি কহে হৃৎহাত তুলি ॥
এক দিষ্ট করি ময়ূর ময়ূরী
কণ্ঠ করে নিরীক্ষণে ।
চণ্ডীদাস কয় নব পরিচয়
কালিয়া ঝুঁপু সনে ॥

"What is the pain in Radha's heart? She sits apart by herself and gives no heed to what others say. She is always in meditation and gazes at the clouds, and the pupils of her eyes are fixed. She is disinclined to take food and she wears red clothes like a *yogini*. Loosening the plaits and the garlands of flowers she spreads out her hair and looks at it. With a smiling face she looks up at the clouds and lifting up both hands says something. She gazes intently at the necks of peacocks and peahens. Chandidas says, she has become newly acquainted with her lover, Krishna."

In these simple but beautiful lines the suggestion is repeated that it is not the ordinary human love that has moved Radha so deeply. She is unconscious of her surroundings and deaf to the words addressed to her by the people around her. She is

তোমরা আমাৰে যে বল সে বল
কালিয়া গলার মালা॥

সই ছাড়িতে যদি বল তারে ।
 অন্তর সহিত দে প্রেম জড়িত
 কে তারে ছাড়িতে পারে ।
 যে দিন যেখানে যে সব পিরীতি
 লীলা করয়ে কাঁহু ।
 সঙ্গের সঙ্গিনী হইয়া রহিহু
 শুনিতাম মধুর বেষু ॥
 এত রূপ নহে হিয়া পরতীত
 বাইতাম কদম্বের তলা ।
 চণ্ডীদাস কহে এত প্রাণে সহে
 বচন বিষের জ্বালা ॥

"Krishna is my honour (caste), my life, my treasure. Tell me whatever you please Krishna is the garland round my neck. Friend, if you ask me to leave him, his love is entwined round my heart, who can leave him? Whenever and wherever Krishna showed the various manifestations of love I stayed with him as his companion and listened to his sweet lute. I could not believe in my heart that he had such great beauty and I went below the *Kadamba* tree to see him. Chandidas says, how can the heart bear the agony of poisoned words?"

Love will endure all and suffer all except the renunciation of love itself. The more bitterly Radha is persecuted and assailed with bitter words for her fall from virtue the stronger becomes her love and she sings the paean of love in triumphant exultation :

পিরীতি নগরে বসতি করিব
 পিরীতে বান্ধিব ঘর ।
 পিরীতি পড়সি পিরীতি প্রিয়সী
 অস্ত্র সকলি পর ॥
 পিরীতি দোহাণে এ দেহ রাখিব
 পিরীতি করিব আল ।
 পিরীতির কথা সদাই কহিব
 পিরীতে গোঁড়াব কাল ॥
 পিরীতি পান্ধে শয়ন করিব
 পিরীতি বালিশ মাথে ।
 পিরীতি বালিশে আলিস করিব
 রহিব পিরীতি মাথে ॥
 পিরীতি সাগরে দিনান করিব
 পিরীতি জল যে খাব ।
 পিরীতি দুখের দুখিনী যে জন
 পরাণ বাটয়া দিব ।
 পিরীতি বেশর নাসেতে পরিব
 রহিব বন্ধুয়া মনে ।
 হৃদয় পিঞ্জরে পিরীতি থুইব
 দ্বিজ চণ্ডীদাস ভণে ॥

"I shall live in the city of Love and with love shall I build my house. Love will be

my neighbour and love will be my dear friend ; all others will be strangers. Love will caress my person, love will be my light ; of love shall I ever speak and in love I shall spend my time. I shall sleep on the bed of love and love will be the pillow under my head ; I shall stretch my limbs on a pillow of love and with love I shall stay. I shall bathe in the lake of love and I shall drink the water of love. With the woman who can share the sorrow of love I shall share my heart. In my nose I shall wear love as a nose-ring and I shall live with my lover. Chandidas says, I shall keep love in the cage of my heart."

Quite a large number of poems treat of the various phases of love, its power and its bitterness, its suspicions and jealousies, the cruel pangs of love scorned and unrequited. In a mood of bitterness Radha says :

সখি আর কি বলিব তোরে
 পিরীতি বলিয়া দারুণ আখর
 বলিতে নয়ান ঝরে ॥
 পিরীতি মুরতি কভু না হেরিব
 এ দুটি নয়ান কোণে ।
 পিরীতি বলিয়া নাম শুনাইতে
 মুদিয়া রহিব কাণে ।
 পিরীতি আরতি কভু না করিব
 শয়নে স্বপনে মনে ।
 পিরীতি নগরে বসতি তেজিব
 রহিব গহন বনে ॥

"Friend, what more shall I tell thee ? My eyes overflow with tears when I mention the word love. I shall never glance at the image of love, I shall close my ears if any one names love. Never in my mind, sleeping or dreaming, shall I long for love. I shall give up living in the city of love and shall live in the dense forest."

Shortly after, the time came when Krishna was called away to Mathura, never again to return to Gokul and the scenes of his childhood and youth. Day after day Radha pined for him and lived in the hope of his return. With despair filling her heart she says :

সখি রে মধুরামণ্ডলে পিয়া ।
 আসি আসি বলি পুন না আসিল
 কুলিশ পাঁচাণ হিয়া ॥
 আসিবার আশে লিখিহু দিবসে
 ধোয়াইহু নখের ছন্দ ।
 উঠিতে বসিতে পথ নিরখিতে
 দু আঁখি হইল অন্ধ ॥

"Oh, my friend, my beloved one is in the city of Mathura. He repeatedly said he would come back but he has not done so; his heart is hard as the thunderbolt and a stone. In the hope of his coming I have been writing the days with my finger nails on the wall and my nails are broken and mis-shaped. Restlessly, sitting and standing I have been watching the path for his coming and both my eyes have become blind."

This poem, in almost the identical words, is to be found in Vidyapati and Jnandas.

Radha sent messengers to Mathura to entreat and persuade Krishna to return to Brindaban or Gokul. These women tried all their arts of persuasion, reproaches, sarcasm, and represented that Radha was on the point of death in consequence of the separation from Krishna. In one of these poems the humour and irony are striking. The messenger is speaking to some other woman in Mathura :

শ্রাম শুকপাখী হৃদয় নিরখি
রাই ধরিল নয়ান ফালে ।
হৃদয় পিঞ্জরে রাখিল সাদরে
মনোহি শিকলে বাক্যে ॥
তারে প্রেম স্বধা নিধি দিয়ে ।
তারে পুথি পালি ধরাইল বুলি
ডাকিত রাধা বলিয়ে ॥
এখন হয়ে অবিশ্বাসী কাটিয়া আকুসি
পলায়ে এসেছে পুরে ।
সন্ধান করিতে পাইলু শুনিতে
কুব্জা রেখেছে ধরে ॥
আপনার ধন করিতে প্রার্থন
রাই পাঠাইল সোরে ।
চণ্ডীদাস বিজে তব তজবিজে
পেতে পারে কি না পারে ॥

"Radha saw that the parrot named Syam was beautiful and she caught him in the snare of her eyes. She kept him fondly in the cage of her heart and tied him with the chain of her mind. She fed him on the nectar of love, tamed him and taught him to repeat the name of Radha. He has now proved unfaithful, he has broken his chain and fled to this city. While searching for him I heard that Kubja (a flower girl of Mathura) has caught and kept him. Radha has sent me to ask for the property that belongs to her. The Brahmin Chandidas asks, in your judgment is she entitled or not to her own property?"

In the final phase of her intense grief at

the separation from Krishna, Radha imagines that her lover has returned from Mathura and her unhappiness is at an end. It is a delusion which has a deep spiritual significance for the meeting with the Lord is a realization of the spirit and the vision of devotion beholds what is invisible to the eye of the flesh. In this mood of the exaltation of the spirit and a happy hallucination Radha joyfully tells her friend of the favourable omens indicating the return of Krishna :

সই জানি কুদিন হৃদয় ভেল ।
মাধব মন্দিরে তুরিতে আওব
কপাল কহিয়া গেল ॥
চিকুর ফুরিছে বদন খসিছে
পুলক বোবন ভার ।
বাম অঙ্গ আঁখি সঘনে নাচিছে
হুলিছে হিম্মার হার ॥
প্রভাত সময়ে কাক কোলাকুলি
আহার বাটিয়া যায় ।
পিয়া আসিবার নাম শুধাইতে
উড়িয়া বসিল তায় ॥
মুখের তাবুল খসিয়া পড়িছে
দেবের মাথার ফুল ।
চণ্ডীদাস কহে সব স্থলক্ষণ
বিহি ভেল অকুল ॥

"Friend, I know that the evil day has become propitious. My forehead tells me Madhava (Krishna) will come home soon. My hair is moving of itself, my garment is slipping down and the hair is standing on my breast in token of delight. My left eye and left limbs are fluttering repeatedly and the gold chain on my bosom is swinging about. In the morning the crows are making a noise and dividing and eating the food before them. When I asked whether my beloved was coming they flew and settled on the food. The betel from my mouth is falling out and the flower placed on the head of the god (idol) is fluttering down to the ground. Chandidas says, all the omens are good, Providence has become favourable."

The belief in premonitions of this kind still exists. The omens mentioned signify that something pleasant will happen or some one who is expected or unexpected is about to arrive. The signs that Radha mentions lend colour to the belief that Krishna is coming in person, though it is not so. The noting of these signs helps, however, to make Radha's fancy more vivid

and lifelike, and to her the coming back of Krishna is not a dream or a vision but an ecstatic experience as real as life.

In lines of deep feeling and matchless beauty Radha declares that she will treasure the image of Krishna in her eyes and her heart :

অনেক সাধের পরাণ বঁধুয়া
নয়ানে লুকায়ে থোব ।
প্রেম চিন্তামগ্নির শোভা গাঁথিয়া
হিয়ার মাঝারে লব ॥

"I shall hide and treasure the much-desired love of my life in my eyes ; I shall weave a garland of the magic jewel of love and take it into my heart."

Finally, the veil is lifted from allegory and figurative language alike and Radha addresses the Lord Krishna, whose presence she realizes in her soul, in the language of prayer and devotion :

বঁধু তুমি সে আমার প্রাণ ।
দেহ মন আদি তোমারে সঁপেছি
কুল শীল জাতি মান ।
অখিলের নাথ তুমি হে কালিয়া
যোগীর আরাধ্য ধন ।
গোপ গোয়ালিনী হাম অতি দীনী
না জানি ভজন পূজন ।
পিপীতি রসতে ঢালি তব্ব মন
দিয়াছি তোমার পায় ।
তুমি মোর পতি তুমি মোর গতি
মন নাহি আন ভায় ॥
কলঙ্কী বলিয়া ডাকে সব লোকে
তাহাতে নাহিক দ্রুথ ।
তোমার লাগিয়া কলঙ্কের হার
গলায় পরিতে স্বথ ॥
সতী বা অসতী তোমাতে বিদিত
ভাল মন্দ নাহি জানি ।
কিহে চণ্ডীদাস পাপপুণ্য সম
তোহারি চরণ ধানি ॥

"My beloved, you are my life. I have offered you my body and mind, my family honour and virtue. O Krishna, you are the Lord of the universe, whom *Yogis* contemplate and worship ; I am a very humble milkmaid and do not know either hymns of praise or worship. Dipping my body and mind in the liquid of love I have poured them down at your feet. You are

my husband and my lord, you are my salvation ; no one else is pleasing to my mind. I do not grieve because people call me a woman without honour. For your sake it makes me happy to wear dishonour as a garland round my neck. You know whether I am virtuous or depraved, I know neither good nor evil. Says Chandidas, at your feet virtue and sin are equal."

The divinity of love and the fulness of faith and sacrifice find perfect expression in this lofty poem. It is made clear that the inconstancy and faithlessness of Radha consist in her renunciation of the ties and obligations of the world and in her complete surrender to the Lord. The world holds her blameworthy because she has not remained loyal and faithful to the world. Chandidas could not have chosen a better subject for his poems. Idyl and lyric move like living melody in the love of Radha and Krishna and it is no wonder that the whole of north India is flooded by songs and psalms and hymns about Radha and Krishna. The lute is the very symbol of the lyric Muse while the marvellous myth of love has come down the centuries, gripping the imaginations and the hearts of multitudes. Is there such a source of perennial inspiration in any other literature in the world ? The stage selected for this superlative love drama is pastoral life of the simplest kind and rich and racy of the soil. The sound of the churning of butter mingles with the lowing of cattle, and morning and evening rises the dust under their hooves as they go out to graze and return to the fold. The maidens with pitchers balanced on the waist and held in the crook of the left arm go down to the dark waters of the Jumna to fetch water, and the wind comes from the woods laden with the fragrance of *Kadamba* flowers. With the dusk of the evening and in the stillness of the night come the notes of the lute, mystic, ravishing, drawing the heart and the soul as the magnet draws the needle, trance-like in their beauty and calling upon Radha and her companions to cast away the world and enter the heaven of bliss everlasting. What poet can ask for a theme more inspiring than this, a love that transcends human emotions and penetrates the arcanum of divinity ?

The Romance of "The Daily Herald"

By WILFRED WELLOCK, M.P.

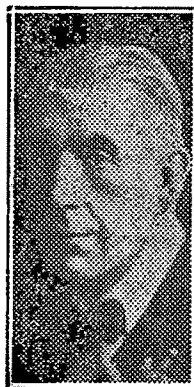
EVERY great movement has its romance, although those connected with it rarely see the romance until afterwards. Most people of heroic and adventurous mind smile with satisfied amusement when they muse over their mad adventures and escapades; but I venture to say that few of them smiled when they were in the thick of the struggle and did not know whether next morning, so to speak, they would be hailed as heroes or taken to the nearest police station. It is delightful to sit around a fire and hear Lansbury tell the story of the *Daily Herald*, of its hair-breadth escapes from extinction, of creditors' threats, paper boycotts, and the rest. His deep chuckles at the perpetual audacity of the small group who were running the paper give one almost a reverence for recklessness, and cause one to thank whatever gods there be that there are still some very irrational people in the world. Of course, as Lansbury would say: "We didn't laugh much then"; but I can imagine that Lansbury, at any rate, would chuckle a little over a cup of tea as he related the latest decision of his daring colleagues, the board of directors.

The *Daily Herald* has very aptly been described as the miracle of Fleet Street. No other British newspaper has such a history. It is the product of a faith and courage that have rarely been surpassed. With this one exception, the daily newspapers of our land are founded on finance; for the *Daily Herald* is founded on the faith, idealism, and deeds of a gallant band of men.

The problem of launching a daily newspaper is much greater in this than in most other countries. In England, the first newspapers to get a foothold were national journals, published in London. We are a politically-minded people, and London has always been the centre of our political life. Moreover, this country was well to the fore in the development of railways and of an adequate postal system, in consequence of which newspapers could be conveyed to almost every part of the country in the space of a few hours. As a result, our

people accustomed themselves to reading the London newspapers before any provincial papers got going. Thus wherever one goes, from end to end of the country, one may see piles of London newspapers on every book-stall by 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning.

On the Continent and in the United States, it is quite the reverse. Everywhere one sees provincial newspapers, which have a great vogue, and that national newspapers occupy quite a secondary place. In Germany, there were at one time no less than about eighty Labour daily journals. In this country we have not a single provincial Labour daily newspaper, and it has only been as the result of a titanic struggle that the *Daily Herald* has established itself as a national institution.



Mr. Hamilton Fyfe



Mr. William Mellor
the Present Editor

The chief difficulty in the way of establishing the *Daily Herald* was of course finance. The conditions of modern journalism are such as to make the launching of a daily newspaper a stupendous financial proposition. Practically all the London newspapers are financed by millionaires. Untold millions of pounds are sunk in them. Yet for that very reason they are a danger to society, particularly so in an age when finance is all-powerful, and is indeed threatening the very fabric of democracy. Another sinister feature in the situation, has been the

tendency in recent years for provincial newspapers to be bought up by groups of financiers who are financially interested in industries of the areas in which they circulate. The pernicious effect of such newspapers in a time of crisis can scarcely be exaggerated.

Faced with such conditions the need for a Labour daily newspaper was great and growing. Yet what was to be done? Other attempts had been made, but had failed. The "pull" of the established newspapers was too great, and as yet not a sufficiently large body of conscious Labour supporters could be relied upon to guarantee the success of a new venture. And in any case there was no money available for entering upon a big scheme. It was obvious to all who had any



George Lansbury

understanding of the position, therefore, that apart from some sort of "mad" adventure there was little likelihood of a Labour daily being launched in this country for many years to come.

Eventually the "mad" venture was made. The first *Daily Herald* was a strike sheet, and was published at 12d. on January 25, 1911. The first words of this edition

were those fine lines of William Morris :

"What is this the sound and rumour?
What is this that all men hear?
Like the wind in hollow valleys
When the morn is drawing near?
Like the rolling on of ocean
In the eventide of fear?
'Tis the people marching on."

Once again these words turned out to be prophetic. The strike which had brought them into use on this occasion was a printers' strike in favour of a 50-hour week, to lead on to 48, and the purpose of the news sheet was, to combat the lies which were being published in connection with the dispute.

The strike ended, but the news sheet continued, and it may well be doubted if the *Daily Herald* would have been begun at that time had it not been for the strike. But as it was, a band of Labour enthusiasts, including Ben Tillett, who, as Lansbury tells us, was most keen on the venture and the means of pulling him (Lansbury) into it, got together, discussed plans, gathered together what money they could, and decided

to make the plunge and carry on the *Daily Herald* as a Labour newspaper. As a matter of fact the *Daily Herald* was launched on the ridiculous sum of £300. There were no adequate premises, no office, no furniture, not even pen, ink and pencils. Everybody had to work in the same room. I well remember entering with some pride the offices of the *Daily Herald* in those early days, and getting the surprise of my life on seeing these "big men" of the movement caged up in little match-board boxes, so divided that they might be cut off from people whose voices, in spite of the match-boards, found an all too easy entrance. Had these men been put into such conditions by the prison authorities, how they would have protested!

But that was only the beginning of the most vicarious career that surely any newspaper ever had. Like the proverbial cat it had at least nine lives. Time after time it seemed that the last issue had been sent out—when lo! some saviour appeared who permitted the paper to travel a little farther on its eventful career. Lansbury relates how on one occasion the Board met in a Committee room of the House of Commons, and after much sorrow and anguish, solemnly passed a resolution to wind up the concern. He rushed straight off after the meeting to catch a train for Crewe, where he was due to speak that night. Next morning, on his way to the station he was shocked to find the *Daily Herald* on sale. The explanation was that some of the workmen had had a hunt round the paper store-room, when they found some part reels of paper, and in addition some out-size reels. They adapted their machines and brought out the paper, which was all sorts of shapes and sizes. But the 24 hours' breathing space saved the situation.

At other times the paper would be held up by the paper manufacturers, who happen to be few in number and in a position, therefore, to make the publication of such a paper almost impossible. The position became much easier when it was suggested to these paper controllers that paper mills were staffed by workers, and that there would be no paper for anyone if the workers came out on strike.

It was impossible in the circumstances to prevent Liberal and Tory leaders from knowing of the financial embarrassment in which the paper was perpetually placed. The wonder to them was that it was able to

continue at all. Every now and again, when the *Herald* made a good scoop, or carried out a successful attack upon some capitalist fortress, its enemies would start a hunt for its blood. After trying the paper boycott and failing, they suggested foreign money. But in his book on the *Daily Herald*, Lansbury, after paying tribute to such men as Mr. Drew, manager of the printing house where the paper was printed, and Sir. F. Newnes, his chief, and Messrs Bowater & Co., the paper merchants, for their goodwill and cash credit, he drily remarks: "All these gentlemen must often have smiled when reading about Catholic, German and Bolshevik gold in relation to the *Daily Herald*, for the three of them know, as few others could know, what terrible financial difficulties the paper had always to face.

During the War the publication of a daily issue of the *Herald* became a sheer impossibility for many reasons. It was thus converted into a weekly, and as a weekly it had a comparatively smooth course financially, as although it did not pay its way even then, it was not difficult to find the small sum that was required to keep it going. It was, of course, an anti-war paper from start to finish, and became a source of comfort and inspiration to all those brave souls who felt unable to support the war, and who in consequence were subjected to persecution and a thousand mental tortures. There are thousands of people in this country who will never forget the part the *Weekly Herald* played during those years, and in what a noble spirit it opposed the war.

During the first year or two of its existence the *Daily Herald* had many editors, and thus presented the public with a rich variety of styles. And it was never a bashful paper. Some of its head-lines and posters during this time were the last word in daring and shock tactics. I well remember during the suffragette campaign, at the time forcible feeding was being adopted upon suffragette prisoners, that the Crown Prosecutor, a man named Bodkin was pilloried by the *Herald* on a poster which ran: "Who the Devil's Bodkin?" Within a few days of the appearance of that poster, a huge suffragette demonstration took place in Trafalgar Square, during which hundreds of these posters, pasted on shoulder boards, poured into the Square from the Strand, in the long procession from the East end. Those were eventful and colourful days.

Lansbury, connected with the paper from its inception, and now its chief shareholder, became its editor in 1913, a position he held until 1922. In his hands the paper made great progress, and became transformed from a scrappy sheet, containing little news and run on the cheap, into a modern newspaper, although, of course, with many important limitations. In due course its circulation mounted up to nearly half a million copies per day. Probably no other man in the movement could have accomplished such a feat at that time, for not only was Lansbury one of the most popular figures in the Labour cause, and the best-loved man in London, he was tolerant, broad-minded, yet full of fire and daring, and in addition he had the faculty of endearing men to him and of enabling groups of men, like a newspaper staff, to work together as a team.

In September, 1922, the *Herald* was taken over by the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party, when Lansbury gave up the editorship and took on the work of General Manager. He did this of his own free will, partly because he thought it was time to have a change, and partly because he felt he would not be happy working under orders from a Committee or Congress. It so happened that Hamilton Fyfe was free at that time, and Lansbury favoured his being asked to take over the editorship. Fyfe accepted, and occupied the editorial chair for some four years. In 1926 a younger man, William Mellor, who had been on the editorial staff for many years, took the reins from Fyfe, and still holds them.

With this new official backing, and the literary support of the more prominent personalities in the Labour movement, the circulation grew very considerably. This was assisted, without doubt, by Fyfe's editorship, which made a special appeal to a certain class of readers. Fyfe had had considerable experience on some of the big dailies, and he introduced features, especially on its general page, which became a special attraction. He also adopted a lighter and softer style of leader writing, which many found an improvement. Almost all of these features have been retained by the present editor, who, after a little while, was able to blend the best of Lansbury with the best of Fyfe, and make effective additions of his own.

The *Herald* has some splendid achievements to its credit. It championed the

cause of women's rights; it backed the Conscientious Objectors during the war, and has all along taken up an uncompromising attitude towards war and armaments. On all international questions it stands out boldly for liberty. On the recent Hague Conference the *Daily Herald* was reputed to have the best informed articles that were published, and the British Delegation sent a special letter of appreciation to the Editor of the *Herald*, making mention of its well-known Paris correspondent, George Slocombe. When, after the war, under the Lloyd George regime there was some danger of a war with Russia, the *Herald* so roused the nation on the madness and iniquity of the proposal, (bringing out two special Sunday issues on the question,) that the Government was compelled to retract. The idea of such a war, which had been played with from time to time by certain politicians and sections of the Press, was finally abandoned.

The *Herald*, of which George Lansbury

once wrote, "I am certain no newspapers ever published has aroused so much affection or so much enmity," is about to enter upon a new chapter in its history. Arrangements have been made with a newspaper and publishing firm whereby capital will be forthcoming to enable certain big developments, long desired and long overdue, to take place. These are provincial editions, an evening edition, and a Sunday edition. This development has been made possible by the growth of the Labour party and the financial soundness of a policy of expansion. But as regards policy and the editorial side of the paper, complete independence is guaranteed and secured. This development will undoubtedly have an important bearing upon the future policy of newspaper publication in general; but with a continuation of the faith and courage of the men who have made the *Herald* what it is to-day, no one need worry very much about the future.

The Noontide of Maratha Power

By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, C.I.E.

THE great History of the Marathas (*Marathi Riyasat*) to which Mr. Govind S. Sardesai has devoted a lifetime, is now within sight of completion. The two volumes (6th and 7th) recently published cover the period from 1773 to 1795; and the remaining seven years (1795-1802) during which the last of the Peshwas, Baji Rao II., reigned in Puna amidst the extreme decadence of the State, before he reduced himself to a powerless shadow by the Treaty of Bassein (1802) can take only a short time to chronicle.

In these two volumes the work attains to epic grandeur and absorbing interest by reason of the contrasted personalities and divergent outlooks of Nana Fadnavis and Mahadji Sindhia, who dominate the scene and throw all other characters into the shade. The work opens with a long narrative—the fullest hitherto published (ch. 2, 5, 7-11), of the first war with the English in Warren Hastings's time, and shows how the civilian

Nana deserved the highest credit as the "organizer of victory" against foreign aggressors, like Carnot of revolutionary France, and how naturally the force of events transformed the "Junta of Twelve" (*Bara-bhai*) into the "Dictatorship of One" (*Ek-bhai*), [ch. 6.]

But the capacity of the true historian is shown not so much in weaving the texture of a picturesque and full narrative as in judging characters and explaining the 'why' of past events. There has been no more momentous event in Maratha history than the duel between Nana Fadnavis and Mahadji Sindhia, and in these volumes Sardesai has risen to the height of his subject: his character study of Mahadji and Nana is a masterpiece of penetrative insight and complete synthesis of materials. He here breaks new ground and introduces a freshness of thought and pitiless analysis of facts which would come as a surprise to those who have hitherto accepted the traditional

view of these two makers of history. Sardesai (vol. vi. 383-392, ch. 11) gives full credit to Nana for the organizing capacity and tireless driving power he displayed during the first Maratha War. But this was Nana's sole achievement. As time passes on, Nana Fadnavis, on Sardesai's showing, suffers more and more by contrast with Mahadji. Nana's cardinal defect was not greed of power—which has been the last infirmity of many a great mind in history,—but extreme narrowness of outlook; Nana, like the Chitpavan of a certain type, was a "frog dwelling in the well," while Sindhia was a wide traveller with an extended mental horizon and the liberal views of an imperial statesman (ch. 27).

We wish also to stress Nana's silly habit—the sure mark of a small and jealous mind—of dictating the minutest details of the administration himself, instead of first choosing high-placed capable and responsible agents and then leaving plenty of initiative to the men on the spot. This has been the secret of success of the British empire, while the opposite course has led to the ultimate break-down of the edifices built up by Frederick the Great and Aurangzib. Malet comes to Puna, but nothing can be done about the reception and comfort of the British envoy without taking orders on every point from the absent grand vizier!

The true pathos of Nana's career lies not in the degradation and personal suffering amidst which he closed his days after many years of glory and supreme power, but in the ruin of his public work. He had saved the throne for Sawai Madhav Rao in the civil war which followed the murder of Narayan Rao. Indeed, Madhav Rao was all through his life protected and brought up by Nana;—he was the Nana's own child (we speak metaphorically and not because we accept the story that he was Nana's natural son). And yet this child of Nana's own rearing committed suicide because of Nana's over-zealous care for him! Can any ancient Greek tragedy be more pathetic than this? On this point, Sardesai makes some very wise and original remarks, which we translate below:

"The great drawback in the young Peshwa's education was that he was not allowed to travel anywhere beyond a hundred miles round about Puna. Nasik, Wai, Satara and lastly Kharda, were the only places he visited in his career of twenty-one years. All

his predecessors in the family and most of the sardars started active life involving strain and responsibility at the age of ten or twelve years. The Maratha Raj formed a huge training ground for all youths to show their genius and was mainly supported by this unfailing supply of human material. But this obvious duty was denied to the growing lad, who was expected to bear the responsibility which Nana himself with all his wisdom and experience could not cope with. Not a few expeditions were undertaken in which young Madhav Rao could have taken an active part. If he had been allowed to live with Mahadji in the north after 1786 or to accompanying the Maratha expeditions against Tipu, he would have learnt how to play the master, the only thing which the Raj needed at the time. Even at Kharda where the Peshwa was present in 1795, he was more of a figure-head spending his easy life in a grand tent far behind the active operations. This lack of breeding in the young Peshwa's equipment for life is a serious comment on the management of Nana." [Vol. vi. 492.]

"Raghunath Hari, an ancestor of the famous Rani of Jhansi and Sarfoji, king of Tanjore, both contemporaries of this young Peshwa, were far in advance of the times in point of education and general equipment for life. Raghunath Hari was in close touch with the various British officers who had their stations at Allahabad, Cawnpur and Lucknow, and from whom he learnt geography, astronomy and other advanced sciences of the West. The same was possible for the young Peshwa to pick up from his British neighbours at Bombay. Sarfoji of Tanjore had for his tutor the renowned missionary Swartz through whose incentive he founded the famous library of Tanjore. Nana should have employed a similar well-known Western scholar to teach the young Peshwa. The timid and suspicious nature of Nana prevented him from taking any bold step of the kind or even from visiting Bombay where so many useful things could have been seen and picked up. After Malet's coming to Puna, Nana and the British were for long on quite friendly terms." [Vol. vii. 490.]

With the seventh volume the scene shifts to India north of the Vindhya. As Sardesai points out, Mahadji Sindhia, with a true statesman's penetration realized that with the disintegration of the Delhi empire and the firm foothold gained by the English in the rich spacious and peaceful

presidency of "Bengal" (which really stretched up to Oudh and Benares), the centre of gravity of Indian politics had now passed on to Hindustan and there the Maratha power and prestige ought to be represented in full strength, while the narrow purblind Nana regarded Puna as the centre of the universe.

Panipat (1761) had been a crushing blow to the Maratha aspirations; the alarming feature of it was not the annihilation of an entire army with all "the pearls and diamonds," but the moral canker in the central government of the Peshwas which made this military disaster possible by leaving the Bhao unsupported, while the aged head of the State was dallying with young women on the far off Godavari. But in less than ten years of this battle, the Marathas staggered, recovered their feet and again became a power in the North. The consolidation of that power would have been the crowning achievement of a true statesman and Indian patriot. Mahadji Sindhia realized the fact, Nana did not; and not only did the latter fail to see it but he actually thwarted Mahadji, and the opportunity was lost for ever, and Bassein and Ashta became inevitable in the logic of events. The narrow Puna Brahman, like a dog in the manger, would not do the work himself, and he would prevent others from doing it if he could.

A little before Mahadji's death at Puna, one of his officers thus writes almost prophetically to his colleague in the North:

"We seem here to have fallen on evil times. Maratha rule until very recently used to be looked upon as a model to be copied. But now utter darkness prevails. Every soul is lamenting. Not only is there no reign of justice, but people have to put up with positive oppression. There is no means of redress. Every official behaves as he pleases. Thousands of complaints reach my master daily: but he has to connive at them, until he secures a firm footing. Let us see what turn affairs take hereafter. Jealousy between Nana and Mahadji has reached a climax. The Puna party seem utterly blind to right and wrong. The people in general and several sections wish success to Mahadji's efforts, and sincerely pray that since he has come to Puna, he should set the affairs right before returning to the North. We do not know what Providence wills. Otherwise, woe be to all! Puna officials by no means relish the

influence which Mahadji is acquiring at the Court. The young Peshwa's good and kindly feelings towards Mahadji, the blessings of the common people and Mahadji's own goodluck, these alone form the hope of the future. This is the only means of safety of the Deccan. Otherwise the Raj is doomed. God's will be done! It is very delicate to pen the actual political situation: but evil stars seem to portend a sad condition of affairs." [Vol. vii. 405.]

Mahadji's achievements fill volume seven, which is a solid and original contribution to the later history of the empire of Delhi, and English writers will have to take note of it, because of the original Marathi state-papers with which Sardesai has copiously documented his book. We have merely space enough to refer to chapter 19 ("Lalsont a second Panipat"), ch. 20-22 (Mahadji's recovery and expansion), ch. 25 (European drilled troops, criticism of the system and its final effects on the Maratha States), 26-27 (Mahadji in Puna, his character),—concluding with the Battle of Kharda (ch. 28) and the tragic death of the Peshwa (ch. 29).

In the writing of the history of the period reached by Mr. Sardesai in these volumes, materials in the English language play an increasingly important part. True, he has used all the printed State-papers available; but the private memoirs, letters and narratives of English officers and travellers, which are very copious for this period, would have supplied him with many graphic touches and helped him to fill many a corner of his canvas. Many of these, however, are among the rarest of "India books," and we are not sure that there is a complete collection of them in any public library of Bombay.

In respect of unprinted material in the Indian tongues, Mr. Sardesai warmly acknowledges the liberal and often unsolicited assistance that he has received from private owners of documents in every quarter of India,—Calcutta and Gwalior, Rajputana and Tanjore. But he complains that when he went to "the capital of Maharashtra swarajya," he met with the rebuff, "Why should we allow you to loot *our* collection in order to garnish your *Riyasat*?"

This is a very serious matter and in the interests not only of students of history but also of the general public Mr. Sardesai ought to make the point clear. Such churlish obstruction would be despicable on the part of a private owner; it is a crime on the

part of a public institution maintained by public subscriptions and applying for State aid for its support. The only public collection of historical papers in Puna is that of the Bharat Itihas Samsodhak Mandal, a registered trust with an elected executive. Was Mr. Sardesai refused access to its papers? If so, he ought to publish the circumstances and the name of the officer who made the above astonishing speech, as if the library of the Mandal were the private property of himself or of any dominant clique of its members. Mr. Sardesai, the present

writer, and many other gentlemen, have paid largely and made themselves life-members of the Mandal, and they are legally entitled to access to its papers. We want to know who obstructed the exercise of this legal right and when. The appeals for public assistance which the present managers of the Mandal issue every year will be judged in the light of these facts. Mr. Sardesai will, no doubt, go with his enduring work, in Macanlay's words, regardless of

"Envy's hiss and Folly's bray."

Tendencies in Modern Chinese Literature

BY AGNES SMEDLEY

THE writers on China's literary horizon to-day—and their name is legion—are very different from the old poets who, removed from the turmoil of life, wrote objectively, wisely, tolerantly, humorously; or even of those exiled poets who grieved over parting from friend or beloved; or, still more, of those wistful, deserted wives and mistresses whose "tears fell down and wetted their sleeves." Chinese literature of to-day is like a churned-up sea, resounding with the struggle and confusion of intellectuals seeking some course of action; with the protest of the "pure" poet of lyric beauty; with the misery of the student-poet who cries of the "shadow of death over the village where the peasants resemble sick beasts"; with the youthful enthusiasm of a modern Hunanese girl in military uniform in the army of 1926-27; and, above all, with the tread of those passionate and youthful revolutionary writers on whose brows are burnt the words: "We who are about to die, salute thee!"

Many of the writers of to-day have their roots in the Peking National University whose fame reached its zenith after 1916 under the Chancellorship of the eminent scholar, Dr. Ts'ai Yuan-pei, a University from which sprang not only the literary renaissance, but which was one of the most powerful driving forces in the intellectual and political revolution. From this university, with its productivity perhaps unparalleled in the academic history of the world, came a number of men on the Chinese stage of events to-day,

two of whom are still known as both literary and political personalities: one is Dr. Hu Shih, to whom great credit is due for the revision of the Chinese language which destroyed the old classical literary form that had closed the doors of knowledge to the masses, and introduced the "Pei-hua," or spoken language, as the new written medium. The other personality, associated with Dr. Hu in the Peking days, was of equal or greater importance: Prof. Chen Tu-Hsiu, China's most prominent Marxist, the Dean of the College of Letters of the Peking National University, who later became the founder and leader of the Chinese Communist Party. In those early days Prof. Chen was the editor of the *New Youth* magazine, the vehicle of the Pei-hua and of the entire intellectual revolution that swept China at the time; later, his *Weekly Review* became the nucleus of advanced revolutionary opinion in China, and the two magazines furnished the inspiration for others of like tendency.

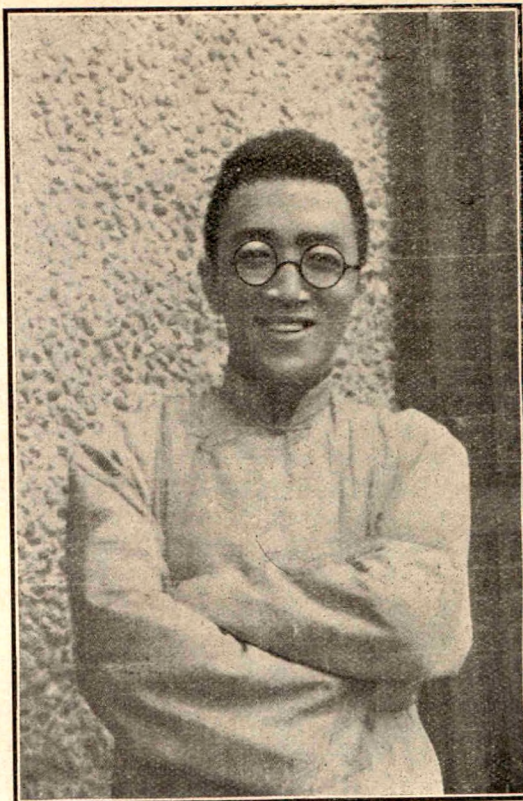
These two professors have travelled different roads in the years that have intervened, and with them have travelled large sections of the intellectuals. Hu-Shih, a young man just now on the verge of forty, has gone to the Right—or, at best, has stood still—while Prof. Chen, a man over fifty, has deepened and extended his knowledge and influence as a Marxist. Dr. Hu is the President of Woosung University near Shanghai and but lately has been honoured by Columbia University, from which he once graduated.

Prof. Chen will never be honoured by Columbia or any other business man's university; he is living in hiding with a price on his head after giving everything he possessed, including his two sons, to the revolution.

Judged in the light of China's revolutionary past and of its undoubted revolutionary future, Dr. Hu is a conservative; but judged in relationship to the Kuomintang and the Nanking Government, he is a raving liberal; or, as the Americans and English say of liberals in China or the Philippines, a "pernicious liberal." Personally, he is a cultured and most charming intellectual aristocrat. His name is linked with the Crescent Moon, a society of conservative men of letters whose members are to be found in various educational, scientific and cultural institutions. The society maintains a small publishing house, a book-shop, and a monthly magazine, the *Crescent Moon* (in Chinese) in Shanghai. It publishes some of the works of its members, translates and publishes literary and academic works of Western authors and its magazines publish interesting original political, cultural, and literary articles of its members, continuing also the revision of the Chinese language. Hu Shih himself has done much scholarly research and has published, among other things, a history of ancient Chinese philosophy and is now working on two additional volumes to bring his study down to modern times: he has a book of verse in Pei-hua from earlier days: a history of Pei-hua literature; a collection of writings from the Sung Dynasty; and his magazine articles, treatises, and essays, chiefly on literature and on cultural ideas, have been collected into eight volumes.

In the large constellation of Chinese writers, emphasis is here placed upon Hu Shih because he is the most eminent and productive writer of the Crescent Moon. His *Weltanschauung*, in broad outlines, is typical of the whole society and of a certain class of students and intellectuals in China; but it must be said that he and his followers come in conflict with large groups of revolutionary students, professors, and writers,—men who have taken the road of Prof. Chen Tu-Hsiu, who call him a renegade and a reactionary, who helped to release revolutionary energy only to try to damn it up again.

Dr. Hu has summed up his political and social creed, so to speak, in Dr. Charles



Dr. Hu Shih

Beard's book *Whither Mankind*. In this he appears very clearly as a bourgeois democrat. And, despite or because of this, he is a harsh and just critic of feudal and religious ideas and forms in Asia that camouflage behind "spiritual" presumptions, a "spirituality" which like Christianity, has been able to adjust itself to human slavery in its various forms, to mass slaughter, to the caste system and other evils in India and to foot-binding and rikshaw coolies in China. As a reaction, he is an uncompromising advocate of Western science and Western civilization. But in it all he has not one word against Western civilization, as to-day organized and directed under the capitalist system, that has left some ten million young men on the battlefields and has, since its inception, reduced three-fourths of the human race, including the working masses of the West, and all Asia, to serfs whose daily bread is hunger, disease, and death.

In Dr. Hu's latest articles that have created much conflict in political circles

especially, he continues his fight for bourgeois democracy and science. These articles, published in the *Crescent Moon* monthly, demand a constitution based on individual freedom, equality, security of person and property—reminiscent of the French Declaration of the Rights of Man—ideas that express the needs of the intellectuals and the rising capitalist class of China, but that do not touch the heart of the needs of China's dispossessed and pauperized masses. The needs of China's masses are so deep and desperate that nothing less than a social revolution can touch them. Dr. Hu's articles further criticize the theory, organization and methods of the Kuomintang, which he calls an intellectually reactionary organization. He has desecrated the holy of holies by questioning some of the really confused ideas of the late Sun Yat-sen—although his own ideas often have a ring quite as Victorian. He has been courageous in exposing the torture of prisoners, but he was on safe ground, for he mentioned cases of propertied men who had been captured by the militarists and tortured; of the revolutionary students, workers, or peasants who are captured, tortured, and put to death daily he said nothing. With justice he declared that the Chinese officials to-day consider themselves above all law; that the so-called "six-year period of tutelage" is a dictatorship of ignorant men, themselves badly in need of education. The result is that the Kuomintang and the Nanking Government have warned him against continuing his advocacy of such heretical and dangerous thoughts as democracy. The *Crescent Moon* containing his articles, has been confiscated in the Post Office and from book-shops in Chinese territory—which is something to his credit. He has exposed the real meaning of the "free press" laws of the Nanking Government.

Of equal interest among the *Crescent Moon* writers, but of an entirely different nature to Dr. Hu, is the well-known poet, Hsu Tse-mou, the editor of their monthly magazine, a young man known in certain art circles of England, America, and India. He is, personally, as elegant and charming a lyric poet as ever left a trail of pining hearts around the globe. He once picturesquely remarked that he "came out of love," and until he loved he could not write. He is a man of deep emotional and artistic sensitiveness, and a

worshipper of beauty and of love "in the Bertrand Russell sense of the word." In this he is sincere and this has its value. But, socially, it places him in society at once, whether in Asia or Europe. For love and the search for beauty are the problems and the needs, not of creative writers close to the fundamental creative forces of society, but of those



Hsu Tse-mou

removed by either wealth or social position from such forces. Consequently, he and poets like him everywhere, are romanticists and individualists, Bohemians or subjectivists—and nearly always conservative or reactionary in so far as social revolution is concerned. And if it be said that poets should be absolved from the necessity of thinking or writing on social themes, one may ask, in the words of a Chinese revolutionary poet: "What is a poet?" Is he a man who has dropped from the sky? Or is he not a product of the earth, of society, and does he not support, tolerate, or oppose society as it exists to-day? The literary enemies of Hsu Tse-mou brand him as trivial, feudal—and a perfect gentleman! Sarcastically they call him a Tagorian, a word which to them means an intellectual aristocrat of a dying and decadent social order in Asia—a society whose intellectual productions are determined by the fact that its economic roots are in feudal landlordism or officialdom. In their individual lives, poets from this class may break with the old forms, but economically they do not. Their poetry, lyrical and lovely in itself, appeals to an infinitesimal fraction of the people. Hsu Tse-mou, for

example, sees about him the unspeakable destitution of the Chinese masses, but still he reflects none of it in his writings. He may ask in sincere distress, "Why should such things be?" but he has no solution for this problem. And if this sounds too political, let it be remembered that China is a revolutionary country and everything is seen from the viewpoint of the revolution.

To the poets and other writers of the Crescent Moon society, the materialist interpretation of literary or any other idea is most obnoxious. They are above materialist interpretation. To them, there is art for art's sake, beauty for beauty's sake, ideas for the sake of ideas—and, it must be said, eating for the sake of eating. Some of them were once men of promise and, in the passionate days of their foolhardy youth, wrote plays with a dangerous social tendency. But that was long ago. Some of them are now fat, satisfied, and professors of literature. A few remain thin and active, but it is not yet certain if this is not due to the energy consumed in gravitating from one dinner to another. Something must be said for this, however, for so much of Chinese social and cultural life—of the *Men*—is centred round common dining. Not all the Crescent Moon members are submerged in food and wine, but bourgeois renown in China is a serious menace to the shape and to the brains.

After we render unto Caesar what is Caesar's, it still remains that from behind their many banquet tables and over their many cups of wine, these men, "like their prototypes in every land, gaze out upon the pauperized Chinese masses and, while protesting vaguely, seek explanations in theories of racial senility, psychology, or philosophy, or offer as a solution the systems of America, England, or Japan. In God's name, not of Soviet Russia! They speak of the majestic philosophic attitude towards death of the Chinese masses—who have no choice but to be philosophic about it.' In all such theories, the *Crescent Moon* comes up against the literary barricades of the revolutionary writers, and a conflict has ensued, giving birth to a 500-page volume of controversy. In complimenting their opponents, the revolutionary writers use a vocabulary that would make the gentle old poets of the past turn over in their graves. Many of these writers have been in the army of freedom and they bring to their art the heritage of reality and directness.

The general tone of the *Crescent Moon* in speaking of them is best expressed in the contemptuous phrase, "You are crude; you are not artists: you are not *gentlemen*!" And the tone of the reply is a scathing "You *are* gentlemen!"

Between the Crescent Moon society and their revolutionary opponents, organized in the *Chong Tsao Sho*, or Creative Society, stands the proverbial central party, a class of writers not organized at all, but who form a very distinct school of thought. Their outstanding representative is Lu Hsun, the pen-name of Prof. Chou Shu-jen, formerly also of the Peking National University. Lu Hsun is the most noted short story writer of China, a prototype of Chehov, and he may be called a product of the Chehovian literary period in China. And, personally, he himself



Lu Hsun

is like a character straight from a pre-revolutionary Russian novel. His many translations from Russian writers introduced classical Russian literature into China, but he himself has had a much greater social

influence upon Chinese youth than did the Russians he so greatly admires.

Lu Hsun and his work may be likened to a hall echoing with the chaos, conflicts, and problems of a large section of the Chinese intellectual world that once helped to light the fires of revolution. Here in China is an old society shattered and impoverished by the impact of capitalist imperialism; it, like Lu Hsun himself, and like many other Chinese intellectuals, stands at the cross-roads. One section, following the dictates of its economic interests, has gone into the camp of social reaction behind the Kuomintang; another, dispossessed like the vast masses, are social revolutionaries; still another beats back and forth, confused, chaotic, yet sincere but leaning toward social revolution. To this latter group belongs Lu Hsun.

Lu Hsun, trained as a medical man in Japan, turned from the slaughter of the Sino-Japanese war to literature as a means of social and political change that he hoped would help to eliminate war. Of his collected works of some twelve volumes, excluding his translations, the most important, socially, are his many short stories and his three volumes of essays. In both forms he combated old-world and feudal ideas in youth—passivity and repression; the "gentleman" type which he has made into one of contempt; cultural and national chauvinism; old officialdom; the domination of age over youth. His short stories, based on peasant, proletarian, vagabond and student types, carry the same idea. The form of his short-stories is Chehovian; his style, called by some writers crude, is likened by other Chinese to a thistle—a style perfectly wedded to the ideas he expressed.

To-day, there are many Chinese writers of like mind and tendency. Many live in China, some in hiding but a few are in exile in Japan for their revolutionary records during the Wuhai period. Among the latter is Sheng Yen-ping, the promising young author of three modern social novels of a significant and spiritually autobiographical nature: "Disillusionment," "Irresolution," and "The Advance."

Lu Hsun is not writing to-day, and for a remarkable reason: while he dismisses the criticism of the *Crescent Moon* with a wave of his hand, referring to them as "gentlemen loafers," he is unable to wave aside the criticism of revolutionary writers so easily. These writers, organized in the

Creative Society, challenge Lu Hsun to move with history, either to come over to the social revolution or to go into the camp of the reaction. And he is so sensitive to this criticism, and so sincere and modest of heart for all his quarrelling with friend and foe, that his pen is paralyzed. He recently said: "We who freed youth, find that youth has turned against us!" Chinese youth indeed considers itself free to criticize its emancipators: indeed, no more real and keenly intelligent youth can be found in the world; it turns its penetrating eyes on old or new friends, judging them not as persons but by their ideas. But Lu Hsun fights back: "You," he accuses the Creative Society, "think you are proletarian writers; but you are not. I admit that I am a *petit bourgeois*; but you pose as proletarian. You are insincere or dishonest!" They scoff at his reasoning, and they reply in terms of historical necessity. *Petit bourgeois* most of them are in origin, they say, and their work often shows it. But many of them have been torn from their roots and turned into intellectual proletarians. They further say that this is not a matter of individual preference or free will; there is no other road for them or for China than the road of social revolution. As an organic part of the revolution, they express it according to their ability and knowledge. Such is their argument, but expressed with greater conviction and passion. Lu Hsun, however, is trying to prove his thesis by spending three years translating into Chinese the writings of modern proletarian writers of Soviet Russia. He says he will show Chinese revolutionary writers that they do not know what proletarian literature is. One wonders—what would he have them do? And even when credit is given him for his great work up to date, to-day he appears individualistic and trivial in his arguments. It must be stated, however, that his most recent tendency is not only to the Left, but toward Communism.

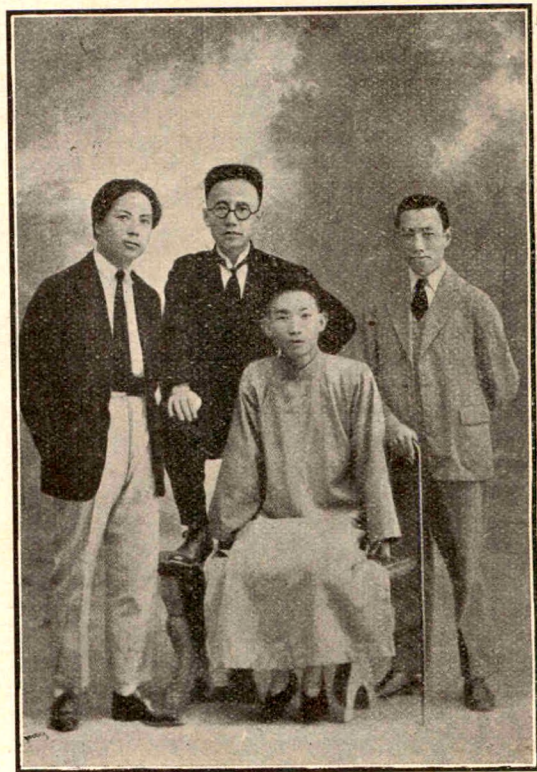
The *Chong Tsao Sho*, or Creative Society, which Lu Hsun so vigorously brands as *petit bourgeois* like himself, and which the *Crescent Moon* brands as arrogant and crude, is also the target of attack by the Nanking Government; and, since it is located in the International Settlement in Shanghai, also by the British at the request of their dear friend, the Nanking Government. In and around this camp seethe the many revolutionary writers of China to-day, producing an

endless stream of social literature of every kind, good and bad: heavy translations on Marxian science; translations from the social literature of Germany, Russia, England, America and Japan; original volumes of verse, from small booklets to revisions of old Chinese dramas for the people's theatres; short stories of peasant, proletarian and intellectual life; novels; autobiographies; and, on every hand, revolutionary magazines devoted to literature and social science. The revolutionary tide, damned up by suppression, forces its way through every crevice, and it is astonishing to see the number of revolutionary magazines that manage to appear in Shanghai alone where the most ruthless reaction reigns and where many young writers not yet forced into exile live a poverty-stricken, semi-secret life. Their continued activity may be due to their clever methods, or perhaps, to the badly paid, and ignorant, censors who are glad for any little bribery that comes their way.

The Creative Society sprang from the Nanking Road massacre in Shanghai on May 30, 1925 and existed openly until 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek had it suppressed. Connected with it are not only younger writers, but some of the older generation. For instance, the most prominent Chinese Marxist, Prof. Chen Tu-Hsiu, of Peking National University fame, who went to the Left while Hu Shih and many others went to the Right or stood still. The Creative Society magazine may be called the spiritual inheritor of the *New Youth* magazine of those earlier days. The type of man Prof. Chen is, the depth of his conviction, and a picture of modern Chinese social history itself, may be gained by a knowledge of his recent experiences. His two sons left the upper-class world into which they had been born, became rickshaw coolies in the streets of Canton and Shanghai to organize these most destitute of the human race. Both of these sons were executed in Shanghai by order of Chiang Kai-shek in 1927. One was a poet whom conservative men of letters tried in vain to save on the ground of his unchallenged selflessness and on the ground that China could not afford to lose such a man. But he, like thousands of others of equal talent and selflessness, was ruthlessly butchered. Prof. Chen himself remains to to-day a revolutionary, living in galling poverty in secrecy and he continues to wield a mighty pen to which the Chinese revolu-

tionary world listens, and to which history may one day listen.

The original founders of the Creative Society are of as great interest. The most noted of these are Kuo Meh-yo, the short-story writer, and Wang Do-ching, the poet, both

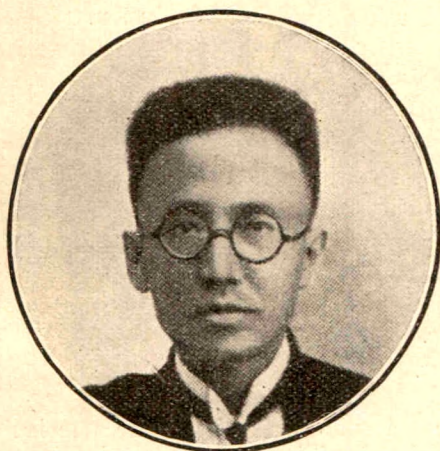


The Founders of the Creative Society

of them Communists. Others are Yu Ta-fu, who is now in the Lu Hsun camp; and Chang Tse-ping and Cheng Fang-wu, one of whom publishes a revolutionary magazine of literature and economics in Shanghai.

Despite its suppression, the Creative Society still maintains a publishing house, a small book-shop, and continues its magazine under different names. Perhaps the most noted and productive of the Society and of the revolutionary writers of to-day, is one of the founders, Kuo Meh-yo, a man of versatile genius, now about 36 years of age, living in exile in Japan. The poet, Wang Do-ching, author of a number of books of verse, whose long heroic poem, "December 11th", in commemoration of the Canton Commune, has been suppressed, is also well known and

influential. When the Nanking Government was founded, Chiang Kai-shek tried by every means to win Kuo Meh-yo to his side. The reply of Kuo was a contemptuous pamphlet, "Look at the Chiang Kai-shek of To-day!", after which he fled for his life to Japan. He is one of the most able of the Chinese Communists. Kuo was formerly a romanticist in his writings. In 1925-27 he became a propagandist in the revolutionary army, a colleague of some of the Chinese exiles now in Germany. He is no longer a romanticist. To-day it is as a social revolutionary writer that he is best known.



Kuo Meh-yo

His literary work includes, in the first instance, many excellent translations and original short stories; also verse; Chinese social history; his suppressed but highly interesting autobiography in two volumes in which he, among other things, remarked, "The revolution has achieved this: the lowly of China now have nothing to eat." He is also a literary critic of the social literature of Japan, Europe and America, his articles often appearing in Shanghai magazines. It was he who translated Goethe's *Faust* and *Werder* into Chinese. He has also translated some of the social dramas of Galsworthy, Hauptman, the novels of Upton Sinclair, and certain things from the Japanese. He and Wang Do-ching have both re-written ancient Chinese historical dramas, such as the "Three Kingdoms" and plays about Confucius, exposing their feudal ideas, and injecting social revolutionary motives. Such plays are of great importance because the traditional people's theatres where they are

always played are the chief form of amusement of the Chinese masses.

There is no more vital literary men in China to-day than those who comprise the Creative Society. They seethe with vigour and productive energy. Most of them are too young to have produced anything that bears the mark of greatness, but they undoubtedly have a future. It is also significant that youth in China seems much more intellectually mature, more experienced in public affairs and thought, and more responsible, than does the youth of the West, and they are far more advanced



Wang Do-ching

than the youth of India. Chinese revolutionary youth also reads more extensively and intensively than Western youth, and in every way is intellectually superior to the youth of America. Added to this, it has courage and conviction, and it must be remembered that writings such as it does, bring no money in China, but instead, often cost the head. Another striking difference between Chinese, Indian and Western youth is that the former speak or read many languages and are in the closest touch with Western social thought and literature, while the West and India knows little or nothing of Chinese literature except the old classical poets.

The writers who belong to the Creative Society, unlike the Crescent

Moon whom they call the "Eaters' and Drinkers' Society," have known the battlefield and the barricades instead of the banquet halls, ball-rooms and salons. While the lyric poets of the Crescent Moon may sing of the sound of the waves, the poets of the Creative Society sing of the lowly and the oppressed in despair and in struggle. While the Crescent Moon may be distressed, and Lu Hsun rendered impotent before indescribable destitution and suffering, the Creative Society draws in its belt another notch, girds up its loins, and writes with bitter passion against the betrayers of the revolution. Or it engages in other activities more definite.

If the Creative Society does not produce literature of a kind that will go down in history, it will be for other reasons than for lack of material. For China is swept by mighty winds carrying tales of dramatic tragedy, of humorously bizarre situations, and of personal love and friendship. The destinies of these writers, and that of their friends and comrades, have become pawns in the hands of history. About them are tragedies, but still greater ideas that render tragedies worth while. Of such stuff the new Chinese literature is being fashioned. This is not the perfume of old China. This is the free wind heralding another revolution.

Waste Not, Want Not

By MANU SUBEDAR, B.A., B.SC. (ECON.) LONDON,
Barrister-at-Law.

IT is trite to say that India is a poor country. The unanimous trend of Indian thought has been that poverty has increased in India. Without going into the controversy that was adumbrated by Mr. Birla, the President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, and to which a retort was given by H. E. the Viceroy, we can confidently say that it is the unanimous verdict of every visitor to India that poverty in India is visible and offers a very marked contrast to the condition of people in similar circumstances in Western countries. It is indisputable that the standard of life in India is very low and that there is a large mass of people on the margin of subsistence. There is considerable under-feeding and deterioration and the scope for employment everywhere is either unduly restricted or on terms which do not permit of anything but meagre existence.

Many causes have been assigned in explanation of this phenomenon. The politician naturally makes it out, as the Mahatma has done in his letter to H. E. the Viceroy, as the result of a system of costly administration. Official apologists point out to the growth of population as the primary

factor accounting for the melancholy spectacle of millions of people leading a life well under the mark. There may be truth in these standpoints, but both are regions of somewhat barren controversy. There is, however, one aspect explaining the poverty-stricken condition of the population in India, to which sufficient attention has not been drawn, and I would like, in this connection, to draw attention to that aspect. Apart from accumulations of wealth, which a community has got from savings of previous activities, there is the production of new wealth every year. The productive machine in India does not work with the same smoothness and efficiency as in other countries. In agriculture there are vast tracts of land under cultivation, in which the actual tillers of the soil are so completely in the hands of their creditors, that the motive for large production is lost. If they are free from debt, their tenure is often of a kind which does not assure them of the increased fruits of their labour for long through either the increase of land revenue or of rent. In the field of industry, weakness is written large. Efforts at production are isolated and the machinery to secure protection, even when such

protection is fully justified, is tardy and ineffective. The financing of industry is still done, if at all, in the most primitive manner and there does not seem to be a proper correlation between the efforts of enterprising individuals through a lack of common national policy. The productive machine in the country in every department is further impeded by a system of railway rates levied haphazard, often in a manner harmful to industries without benefiting the the railways. The smooth running of this machine is further checked by a system of taxation, which is not merely heavy in the amounts collected, but is heavy in the indirect burden and inconvenience, which it imposes on the people. A more unscientific system of tariff it would be difficult to conceive than that which prevails in India. In all these directions in this manner there are constructive efforts wanted through co-operation on the part of the people and the Government, but there are many factors at present militating against such co-operation.

While rapid improvements cannot be secured in the productive machine, one must look in other directions for checking the growth of the cancer of poverty, which would at once engulf the cultural as well as economic heritage of the people. This can be done by a conscious study of the phenomenon of waste, which is going on everywhere. An article like this can only enable this to be stated in the briefest outline, but, if such a study is undertaken at the universities in detail, public opinion in each province might be able to secure effective check in some direction with results altogether beneficial. For this purpose it is necessary to concentrate on an analysis of the manner in which people spend such money, as they do receive under the very imperfect system of distribution in India. If India is ever to attain for her masses a standard akin to that, which obtains in modern countries, there is a lot of medieval and unnecessary items of social life, which will have to be eliminated. Thus the expenses incurred in connection with birth, marriage and death and all other ceremonials, which are a common feature of social life, have tended to increase during the last one hundred years, and must be ruthlessly curtailed. Rich men have availed themselves of every new device for a glorious celebration of these functions and the poor have

followed in their wake. Facilities given by modern transport and modern trade making available new articles have been in this particular direction fatal, with the result that nearly everybody spends more than he can afford, and nearly every one spends more than a man of similar means does in any place in the world on such occasions. The celebration of religious festivals, in so far as it offers a welcome change from the ordinary mechanical routine of life, may have its advantages, but it will be found that in every province, according to local custom, there is a lot of waste running perhaps into crores of rupees, which, if people were more enlightened and if the leaders of people would set the example, could be avoided. It was estimated that in the city of Poona the celebration of Ganpati festival alone cost something like six lakhs of rupees. This estimate may be right or wrong, but there is no doubt that it is an extravagance, for a community, in whose civic life there are many amenities still remaining to be provided. It is further to be noted that the Ganpati festival is altogether a modern innovation and it did not exist in this form a few decades ago. This is a matter of common application to both Hindus and Mussalmans and a community that as a whole is living on the brink, and which at the same time aspires to come into line with advanced communities in the world, must call a halt in this direction.

In the matter of the maintenance of temples, religious places, mosques and a lot of other quasi-religious institutions a similar waste could be discerned. Where there are established funds more than sufficient to run a temple or a religious place, new funds are constantly coming in without any regard as to the need. The donors of these gifts do not care what happens to the money which they give, and everything goes on under the innocent name of faith. With regard to religious places in India, it is curious that no one has raised the point whether a religious place should be coming into existence every time a man, either through a prick of conscience or through his ambition for notoriety, offers to erect a place. On the supply of religious places in this manner there is no check whatsoever. Once a temple comes into existence, there is always an obliging caretaker ready to collect what the virtuous and the religious-minded will give him. It goes on *ad infinitum* and there is

not the slightest doubt that it is very much overdone. All the money, which is spent by the community in this manner collectively, does not serve any useful purpose, but it enables a considerable number of able-bodied men to live a life of luxury. There will be some who will find in the existence of this subsidized force of religious caretakers a fruitful source of crime, vice and disease. Without, however, taking up an extreme position, it would be legitimate to say that the community does not get a fair return for the amount of money spent, and the money spent is very far in excess of what the community can afford.

Another very visible direction in which there is waste in India, is the giving of alms. The virtue of charity may be laudable, but the gift to an individual, who comes before you, is extremely doubtful with regard to its benefits. The gift may not be enough for the requirement of the man, who receives it or it may be much in excess. In any case it is not always the case that the gift is retained by the party, who receives it. It is notorious that beggars are organized by bullies, who receive their takings. Where the men are really helpless and therefore incapable of a full day's work, they should be provided for by organized charity by the community. Then alone there is some guarantee that human misery is relieved. Beggary as a profession for those who can work, only encourages pauperization and creates a class of parasites, which a country in straightened circumstances like India, cannot afford. It is the duty of every patriot to discourage indiscriminate charity and to bring about the organization of charity so that the needy can be classified and each class treated in special institutions according to their requirements. It will be difficult to form an estimate of the amount of money spent in this manner, but there is no doubt that even a most conservative guess would give a few crores of rupees misspent in this direction. Either this money should be saved to those who give at present, or it should be collected from them in proper form and spent under control and guidance by a committee of public spirited citizens in each locality.

Another fruitful instance of waste is the charitable trusts which have been left behind and which are being administered at present. In nearly all provinces in India an outcry

has been raised for the registration of these trusts and for an insistence on the accounts of these trusts being submitted. This has not yet been carried out. It is notorious that many private trusts have been swallowed up by the trustees. The law permits the Advocate-General to take action on the information of any individual with regard to the maladministration of trusts, but such actions are very rare and the absorption of public funds into private pockets is going on everywhere. In some cases the objects, for which the trusts have been instituted, have lapsed by the social and economic revolution through which India has passed and is passing. I would like to ask what right a man, who is dead long ago, has to demoralize any section of the community by the manner in which he has proposed to give a continuous stream of gifts. Some legislator ought to secure for Government the power to go behind every trust if it can be shown that the objects, for which the trust was constituted, cannot be carried out without harm. Such are the trusts which involve the distribution of grain or other eatables indiscriminately. The writer has heard that there is a trust for feeding the fish in the Jumna river with little pills made out of flour! It is well known that at most of these places, there are organized gangs, who pocket the whole of what is given, who are not the type of men for whom the donor intended to give gifts, and in any case it would be found that in every province there are crores of rupees spent in this manner, which can be directed to better and more urgent and important objects. There is further a lot of overlapping that could be eliminated. If there were not individual anarchy in the social life of India, the whole question would long ago have been taken up and determined in a workmanlike fashion for the greatest good of the greatest number, instead of being allowed to drift chaotically, as it is doing now.

The waste, which is phenomenal in India, is that connected with pilgrimages, either religious, to the religious places, or social, to the countries of the West. There are not only princes but a large number of rich men in India who are not happy unless they take an annual or biennial tour of Europe with all the pomp and circumstance attached to their own dignity, for which no one cares a pin in the foreign countries,

where they roam about, except the expectant lot of servants at the hotels and in other places, which they visit. It is, of course, impossible by law or otherwise to put a check to this, but it must be recognized that crores of rupees are swallowed up in this manner. Similarly, the poor also indulge in an orgy of movement. The industrial worker and town-dweller wants to go to his 'native' place. The resident of the village wants to visit a famous temple or tomb as far away from his village as possible. The further away it is, the more famous it is. When he is on such visits, he is in a fit of temporary extravagance and forgetfulness and falls an easy prey to numerous people, who are there ready to teach him how to spend and to relieve him of whatever little he has brought there. There will be people who will say that a desire for such outings and such change of scene is inherent in every human being. The writer agrees, but urges that the expenditure on such outings ought to have some definite relation to the capacity to spend. In his observation he has found that people over-spend on this purpose. If that is so, this is one of the directions of waste, which can be eliminated with advantage to the country.

Take the instance of caste dinners, an evil, which is greater in some parts of the country than in others. Its origin can be traced to individual human vanity and its perpetuation accounted for by the greed and extravagance of the leaders of the caste, who have been able to impose the custom on all and sundry. In little rural places, where a caste dinner would comprise mostly friends and acquaintances in a limited measure, there may be no harm, but, when similar things are attempted in large cities, a burden is put, which the individual would avoid, if he could. In some of these, there is more waste than consumption, and this is undoubtedly the origin of many individual cases of indebtedness, from the grip of which men find afterwards so difficult to get free. Sumptuary laws, as they were known in Europe at one time, are clearly indicated. Government have put a limit to the election expenses of every candidate, but there is no machinery to impose a limit on individual extravagance dictated by an inexorable custom.

Mis-spent money not only means so much less to spend on legitimate objects, but it

means less savings and therefore less capital to fall back upon in lean times, and also less equipment to initiate productive enterprises. Large amounts are spent every year on imported articles of a perishable nature. The *Diwali* all over Bombay Presidency sees a large display, not merely of lights but of fireworks. Each householder, wise in his own little calculation, thinks that his outlay is not much on these objects, but the collective outlay is very heavy. If these items were all manufactured in India, it would not be so harmful, but, while they are imported from abroad, the expenditure becomes indefensible. The supporters of prohibition everywhere in the world are in the habit of giving figures of the amounts wasted by the nation on drink. This item is also considerable in India, but it pales before other items, on which the Indian consumer spends his money. No one grudges the little man his luxuries, but these luxuries are sold to him at a price which, in relation to the original price of manufacture, will be found sometimes as much as 500 per cent. more. India is notorious as the place where anyone in the world can send down any articles, however defective they may be, and the Indian consumer will take them if only they are cheap, *i.e.*, if they are within his means. Foreign trash in the form of toys, glassware and all kinds of what are known as fancy goods is purchased in India by every class, and the collective purchase runs into crores of rupees. Some of these are undoubtedly a waste. Similar arguments can be adduced with regard to the purchase of precious metals and their use as ornaments on persons. In the case of precious metals, the loss on silver which the holders of this country are now going to bear, is so considerable that, if it were possible for any social leaders to change customs and ideas on the subject, it would become their highest duty to do so. The poor man purchases his precious metals under conditions, where he does not always get full value for his money. Astute men have estimated the loss from wear and tear on precious metals at two per cent. every year. Whether this estimate is correct or not, there is no doubt that there is a very great loss on conversion, *i. e.*, when ornaments come to be sold, they realize only the bullion value, and the cost of making and manipulation is lost. The number of goldsmiths, which India maintains, is more than the number found anywhere in the world.

in relation to population and the trade in precious metals is one of the most thriving trades paid for by the masses. It is unfortunate that better means of saving, in which people would have trust, have not been evolved, but the question deserves attention as this is a direction in which one can point out without hesitation to the absorption of a few crores of rupees every year which, if they were not so wasted, would prove an inestimable benefit to the population.

If enthusiasm can be aroused amongst the readers of the *Modern Review* with regard to publishing every instance of waste of public or private funds, which comes to their notice, there is no doubt that in public services as well as in local bodies and elsewhere, they could point out to a lot of money, which it is not necessary to spend for the welfare of the people. In the analysis of this waste, serious difference of opinion would arise, only when one comes to forms of amusements, because there would be those who will say that expenditure in this direction gives employment to many people in this country. There are, however, forms of amusements, which involve an element of gambling, such as horse racing, about which one can say without doubt that quite a large number of people, who resort to the races, are doing so on a scale which they cannot afford. If their own instinct of self-control does not enable them to check this waste, which involves not only their pocket, but often the pockets of their employers, the need for collective action to prohibit this might arise in the near future, particularly as most of the money spent on breeders, trainers, jockeys, stewards, etc., goes into non-Indian pockets. There will be scientists pointing out the waste of valuable chemical elements in city sewage, at present got rid of without any regard to its possible uses for the community. There is an enormous waste of elements in the industrial production, some of which are capable, by slight manipulation, of turning into valuable by-products. In the cotton-growing districts of India, the cattle are fed on cotton seed, which contains considerable oil—a thing, which is of no use to cattle who consume it, but which, if taken out, could be of great use to human beings. Lack of skill in maintaining mechanical equipment and the art of making proper repairs in time, is costing this country crores of rupees, as will be seen from the rapidity with which motor cars, steam launches,

pumps and many other kinds of mechanical amenities, which are imported and which yield less use in India than in any other country in the world. Dumps of unserviceable machinery would be found everywhere in this country thrown aside, because of wrong initial selection or inability to manipulate and to keep it in going order. The most insistent voice telling India what should be used is that of the agent of foreign manufacturers. There is no counter-factor leading to moderation or caution in the interests of the country. Collectively India pays too much, even if individually the people, who purchase these equipments, have the money to spend. An educationist, who is also a very great patriot, pointed out to me the other day that the preparation of text-books, including those which the smallest school-going children use in this country, is in the hands of foreign firms and these firms are careful to effect changes from time to time, so that the old books used by men are not useful for the younger members of the family. Since waste means money misapplied, is it not possible that some of the expenditure of the "Bhadralog" or middle classes on education could be saved, particularly when the boys give an early indication of a lack of application and of their inability to reach a reasonable standard?

The great waste in India is not merely in money, but in the unit of time and labour. There is a larger number of men who are not fully employed throughout the year, and there is a still large number of dependents, who have nothing useful to do all the time. This waste has gone on to such an extent that a man thinks nothing of having been away from regular work for a long period. In fact other people are jealous of him, if he has managed to stay out of work for a long stretch and has managed to exist in a reasonable standard. The unemployed in India are after all burden on the community and it would be better if the burden were assumed directly so as to enable the leaders of the community to know what is going on, instead of the burden being imposed without any appreciation of the problem by anybody and without any effort at the remedy for the situation.

Modernity has got to be paid for and if India wants to take her place amongst the nations of the world, the leaders of our social life, both Hindus and Mussalmans,

must be prepared not to allow a policy of drift and demoralization to continue, but to eliminate all wasteful and parasitic over-

growths and to train the public to discriminate the manner in which what they have earned, they will spend.

Bharat Kala Bhavan

NATIONAL GALLERY OF INDIAN ART

By O. C. GANGOLY

THE opening of the Museum of the Benares Society of Indian Art in a wing of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha was undoubtedly one of the significant events in the development of the study of Indian fine art. Thanks to the initiative given by Mr. Havell, the late Sister Nivedita and Dr. Coomaraswamy, Indians are beginning to take a more live interest in Indian art than was possible for them to do a decade ago. Although this interest is not so widespread as one should wish it to be, it is certainly the earnest of a new awakening, the dawn of a new orientation of Indians towards the rich inheritance of their artistic culture. Curiously, this movement for the study of Indian national art has not emanated from any single centre of official education. Indeed, our schools, colleges, and universities have all conspired to treat Indian art as a forbidden fruit, to be kept carefully out of the educational curriculum,—an avoided subject, which brings one perhaps credit to ignore and decay. This is very typically demonstrated in the history of this great collection of Indian art. Rai Krishna Das, the Emile Guimet of Benares, has never been in any school or college and cannot be said to be an "educated" person in the accepted sense of the word. But as a critical student of Hindu literature, as a lover of pictures, and above all, as a fine *cognoscenti* of all phases of Indian art—he has no rival in any part of the United

Provinces. Pictures both old Indian and modern have been the one ruling passion of his life and he has devoted all his time, energy and resources to build up day after day, by strenuous researches and fatiguing travels, a wonderful collection of examples of Indian painting and sculpture. In a few years it grew to be a rich treasure house, very strong in the Mughal and



Durga-Path
Kangra School

the Kangra schools. A chance contact with Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, C.I.E., brought about a new orientation in his quest—and opened in the heart of an ardent lover of old Indian Art a new window through which streams of new light of modern Indian art began to pour in, and Rai Krishna Das soon developed a critical understanding

of the modern works of the Tagore school. He commissioned Mr. Sailendra Nath Dè, a gifted pupil of Dr. Tagore to draw a series of pictures illustrating Kalidasa's *Meghadutam*. These illustrations, now occupying a large section of the collection, represent one of the earliest and the best phases of the new Bengal school. From the Prayers of the Picture Galleries to the Sermons of the Stones was the obviously natural and

scholar and iconographer, Professor Brindaban Bhattacharya. Soon, however, Rai Krishna Das proceeded to direct his searches outside Benares and his labours were soon crowned with success. The unique caryatid from Mathura which came from a friend at Fyzabad, and undoubtedly the finest gem of the sculpture section, is also the finest surviving representation of the Mathura school in the height of its glory. Of the

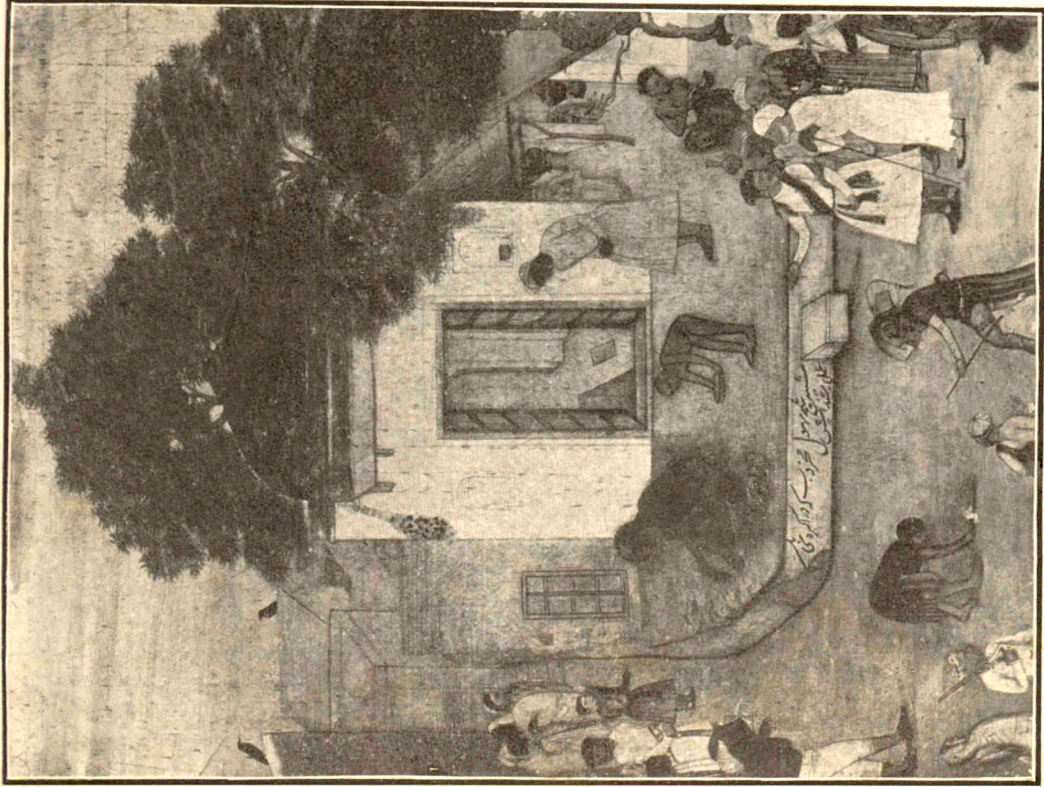
Gupta school, the most beautiful is perhaps the seated figure of Kartikeya, to be attributed to the early phase of Gupta sculpture. A Gandarbha, in blue slate stone, is also a unique piece of the same school. In the department of painting Mughal miniatures and calligraphy are worthily represented in typically fine specimens. Besides numerous portraits, there are several subject pictures—of which "Shaikh Phool, the Mad Saint of Agra," "The Dancers" and the "Meeting of Two Moghul Princes," perhaps representing Shah Jahan and Aurangzib, deserve special mention. In the series of illustrations from the Markandeya Purana, popularly known as the *Durga-path*—(recitations of the exploits of Durga)—the Museum possesses a series of miniatures of Kangra school, of unique dramatic movement and intensity. Of Krishna subjects, the finest example is the "Putana vadh." A very recent addition is a series of inscribed miniatures from Gujarat—with very novel and quaint treatment of human figures—which offer a hitherto unknown phase of the Gujarat school.



A Swordsman
Mughal School

inevitable turning. Rai Krishna Das soon began to seek, on the neglected steps of the Ghats of Benares, deserted fragments of many a masterpiece of Brahmanical sculpture. These casual acquisitions were, however, soon augmented by the purchase of a group of mediaeval stones gathered by that keen

The collection, small at the beginning, grew quickly, by chance discoveries and lucky gifts and acquisitions, and in a few years became too large to be kept within the narrow space of a single room, and the problem of a worthy house was a pressing one. A couple of rooms, very dark and damp, in the grounds of the old



SHAIKH PHOOL

The Mad Saint of Agra

By Bishandas—Mughal School



THE TOILETTE

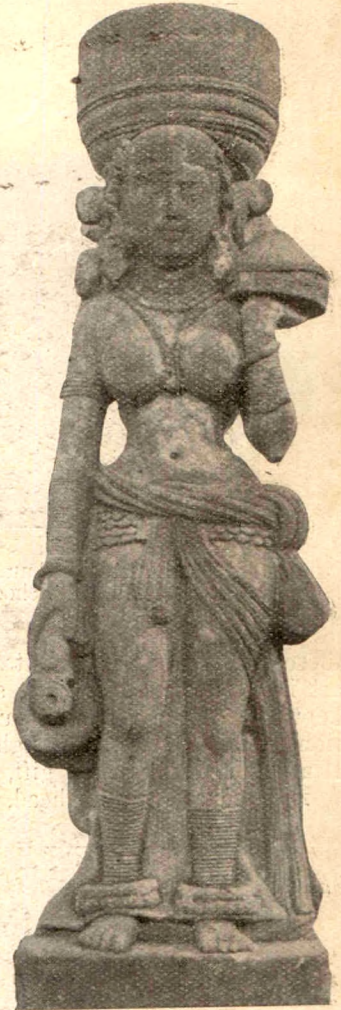
Kangra School



QUEEN OF SHEBA
Mughal School



Kartikeya—God of War
Gupta School



A Caryatid—Lakshmi
Mathura School

Hindu College, now an appanage of the Hindu University, were all that could be had from the worthy authorities of that great University, ever happy in grudging any manner of place, provision or attention to Indian art. It is unkind indeed to allude to the step-motherly treatment meted out by the Indian universities to Indian art or for the matter of that, to any form of artistic culture. This could only be the inevitable attitude of a system of education which has learned to set an exaggerated premium on everything written or printed, as the only source or gateway of knowledge. How could mere pictures or stone dolls,—the playthings of the idle rich, or the wily artifices of the wicked priests,—be accepted as the medium of knowledge, or means of culture? For many months, this great collection of

"dolls" and "pictures" lay in those dingy rooms in the outskirts of the Hindu University, interred in a second burial of dust and oblivion, rarely inspected by chance visitors to the city, European tourists and stray lovers of Indian art, but grimly but carefully neglected by learned professors and lecturers. In any country except India, this unique collection of painting and sculpture would have stirred all the thoughtful section of a city to all manner of spiritual and intellectual activity. Art clubs would have grown up, study circles started, round these magnificent masterpieces, and professors would have vied with each other in giving lectures to their students in the presence of



A Portrait of Aurangzeb
Mughal School

these works of art. But in modern India, art is a despised subject, something to be kept out of the realm of culture and education. The collection though offered to the Hindu University as a gift, in return for a worthy cover over its head,—could not find a

corner in that sanctum of modern learning. Pictures are not “books,” sculptures are not “lexicons.” They cannot be expected to offer any knowledge, or deliver any message.

Rai Krishna Das had therefore to pack up his pictures and knock down his images from their brick and cement pedestals and seek a home for his orphans elsewhere. The President and the Committee of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha came valiantly to his rescue and welcomed the collection with open arms, offering it a happy and a worthy home. A specially large and well-lighted hall has been built for the picture gallery and two long corridors have been provided for the sculpture collection. It is proposed to build a special edifice for the collection at a vacant site at the back of the existing building. In the meantime, the collection, very worthily housed and finely displayed, stands as the nucleus of the future National Gallery of India, and it is hoped the fame of this new Temple of Art may travel far and wide beyond the boundaries of the Holy City and attract, from far and near, a continuous stream of devoted pilgrims who will come and enrich the resources of this new house of worship with their daily offerings as well as rich and permanent donations.



The Making of a New Republic

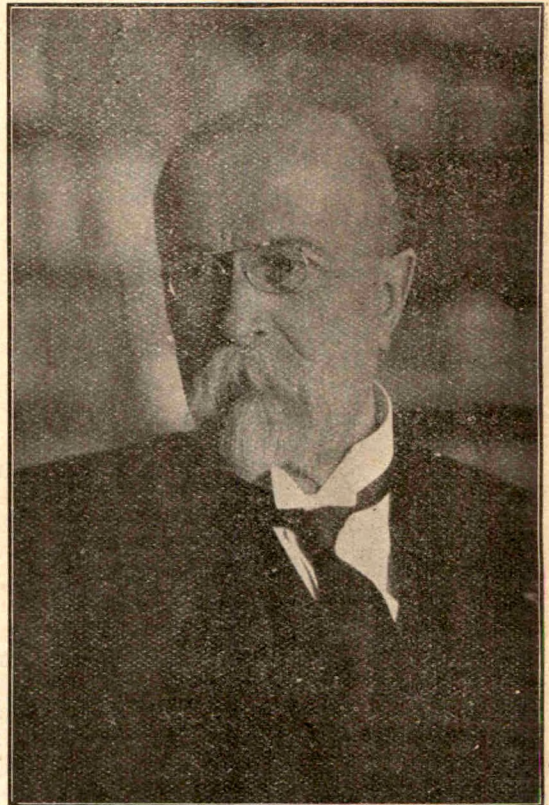
By JAHANGIR J. VAKIL, B.A. (Oxon.)

SOME time ago, a European scholar with whom I had many interesting discussions about European affairs in general and Russian conditions in particular, happened to refer to one whom he called greatest statesman of Europe—T. G. Masaryk. It was with a slight effort that I succeeded in 'placing' the man referred to, as the President of the new republic of Czechoslovakia, from which my friend came. Perhaps it will not be totally superfluous to remind the average reader that Czechoslovakia is a nation of about ten million souls, which has emerged to independence out of the wreck of the old Empire of the Hapsburgs. At the head of this Republic is a man who is now on the threshold of eighty-one, who spent the greater part of three score years and ten, as a professor of philosophy and has been for the last ten years or so one of the greatest figures in the field of European politics. He may indeed, together with his pupil Eduard Benes (now the Foreign Minister of the Republic) be referred to as the creator of the new Republic. With the exception of the Bolshevik Government of Russia, Masaryk's Government is the only one in Europe to maintain itself in power from the end of the war right up to the present day. When we consider the eventfulness and vicissitudes of the post-war period in Europe we realize how much this means, especially in the case of a new nation.

As is the case with all countries struggling in the grip of Imperialism, Czechoslovakia was no more than a name to Western Europe. The Austrians and the Magyars took good care that her case should not form an item of international policy, and they were brilliantly successful until the war came and upset their domination. To the subject nations of Europe the war afforded a splendid opportunity to fight their way to the recognition of the top-dogs. While other nations were content to build indolent hopes based on foot-attributions of chivalry to their Imperialist masters, Bohemia, when the fateful hour struck, took the helm of her destiny into her own

capable hands and steered herself out of slavery into freedom. And the men of the hour were Masaryk and another, thirty-four years his junior, his pupil Eduard Benes.

Czech nationalism, when the war broke out, was at a stage curiously like that of our own nationalism to-day. It was passing out of the stage of romanticism to that of a realist objective knowledge of itself and its objective. New forces were taking the initiative



Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, President of the Czechoslovak Republic

and bringing to a head the urge to change things radically. Men began to feel that the time for passivity was at an end. What the Rowlett Report has declared the 'itch'

for action seized hold of large bodies of men suddenly and at one and the same time. Dreamers and intellectuals, as happens at such times, shook themselves free of their dreams and their reformist gradualness and drank of the heady wine of Revolution whose breath 'bloweth where it listeth.' It came to all men; that most irresistible of all things—an idea whose time has come. Machine-guns cannot drown it, barred gates fly open at its touch. It came to Eduard Benes, university professor and 'passive spectator.' He went to his old teacher, Masaryk, professor of Social Philosophy at the Czech University at Prague and told him of the imperative necessity of a radical upheaval—a revolution. And the teacher who was, till lately, an evolutionist, a man who had rejected revolution and Marxism for an orderly evolution based on the approved model of the nations of Western Europe, thrilled him with the fateful answer, "Good, I am at it already."

Masaryk had worked long and arduously for a peaceful solution of his country's problems. Benes had dreamed of a federalized democratic Austria-Hungary, but the war changed all this. It was now or never, and these two men backed by faithful legions, fired with the idea of Liberty, saw to it that it was now and not never. The 'Maffia,' a secret revolutionary organization was created, and these cool-headed intellectuals, who had for years walked the safe and respectable path of Reformism, had now to carry their lives in their hands like any scatter-brained revolutionary with traditionally bewildered looks and eyes, and the bomb or revolver crammed into a secret pocket. Masaryk left the country with a passport secured just before the outbreak of war, leaving behind him trusty comrades who would have to bear the brunt of Viennese vengeance, while he wrought for his country's freedom in the comparative safety of exile. The 'Maffia' was the link between him and his friends within the country. These held themselves ready to strike at the psychological moment. The Government of Austria-Hungary embarked upon the inevitable policy of a government that has lost all moral claim to rule—repression and more repression. Persecution drove the nation leftwards at break-neck speed, until it became more revolutionary than the leaders of revolution. Czech soldiers deserted to the enemy, for their sweethearts

and mothers called upon them as they marched past the streets, not to fight against their Slav brethren. It soon became too dangerous for Masaryk to return to his country and for Benes to stay in it. The latter warned by the arrests of other leaders, fled from the country and eluding the sentries on the Bavarian frontier, reached Switzerland, eventually, to join forces with Masaryk there. These two men, between them, now set their hands to the herculean task of the liberation of Czechoslovakia, which at the end of a long and tangled web of events, they ultimately achieved. It would be pardonable exaggeration to say that these two men with a handful of other exiles to aid them exploited the times, with extreme finesse, to such good purpose, that they won for their country its freedom.

What was the task that confronted them? Not merely to persuade the allies to detach their country from the Empire of the Hapsburgs, but to counteract the propaganda of Austrian Catholics and capitalists who wished to save their country from imminent disaster by concluding a separate peace—for which the Allies also were eager—favourable to themselves. The ultimate break-down of the negotiations to conclude a separate peace with Austria was a godsend to them, for it convinced the Allied statesmen of the reliability of Masaryk's diagnosis of the forces working in Central Europe. Czech propaganda gained ground day by day in France, England and America. Masaryk impressed M. Briand, in an interview which was granted him, and the latter officially expressed French sympathy with the cause of Czechoslovakia. Benes succeeded in getting President Wilson to mention Czechoslovakia as one of the oppressed peoples for whose sake the Allies were pouring forth their blood and their money. This was a great coup for his country. The Czechoslovak National Council—a recent creation of Masaryk and Benes—received Governmental attributes by organizing Czech prisoners and deserters in allied countries. Followed the convention between France and the National Council for the creation of the Czech army and official sympathy of the United States with Czech aspirations, culminating in the recognition of the Council as a *de facto* government which could claim representation at the Peace Conference.

Masaryk's friends in the home-country

skilfully exploited the situation as it improved, taking great care not to make a *faux pas*. On October 28, 1918, they proclaimed their separation from the Austrian Empire which went the way of all Empires before it—and after it—the shameful dissolution of brigandage.

With Sastri in South Africa

By P. KODANDA RAO

THE SASTRI COLLEGE

APPRECIATION of Indian culture engendered by Mr. Sastri's work had no doubt induced a kindlier feeling among the Europeans towards the local Indians. But the surest guarantee for the permanence of this feeling lay in the creation among the Europeans of appreciation and respect for the local Indians. Their own actions and achievements must consolidate the gains and accelerate the progress. Self-help should take forms which, while useful to the community, shall strike the imagination of the Europeans. Indians had made commendable sacrifices to provide education for their children in Tamil schools, Koranic schools and some general schools. Nevertheless, the legend was current that they did not care for education and that, unlike other communities, they would make no sacrifices for it and that they expected the Government to do everything for them. The Natal Education Department under the high-minded leadership of Mr. Hugh Bryan, advised Mr. Sastri that the greatest educational need of the Indians was a training school for Indian teachers. A well-equipped and well staffed high school appealed to the Indians better. So Mr. Sastri combined both, and invited the community to raise some twenty thousand pounds from among themselves, without seeking or accepting any contributions from non-Indians.

Self-help on such an imposing scale did not come easy to the Indians. For years together, they had maintained, with their backs to the wall, a fight for the preservation of their slender rights from encroachment and extinction. Reverses and defeats had made them despondent and desperate. Moreover, it happens that the Indians who

seek the maximum available education are predominantly Hindu Tamilians, who are comparatively poor, while the section which is comparatively rich are Muhammadan traders whose educational ambitions, however, are rather limited. The project was full of delicacy, and a slight mishandling might create an unfortunate cleavage in the Indian community which had so far held together. Mr. Sastri himself went about from town to town accompanied by his trusted friends of the Congress, and soon the sum of seventeen thousand pounds was raised, an achievement which, more than any other, raised the Indians in the estimation of the Europeans, and won for them great and widespread sympathy. When, for instance, the Durban Corporation under the influence of anti-Indian Councillors, cut down the site for the school building, the European press pilloried the Corporation for the grudging grant of a worthless piece of land.

The foundation stone of the combined training school and high school, was laid by the Administrator of Natal, Mr. Gordon Watson, who, at the wish of the generous donors, christened it the "Sastri College." The building was recently opened by His Royal Highness Earl Athlone, the Governor-General of South Africa. The legend that Indians were indifferent to education has been effectively killed. *The Natal Advertiser* went so far as to read a lesson to the Europeans that the Indians had done more for their education in nine months than the Europeans had done for theirs in as many years!

SOCIAL SERVICE

Other expressions of self-help born of the new hope are the Social Service Committee

and the Child Welfare Society started at the instance of Mr. Sastri. Both of them have done good and creditable work. The former brought to light the unsatisfactory conditions under which the Indian employees of the Government Railways and the Durban Corporation were housed and secured some improvement in the same. The Committee paid weekly visits to the Indian quarters in the borough, preached higher standards of sanitation and drew public attention to much-needed improvements. It soon won the sympathy and co-operation of the Municipal Corporation and its Medical officer of Health, and generally made a favourable impression on the European community. The Child Welfare Society had European co-operation from the very start. It has recently secured recognition from the National Child Welfare Association of South Africa and the Durban Corporation and, what is more encouraging, money grants as well.

INDIAN UNITY

It has been stated earlier that when Mr. Sastri arrived in the Union of South Africa, he found the Indian community divided. For a small unenfranchised community struggling to make itself heard by the politically dominant community, its only effective chance lay in speaking with one voice. Divided opinions were a disastrous luxury which it could ill-afford. Further, the Congress itself gave a hesitant approval to the Agreement; others outside it frankly repudiated it. The efforts of Mr. Sastri, strenuous and continuous for over a long period, unfortunately failed to bring about unity among the Indians. The seceders from the Congress have organized themselves into the South African Indian Federation. The Congress, which at the start had no avowed followers in the Transvaal, has later secured a large and influential following in that province, and stands to-day the most representative, the most influential, and the most competent Indian organization. It is recognized by the Government of South Africa, the Government of India and the Indian National Congress. The differences that now divide the Congress and the Federation are mainly personal rather than political. For even the Federation ultimately came round to approve of the Agreement and did not lag behind the Congress in giving it its full support.

INDIAN EDUCATION COMMISSION

Reference has already been made to the difficulties that Mr. Sastri experienced in getting the Natal Administration to accept the Agreement and implement it by appointing the Education Commission to enquire into the condition of Indian education in Natal. When the Administration eventually appointed the Commission it was discovered that it consisted of the members of the Executive Council together with some members of the Provincial Council and no educational experts. The Executive were to sit in judgment over their own policies, which were thoroughly anti-Indian in the past! It inspired no confidence. Nevertheless, Mr. Sastri advised the Indians to accept the Commission and tender evidence before it. And the Indians came in numbers to give evidence in strange contrast to the experience of a previous Education Commission appointed to enquire into European education which had great difficulty in securing, even by offering special invitations, European witnesses to give evidence! Mr. Sastri himself gave evidence. He had established very cordial relations with the head of the Education Department, Mr. Hugh Bryan, an enthusiastic friend of education irrespective of race and colour; and Mr. K. P. Kichlu and Miss C. Gordon, the educationists deputed by the Government of India, obtained the ungrudging co-operation of the Natal Education Department in preparing the Indian case. The lack of initial sympathy in the Commission had to be made good by the strength of the evidence laid before it. The result of the Commission's labours was a fillip to Indian education. The Administration undertook to run the Sastri College as a Government institution with the first set of teachers selected in India by Mr. Sastri. The grant for Indian education went up from £23,000 to £56,000. The number of scholars went up, from 9,000 to 11,000 in one year, a record increase. Mr. Hugh Bryan contemplates that within ten years all the school-going Indian children will have facilities for education.

INDIAN HOUSING COMMITTEE

In the Agreement the Union Government had undertaken to institute an enquiry into the housing conditions of Indians in and around Durban. Though this matter lay within the purview of the Union Government

they wisely hesitated to take action thereon until Natal was prepared for it. A committee was eventually appointed in September 1928. It was originally contemplated that the personnel of it should include, as assessors but not as members, two representatives of the Indian Congress selected by Mr. Sastri. Unfortunately, for reasons not relevant to the merits of the enquiry, the inclusion of Indian assessors was dropped, much to the disappointment of the Indian community. Mr. Sastri again advised the Indian community to accept the Committee and tender evidence, which they did with excellent effect. The Committee upheld almost all the Indian contentions and put the Durban Corporation and the traducers of Indians in the wrong.

TRADE UNIONS

The Agreement contained a clause to the effect that Indians should conform to the industrial legislation of the country based on the principle of equal pay for equal work. But the actual status of Indians in industry was very unsatisfactory and prejudicial to them. The organizations recognized under these laws, such as trade unions, industrial councils, apprenticeship boards, were all exclusively European and closed to Indians. The law did not permit of the registration of even parallel trade unions unless they were mutually exclusive; unions initiated by Indians had expressly to exclude the non-Indians, a course to which the Indians were opposed on the principle that trade unions should not be racially exclusive. The Natal Indian Congress organized a separate Indian Trade Union Congress, subsequently changed into the "Natal Workers' Congress" to discuss these and allied problems. In the presence of the representatives of the Department of Labour, of the European trade unions and the general public, European and Indian, Mr. Sastri opened the Congress with a fighting speech appealing for fair play. The Congress decided on a joint conference with the representative of the European trade unionists in Johannesburg in order to persuade the latter to admit Indians to the trade unions then controlled by Europeans. Mr. Sastri spoke at the conference. Some months previous to it he had addressed a meeting of these European trade unionists on trade unionism in India and emphasized

the national and international solidarity of labour, and had thus prepared the ground. The Conference agreed that a single union for each trade open to workers of all races was the best method of organization. Before Mr. Sastri left South Africa he had the pleasure of knowing that the Typographic Union in Durban opened its doors to Indians. Its action has since been ratified by the parent body, the Typographical Union of South Africa, and publicly defended by Mr. W. H. Sampson, the present Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, who was President of that Union.

CONDONATION OF ILLEGAL ENTRANTS

Though not arising directly from the Cape Town Agreement, the problem that exercised the Indians most when Mr. Sastri arrived in South Africa was the condonation of illegal entrants. It was common ground that there were an indefinite number of Indians in the Union, and particularly in the Transvaal, who were there in contravention of the Immigration Laws of the land, and who were liable, on discovery, to be deported to India. A judgment of the Supreme Court in the Transvaal,—in which Province every adult Indian has to carry a Registration certificate—had, however, given immunity from deportation to one class of Indians who were proved to have obtained their registration certificates by making fraudulent representations. In the legislation meant to implement the Agreement the Government took away this immunity. Every illegal entrant, whatever the length of his residence in the Union, was liable to deportation on discovery. At the intercession of Mr. C. F. Andrews, the Minister had, in response to the suggestion of Mr. Patrick Duncan, promised in Parliament that he would, by administrative action, and subject to certain conditions, condone the illegal entry of all such as asked for it. This was to be on the part of the Government "an act of grace to mark the appointment of the Right Honourable V. S. S. Sastri, P. C., as the first Agent of the Government of India in the Union." The Transvaal Indians declined the advice of Mr. Andrews to accept the condonation. They resented the action of the Government in completing their power to deport all illegal entrants, and demanded its abrogation. Next they asked that no retrospective effect should be

given to the section; and next again that illegal entrants of 1914 and earlier should go unchallenged and yet again the line was to be drawn at 1908. They objected to the condition laid down by the Minister that no condonee was to be allowed to introduce into the country his wife and minor children if they were not already in the country. They also suspected the *bona fides* of the Government in offering them condonation. The Government, whilst protesting their *bona fides*, saw no valid reason why the illegal entrants of a certain year and before should be exempted from the need of seeking condonation. It was the policy of the Government to reduce the Indian population by holding out inducements to Indians to leave the country: they were spending £50,000 a year on this account. Consistently with their policy, they could not, besides allowing illegal entrants to stay on, permit each of them to introduce three to four other Indians, thereby neutralizing assisted emigration. Against this it was contended on behalf of the Indians that in the interests of the happy family life, a condonee should not be prohibited to introduce his wife and minor children. The Minister saw the weight of this, and promised consideration to the request when he knew the number of persons involved. There were not Indians wanting who argued that the Government could reduce the Indian population with greater justice and less expense by deporting the illegal entrants than by inducing the poorer class of domiciled Indians to leave the land of their birth and emigrate to India, a foreign land to them. The amount now spent on the deportation of innocents might be spent better on their uplift.

No problem caused the Indians, Mr. Sastri and the Union Government more vexation of spirit, more loss of temper, more fruitless controversy, and more unhappiness than this condonation affair. It is a matter of opinion if the Indians would not have received more concessions if at the very outset they had put their unreserved confidence in Mr. Sastri and trusted him to do his best for them. As it was, the negotiations dragged for over a year by which time all grace was knocked out of the offer. When agreement was finally reached, Mr. Sastri and the Congress representatives visited the provinces concerned and at public meetings and private conferences pleaded with the Indians whose

entry into the country was not according to law, to clear up their past and secure their future, and this not only in their own personal interest but that of the character of India. As a result, over 1,500 Indians have received protection certificates.

ASSISTED EMIGRATION

It was no part of the duty of the Agent of the Government of India to stimulate assisted emigration, as the Union Government themselves publicly recognized. There were no well-founded complaints that undue pressure was being put on Indians to emigrate at the instance of the Union Government. Mr. Sastri himself toured the localities where Indian labourers worked, and explained in Tamil the provisions of the Agreement and emphasized the voluntary character of assisted emigration. The new scheme of assisted emigration stimulated the stream of emigration to India, as the following figures before and after the Agreement indicate: 1925—1,358; 1926—2,100; 1927—2,850; and 1928—3,259. The last quarter of 1928 had the record number 1,046. This sudden rise is due in part, it is reported, to a rumour—the origin of which nobody knows—that the increased bonus of £ 20 per adult emigrant would be withdrawn when Mr. Sastri returned to India.

SAFEGUARDING EXISTING RIGHTS

Besides helping the Governments concerned to discharge their obligations under the Agreement, besides raising the Indians in the estimation of the Europeans, the Agent of the Government of India had another set of duties. It was the negative task of protecting the existing rights and privileges, few in themselves, from encroachment and diminution. Now and again some action of the Government, or Administration or Municipalities or private bodies would, deliberately or unintentionally, threaten some right or other of the Indian. The Liquor Bill of the Minister of Justice deliberately proposed not only to close the professions of waiters and barmen to Indians but also to throw out of employment those already serving in those capacities. Over three thousand Indians and their families were doomed to unemployment and distress. It was a testing time for the Agreement. Happily the doom was called off: the offending provision was withdrawn by the Minister himself. It was a triumph not only for Mr.

Sastri's diplomacy but also for the Agreement. The chief basis of European opposition to the clause both in Parliament and outside was that it violated the Agreement.

Even after the deletion of that objectionable provision in the Bill, the Act, when it was put into operation, revealed that the interaction of two different sections had a prejudicial effect on Indian employment, though on a smaller scale. This danger was also averted. The attempts of the Johannesburg Municipality to segregate Indians on municipal trams by regulation, the efforts of the Durban Corporation to evict the Indian tenants long established on the Springfield estate, of the Transvaal Provincial Council to pass regulations which prejudiced Indian hawkers and pedlars, and of the Durban Corporation to establish an Indian colony in Cato Manor outside the Borough of Durban—all these were successfully resisted.

TRADE LICENCES

But more serious than these were the efforts made to increase the difficulties of Indians in getting trading licences. As it is, large powers are vested in municipalities and licensing boards in the matter of the issue of trade licences. With the result that licensing authorities, on which European traders are represented but not their Indian rivals, have often used their powers deliberately and unashamedly to the disadvantage of Indians. The law left a very narrow opening for the interference of the judicial courts, so that most injustices went unchallenged. A Mr. Schonk gave notice of an amendment to the law in the Transvaal which would close up even this narrow opening and completely oust the jurisdiction on the judicial courts. The European press vigorously supported the Indian protest. Unfortunately, for the gallant white gentleman, he was convicted of a serious offence against a black woman, and the amendment lapsed for want of a mover. The episode is symptomatic of the feeling in the Transvaal. The times were not propitious to ask the Union Government to undertake a revision of the licensing laws in the Union and give consideration to the Indian request that the power of the judicial courts to review the decisions of licensing bodies should be greatly increased.

It is again in the Transvaal that some private individuals had recourse to the

expedient of invoking musty old anti-Indian laws of the republican times to eliminate the Indian traders. These laws prohibited the occupation by Indians and other non-Europeans of whole areas in townships in the mining districts. These laws were never strictly enforced, and Indians have occupied and traded in the prohibited areas and established businesses. Alarmed, as some say, at the success of Mr. Sastri's labours, and fearful lest the licensing authorities should abate their campaign against Indian traders, some European traders invoked the laws against Indian occupation, thereby eliminating the discretion of the licensing authorities to give trade licences. The Johannesburg Municipality has had to withhold the renewal of several hundred Indian trade licences in certain parts of the city because of a judicial decision declaring it illegal for the affected Indians to occupy and reside on those areas. It is, however, significant of the change that has come over since the advent of Mr. Sastri in South Africa that the Johannesburg Municipality has tacitly permitted the affected Indians to continue to trade and undertook not to prosecute them for trading without licences, pending some way out of the *impasse* being discovered.

The only radical remedy for this state of affairs is the repeal of the laws against Indian ownership of land in the Transvaal. And that is impossible without creating a great upheaval in the settled convictions of the white people of the province. In time it may be achieved. In the meanwhile Mr. Sastri was able to secure a concession. Under the law Indians may not own land even for communal purposes like temples and mosques and churches. There is a Hindu temple in Johannesburg, the site of which was paid for by Hindus but which had to be registered in the name of a European! The temple came under the hammer when that European friend went bankrupt. The Indians bought it up in the auction and registered it in the name of another European. The unfortunate process got repeated. It is now registered in the name of a third European friend. The greatest blessing that the devotees now pray for is the solvency of their third European friend! The Government have now offered that, if such communal properties were unconditionally made over to the Government, they would reserve them formally in the name

of the trustees for the purpose for which they were intended.

Many another grievance, hardship and discrimination still dogs the footstep of the Indian in South Africa. But the corner has been turned; the old sullen despondency has disappeared and a new hope has taken its place. Indians realize they have to fight long and hard before they have done with their troubles; but they fight with courage and confidence. A new start has been made, and they mean to play the game.

UNIQUE FEATURES

Unique was the episode in several respects. Mr. Gandhi and the Government of India sing in unison over Mr. Sastri's appointment to South Africa; the President of the Servants of India Society becomes a limb of the bureaucracy; his official time is wholly devoted to essentially unofficial duties, like public speeches on Indian civilization, raising funds for the Sastri College, organizing social service bodies; as a servant of the Government of India he does the work of the Government of South Africa in expounding and defending the Cape Town Agreement; and converting the people of South Africa to the policy of their own Government.

On arrival in South Africa he found the Cape Town Agreement ill-understood and in Natal, repudiated. He left the country with the satisfaction that the Agreement was well understood, widely approved and largely implemented. He laboured strenuously that the Agreement might be accepted, might be kept above party politics and that the policy underlying it might never be departed from. He roused the Indian community to acts of self-help which, while benefiting the community, struck the imagination of the Europeans and won their appreciation and regard. He created organizations for Indo-European co-operation, that surest guarantee of inter-racial understanding and inter-racial justice. He raised India in the estimation of the European population, and pushed back racial barriers. The man who a decade ago was warned off South Africa as an undesirable was received in its most exclusive homes as an honoured guest, was accorded high civic honours, and was acclaimed by its universities and churches. He wrought these achievements not with any extraneous aids but by the sheer force of his own character and personality and statesmanship.

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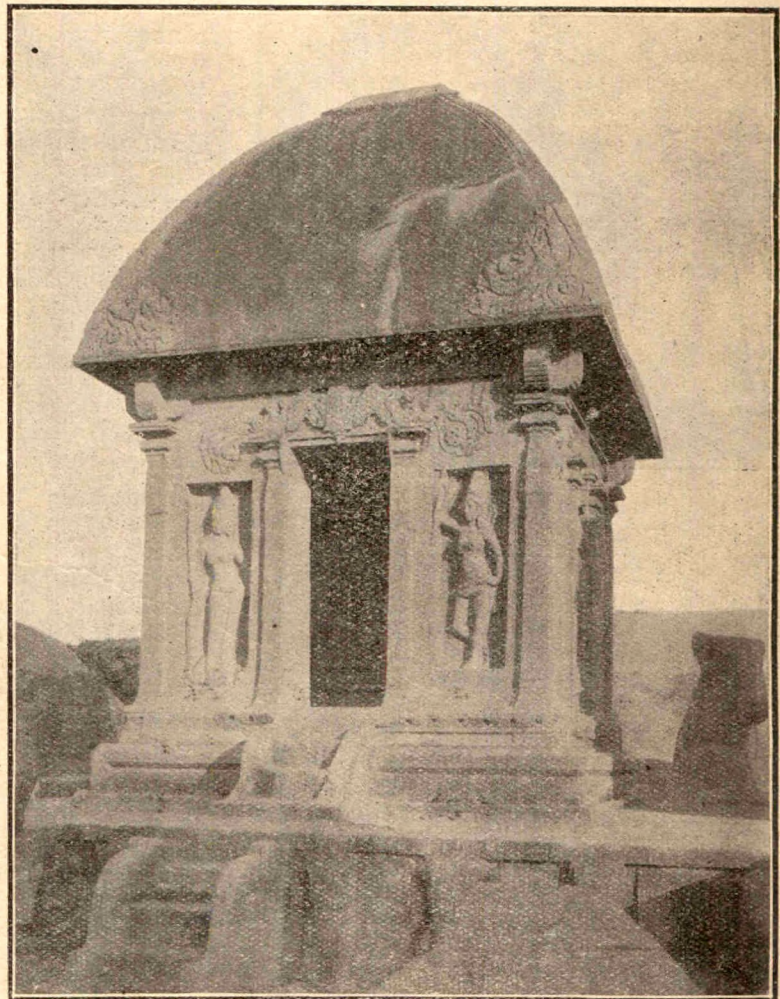


Types of Mediæval Indian Temples

By PROF. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.
Benares Hindu University

AUTHORS on ancient Indian architecture say that there were three different styles in the architecture of this country : *Nagara*, *Vesara* and *Dravida*. Ordinarily *Nagara* is taken to be the style prevalent in and around *Nagar*, the capital city. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, takes *Nagara* to mean the ancient city of *Nagari* in *Rajputana*. *Nagara* or *Nagari* was never of sufficient importance to be the capital or the metropolis of India or even Northern India in the historical period. In the mediæval age *Nagara* has denoted *Pataliputra* which remained the capital of Northern India from the 5th century B.C. to the end of the 1st century B.C. and again from the first quarter of the 4th century A.D. till the end of the 6th. The *Nagara* style in ancient Indian architecture, however, is generally taken to mean what Ferguson calls the *Aryavarta* style. This style was prevalent in early mediæval times from *Bodh Gaya* and *Konch* in the *Gaya* district of *Bihar* to the *North-West Frontier Provinces* and from the *Kangra valley* in the north to the *Dharwar* district of *Bombay*. Generally the shrine is square or rectangular in shape with a spire rising up to a point. The *Vesara* is generally taken to mean the early *Chalukya*

type of temple in which the shrine is also rectangular but the spire rises in regular steps and ends in a spherical dome. The attribution of the *Vesara* style is still open to doubt as the name *Vesara* cannot be translated yet. There is no doubt, whatsoever,



Draupadi's *Ratha* at Mamallapuram
This monolithic temple represents the *Nagara*
type of the 7th Century

as to the attribution of the *Dravida* type which means after all the type belonging to the Tamil country. In this case also the base of the sanctum is square or rectilinear, and the *Sikhara* or the spire rises in regular steps but ends in a solid or hollow barrel-shaped vault, such as are to be found in the *Gopurams* of the great temples at Tanjore, Madura and Ramesvaram. The barrel-shaped vault of the *Gopurams* were not solely used in ancient times in the case of *Gopurams* only. They were also used for 'sanctums or *garbhagrihas*. Thus the *mandapa* of the



Later development of the Bengali *Nagara* Style—A *Ratna* Type of Temple at Vishnupur in Bengal

Kailasanatha temple at Kanchi ends in two crossed barrel vaults instead of a plain pyramid or even a flat roof. The types of temple *Sikharas* are perhaps illustrated by the architects of the famous *rathas* of Mahabalipuram or Mamallapuram. I refer specially to the monolithic temples standing at a distance from the cave temple or the *mandapas*. There are four different types among these rock-cut temples which stand in a row quite separate from the excavations :—

(A) The Draupadi's *ratha* with a sloping roof on four sides resembling a roof thatched with straw. This most probably represents the *Nagara* type as it was prevalent in Bengal, a province nearest to Pataliputra or Nagara. (See the modern *ratha* type of Vishnupur and the double roof of the temple at Akui.)

(B) The Arjuna's *ratha* and the Dharmaraja's *ratha* which are distinctly of the Western Chalukyan type having a small hemispherical dome on the top of a stepped pyramid.

(C) The Ganesha and Bhima *ratha* of the *Dravida* type in which the roof is a long barrel-shaped design ending on both sides in a *chaitya* window panel.

(D) The Sahadeva and Nakula's *rathas* with a roof shaped like that of the absidal hall at Chezarla and at Ter. In this type the front of the roof is shaped like a *chaitya* window but the rear is closed and rounded like the rear of the *chaitya* halls of Karla, Bhaja, etc.

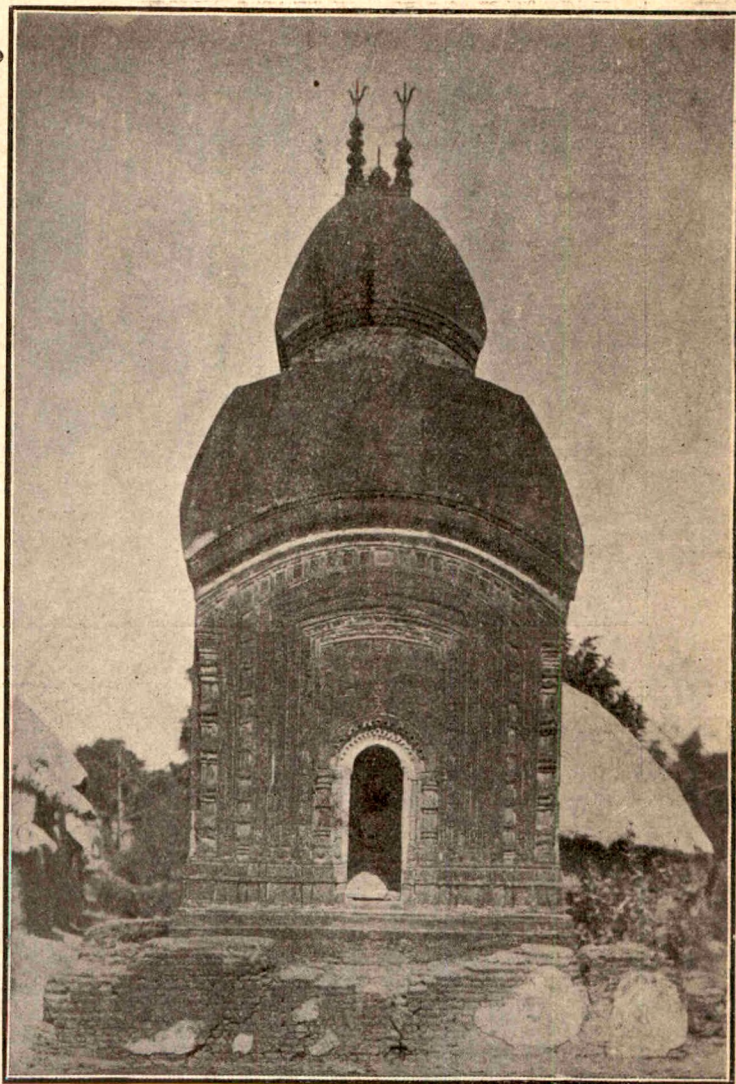
Soon afterwards, the *chaitya* hall type of the roof of the *sikhara* went out of use and a new type seems to have come into existence in temple *sikharas*. This is the Kalinga type. Up to this time the Kalingan type of the *sikhara* was included in the *Nagara* style. But in the 10th century a separate style was attributed to the the Kalingan or Orissan temples by certain architects of the Kanarese country. The Kalingan style is not mentioned in any work on Indian architecture. In an inscription in the temple of Amritesvara in the village of Holal it is stated of an architect (Visvakraman) named Bammoja, the pupil of Podoja, an inhabitant of the village of Soge that he was the master of the sixty-four arts and sciences, the clever builder of sixty-four varieties of mansions and the architect who had invented (mastered ?) the four types of buildings, *viz.*, *Nagara*, *Kalinga*, *Dravida* and *Vesara*.* No other temple inscription or book discovered up to date claims a separate style for Kalinga.

Much difference of opinion exists among scholars regarding the identification and denotation of the term *Vesara* and the locality in which it originated. The majority of the temples in the early Chalukyan capital of Badami are of one type. The old temple on the top of the hill-fort at Badami and a number of others at Aihole and Pattadakal show signs of a new style in *sikharas*. In this style the shape of the *sikhara* is that of a stepped pyramid but on the top we find a hemispherical dome, of a style which was continued in Poona even during the reign of the Peshwas. On the eastern side of the Peninsula this style is

* *Annual Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras*, p. 49, App. B, p. 90.

to be found both at Mahabalipuram and at Kanchi. I have already spoken of the general style of the *sikhara* in the early Chalukyan capitals of Badami and Aihole. At these places the early *sikhara* is not of the *Vesara* or the *Dravida* type but of the type of Nachna Kuthara in the Ajayagarh State, i. e. one small chamber above the sanctum or a small *sikhara* of the early *Nagara* type, like that of the *Dasavatara* temple or the later temple at Nachna Kuthara. The temple of Lad Khan* at Aihole resembles the temple at Nachna† Kuthara—and the much later mediæval temple at Sanchi.‡ Immediately after this we find that the temple of Durga and certain other temples at Aihole show a covered path of circumambulation around the sanctum, both circular and rectangular, with a modest *sikhara* over it. Though the covered path of circumambulation is open in the case of the apsidal temple of Durga at Aihole it is not so in the case of the Huchchimaligudi at the same place.** There are many temples at Aihole and Pattadkal in which the path of circumambulation is lighted by stone lattices in the outer wall but with a modest and small *sikhara*†† on the top. These temples prove that in the very beginning no other style but the *Nagara* was prevalent in the early Chalukyan metropolitan district of Badami and around. Suddenly, we come upon a change. In the Malegitti temple at Aihole or the

Virupaksha temple at Pattadkal we find the beginnings of another style in which the *sikhara* is shaped like a stepped



The temple of Siva at Akui, Bankura—Showing the double hut-shaped roof of the Bengali *Nagara* type. (By the Courtesy of Mr. J. C. French)

* Cousens—*Chalukyan Architecture*, Pl. V.

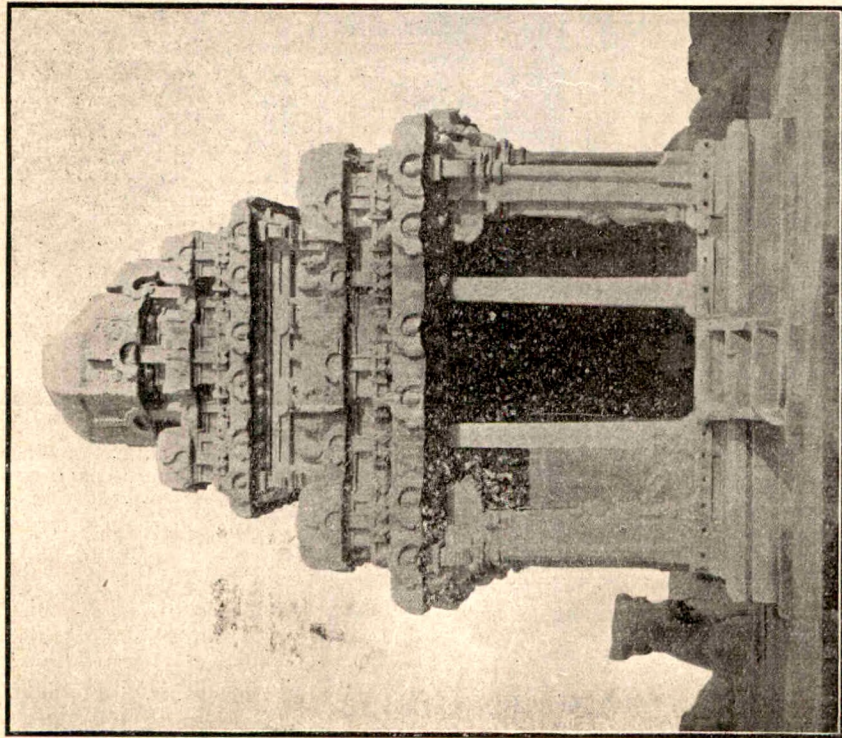
† Codrington—*Ancient India*, Pl. XXXII (B.)

‡ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1913-14, Pl. XXII.

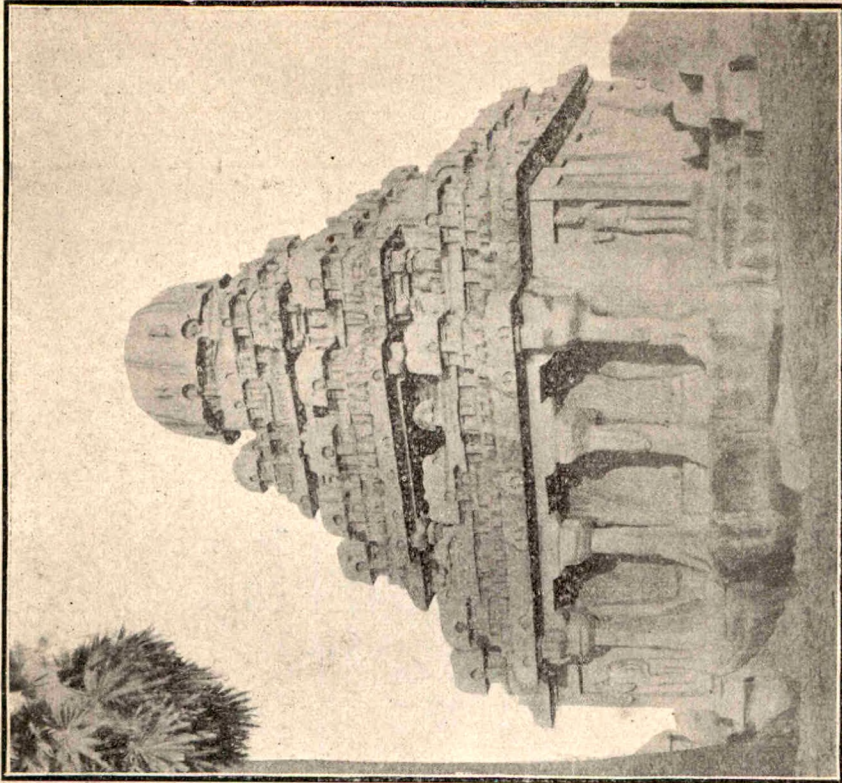
** Coomarswamy—*A History of Fine Arts in India and Indonesia*, Pl. XXXVII, Figs. 152-53.

†† *Chalukyan Architecture*, Pl. XII, L.

pyramid capped by a hemispherical dome. Some writers take this style in *sikharas* to be an importation from the extreme South because in the Pallava temples at Kanchi this style is more prevalent than the pure *Dravida* style. Even so late as the



The Arjuna's *Ratha*, Mamallapuram—a smaller temple of the *Vesara* or Early Chalukyan type at Mamallapuram

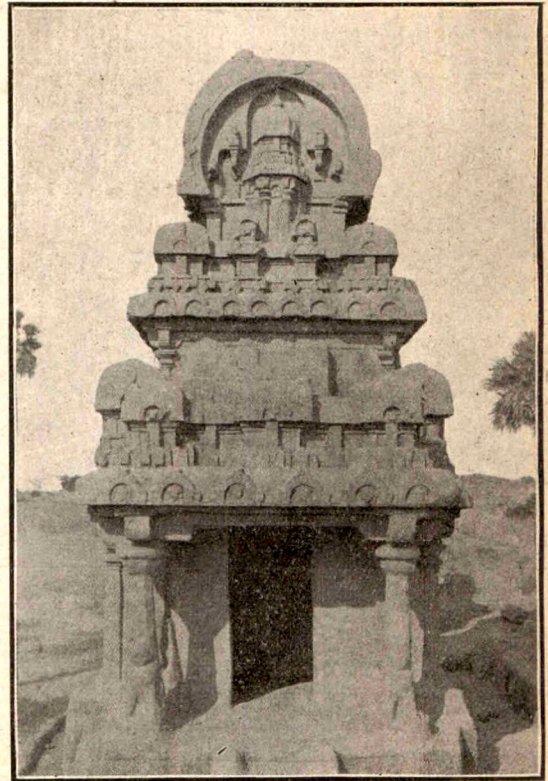


The Dharmaraja's *Ratha* at Mamallapuram—
A large temple of the *Vesara* type

Rajarajesvara temple at Tanjore* (c. 1000 A. D.), this style prevailed while in the North it can be seen in the Kailasa cave at Ellora† and the temple at Gop in Kathiawad. A question has been raised by certain scholars as to whether the *Vesara* style was an importation into South-Western India or the Northern Karnataka proper from Southern India or the country between Kanchi and Tanjore or *vice versa*. This question must be dealt with part by part. In the beginning South-Western India quietly followed the earliest examples of the *sikhara* to be found in the North. Then came a change in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D. The place of the *Amalaka* in Northern temples is taken by a hemispherical dome on the apex of a stepped pyramid. This type is found both in South-Western and Southern India. The early Chalukyas of Badami and the Pallavas of Kanchi were sworn enemies to each other. Wars were carried on against the Pallavas of Kanchi even in the time of the Rashtrakutas. Kanchi more than once fell to the early Chalukyas of Badami but Badami was captured only once, when Pulikeshin II was killed. Therefore, it is more likely that the early Chalukyas of Badami exerted more influence on the Pallava capital of Kanchi than the latter did upon Badami and its surroundings. What we are calling the *Vesara* style, therefore, seems to have implanted itself on foreign soil at Kanchi as soon as the Maharashtra and the Karnataka had recovered from the exotic influence of the *Nagara* style in temple architecture. This is only a theory because the *Vesara* style has not been conclusively identified as yet.

As soon as the influence of the Northern style was removed from the Maharashtra and the Karnataka, the *Vesara* style reigned supreme in these two provinces. The extent of its influence can be gauged by the continuation of the mixed style in the Tamil country long after the fall of the early Chalukyas of Badami and the Rashtrakutas of Manyakheta. When the Chola was fast becoming the supreme power in Southern India and had already begun to conquer the entire country to the South of the Narmada then only do we find the beginnings of the *Dravida* type in temple

architecture in the Tamil land. The great temple of Rajaraja I at Tanjore, the shore temples at Mamallapuram and others continued to show a mixture of the *Dravida* and the *Vesara* styles up to the beginning of the eleventh century A. D.

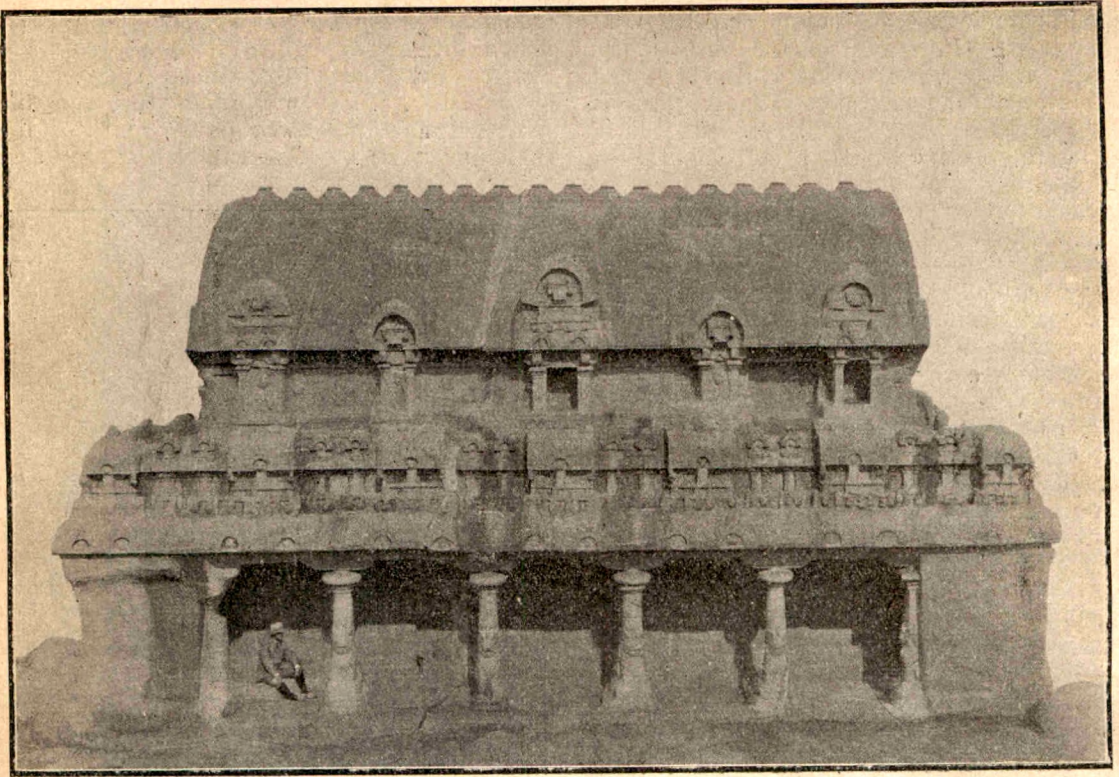


The *Ratha* of Nakula and Sahadeva
at Mamallapuram—
A temple of the Apsidal type

In the two temples on the sea-shore at Mamallapuram and the temple of Rajarajesvara at Tanjore, the *Gopuram* style or the *Dravida* style stamps its influence in the lengthening of the height of the *sikhara*. The *sikhara* becomes a very tall stepped pyramid very much like the *Gopuram* but the latent influence of the *Vesara* style is still to be seen in the hemisphere at the top. Had these been regular *Dravida* in style then we ought to have seen a barrel-shaped vault in the place of the hemisphere. The regular *Dravida* style is also found outside Southern India proper and the most notable examples are the Vaital Deul at Bhuvanesvara in the Puri district of Orissa

* *History of Fine Arts in India and Indonesia*, Fig. 235, Pl. LXXIII.

† *Ibid.*, Fig. 192, Pl. LIV.



Side views of the Bhima's *Ratha* at Mamallapuram
Dravida Style

and the Teli-ka-Mandir on Gwalior hill. As in the case of the Bhima's *ratha* at Mamallapuram, the Vaital Deul and the Teli-ka-Mandir show that the top of the *sikhara* looks like the upturned keel of a boat. The absence of this upturned keel on the top of the temple of Rajarajesvara at Tanjore, the great temple at Tiruvannamalai, the temple of Sri-Rangam etc., prove definitely that the *Vesara* style continued to influence the *Dravida* style long after the fall of the Rashtrakutas and the rise of the great Cholas.

The Kalinga style, as a separate style in temple architecture, came to be recognized in India from the eleventh century onwards. Evidently the apsidal dome of structural *chaitya* halls had ceased to be a necessity to Indian architects and its last occurrence is at Mamallapuram in the *ratha* of Nakula and Sahadeva. Its place in the history of Indian architecture is taken up by the Kalinga style on account of the rise of a great variety of temples on the Eastern coast of the Indian peninsula from Cuttack to Mukhalingam. Hitherto the

Kalingan style was recognized as a division of the *Nagara* style. But the number of temples in Orissa and the definite type of *sikharas* in the Orissan temples gave it so much importance that a separate place had to be accorded to it even in the Kanarese country in the eleventh century A. D.

The different provincial style had become definitely demarcated in the eleventh century A. D. and the evolution of each style in its own province was, henceforth, without any reciprocal influence. The *Nagara* style continued to develop in the addition of *Mandapa* after *Mandapa*, the *Dravida* style in the addition of vast flat-roofed *Mandapas* such as the hall of thousand pillars at Sri-Rangam and Madura, while the *Vesara* style gradually gave way to a mixture of the *Nagara* and the *Dravida* in the shapeless masses of exquisitely beautiful Hoysala temples at Belur and Halebid in Northern Mysore. The *Vesara* style continued to exist in the Maharashtra proper even in the times of the Peshwas.*

*. Cousens—*Revised List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*,

Shocking Allegations Against Indian Chancellor-Prince

BY RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

MARCH 18, 1930.

At time there was when British monarchs could be tyrants, and history records the acts of tyranny of many of them. They could also be profligates and debauchees, and the lives of such among them have blackened the pages of history. But the British constitution and constitutional conventions, backed by strong public opinion, have, for some generations past, made it impossible for British monarchs to be tyrannical, even if they were inclined so to be. It is, no doubt, still possible for them to be immoral in their private lives, but the exemplary sensitiveness of the present British king to the least breath of slander and British public opinion combine to keep the atmosphere of the Royal Court in Britain pure in our day. This sensitiveness was demonstrated years ago when a man libelled King-Emperor George V by saying that as a young man His Majesty had secretly married an admiral's daughter. The king acted exactly as a private gentleman would have done under the circumstances. The man was prosecuted for libel. The king personally took his stand in the witness box, took the oath and gave evidence. The slanderous lie was nailed to the counter and the libeller was punished.

On the opening day of this year's session of the Chamber of Princes, the Indian States' Peoples' Conference published the Report of the Patiala Enquiry Committee appointed in pursuance of a resolution of its working committee passed on the 11th of August, 1929, in order "to make all necessary and possible enquiries into the allegations made in the memorial presented to H. E. the Viceroy by some citizens of the Patiala State and report to this committee, as early as possible, their opinion on the substance contained in the said memorial." This memorial, as printed in the Report, contains allegations of gross tyranny and of revolting debauchery and diabolical cruelty against the Maharaja of Patiala. As in the vast majority of the Indian States, including Patiala, there is neither constitution, nor any

strong and vocal public opinion, and, therefore, no check on arbitrary rule, it cannot be taken for granted, as it can be in the case of Great Britain, that in these States there can be no tyranny, so there ought to have been and still ought to be an enquiry into the allegations, initiated by and conducted under the authority of the Government of India. Further, as in the vast majority of the Indian States, including Patiala, the ruler being a law unto himself and accountable to nobody in his territory, it is possible for their rulers to be quite satanic in their private lives, so it cannot be taken for granted that allegations against their private character must be false and, therefore, no enquiry into the allegations against the private life of the Maharaja of Patiala is necessary. Neither can nor should both these kinds of allegations be assumed to be true without legally tested proof or except on the Maharaja's unwillingness or inability to publicly vindicate his character.

He is not greater than his suzerain King-Emperor George V, either as a man or as a ruler of men. He cannot pretend to treat the allegations with contempt. What His Imperial Majesty felt bound to do, the Maharaja ought to have done long ago. There is still time for him to take steps to clear his character as man and ruler. If His Excellency the Viceroy felt or feels that, *for reasons of state*, it would be inexpedient to hold an official enquiry into the allegations—we do not ourselves hold that opinion—the least that His Excellency could or can do is to advise the Maharaja to meet the challenge of the memorialists and the Indian States' Peoples' Conference in any legitimate manner he thinks proper.

Even those who do not know much about the Indian States have only to read Mr. P. L. Chudgar's informative and very interesting book on *Indian Princes under British Protection** to be convinced that

* *Indian Princes under British Protection*: A study of their Personal Rule, their Constitutional Position and their Future. By P. L. Chudgar.

misrule by debauched and inhuman princes is quite possible in many, if not most, of these States. In his preface to this book Col. Wedgwood writes with reference to the Indian States :

"All this part of India is like the Germany of the eighteenth century—a quantity of little princelings with absolute power and a patient peasantry...the mighty arm of Great Britain protects them, preserves them, and perpetuates conditions of servitude which are a disgrace to our democracy.

".....Labour Party and British democracy do not know that millions of their fellow-subjects have no rights to person or property in that most mysterious patch of the ever mysterious East."

When Lord Curzon in one of his speeches said that the British Government wanted the princes to be men "who will be manly, not effeminate, strong-minded but not strong-willed, acknowledging a duty to others instead of being a law unto themselves, and will be fit to do something in the world instead of settling down into *fops* or *spend-thrifts* or *drones*," he indirectly but plainly indicated what very many of them actually are. Mr. Chudgar writes :

"The records of the India Office will show how many of these Chiefs, educated at these (Chiefs') colleges, have had to be deposed or deprived of their powers. That is the tragic system of education which demoralizes the Princes and alienates them from their own people."

"That these Princes' Colleges have more often than not been a source of vice and wickedness is common enough knowledge."

On "the life of a prince," the author says :

"The degree of liberty that a Prince demands is a licence to indulge himself to excess. If at last British Government decides to interfere it is well known that the Prince prefers to abdicate rather than face a Commission of Enquiry. For, he could put up no sort of defence with regard to the allegations made against him. Besides, the abdication is a blessing in disguise even to himself, for it means money without the trammels of office."

As regards the people of the States, Mr. Chudgar informs the reader that

"under our Princes neither personal liberty nor private property is considered safe! For at any moment a subject can be deprived of his liberty, and his private property can be confiscated with little more than the semblance of a trial, and in some cases in its entire absence."

He devotes a chapter to showing in detail that slavery and forced labour do exist in many of the States—perhaps in a majority of them.

There are various kinds of taxes in many

States unknown in modern times in any civilized country. In addition to these, the princes can exact fresh contributions under various pretexts, and many do so.

As regards legislation,

"With the exception of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin there is practically no State in which the representatives of the people have any effective voice or indeed any voice at all in the matter of legislation. Laws are issued in the form of orders, decrees, or firmans either by the Prince or by action taken under his instructions. They have no broader foundations than the mere caprice of the ruling Prince. In some States British Indian legislation is adopted with such modification as the Prince pleases, but these so-called laws are in no way binding on the Prince. He can repeal, amend and suspend them at his will and pleasure, and deprive any man of his liberty, commit him to prison for an indefinite period, and banish him from his birth-place at will without reason, charge, or trial. He can confiscate anybody's property, withdraw cases pending in courts, and pass such orders as he likes, regardless of the law."

The position of the Diwan or Prime Minister being in most States quite precarious, "the whole attention of the Diwan is concentrated on making hay while his own particular sun is shining. The result is that in such circumstances he has to adopt the usual methods of a servile flatterer. He gives the Prince full power and sanction to spend vast sums of money on luxury and display, and hardly ever attempts to prevent His Highness from leading a life of unbridled vice and self-indulgence."

As is the Diwan, so are the subordinate officials. Regarding most of the States Mr. Chudgar writes :

"In the villages no attractive woman's honour is safe. The atmosphere is charged with intrigue and danger. Great pains are taken by the police to fabricate unfavourable reports against any prominent or educated people who seem likely to protest and take up the cudgels for the people. Any lie is concocted and spread so that the Prince may be well prejudiced beforehand against these gentlemen. Far from being the source of protection to the people that they are *presumably* intended to be, the police themselves are largely the cause of what it should be their duty to prevent."

Mr. Chudgar devotes chapter xiv of his book to "illustrations of arbitrary rule." The illustrations are chosen from Patiala, Kashmir, Bikaner, Alwar, and Jamnagar. Some of the allegations published in the report of the Patiala Enquiry Committee are to be found in this chapter also.

I have given some extracts from Mr. Chudgar's book—they could have been multiplied tenfold, just to show that it cannot be assumed that gross misrule is impossible in most of the Indian States. But, of course, it cannot either be assumed without proof that



MOTIBAGH PALACE,
PATIALA.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL. TO BE RETURNED TO US
IMMEDIATELY AFTER PINJOUR SHOOT.

Note of instructions for Superintendent of Police
C. I. D. in connection with Vice-regal visit at
Pinjore.

1. To watch that no villagers may have access to H.E. or his staff to make any complaints with regard to Begar.
2. That relatives of Panahi girls do not approach H.E. or his staff with any petitions.
3. That Jang Singh of Rurki does not appear anywhere in or near the camp with any representation.
4. During H.E.'s stay at Pinjore our mental servants do not mix up with H.E.'s ministerial establishment or menials.
5. S.P. C.I.D. should always remain with Mr. Cleary and watch his movements and report to us if there is anything of interest.
6. As far as possible C.I.D. men in plain clothes should not be in evidence.
7. S.P. C.I.D. should contact Col. Mark Singh in



MOTIBAGH PALACE,
PATIALA.

(2).

making other Police arrangements, and can utilize
Sirdar H. Bhagwan Singh, A.S.P. for detective
duties if necessary.

8. S.P. C.I.D. is solely responsible for making Mr. Cleary and his subordinate staff perfectly comfortable during their stay at Pinjore.

Deputy Dir. P.J.

15.4.24.

Facsimile of an alleged Confidential circular letter of the Maharaja
of Patiala regarding the Viceroy's Pinjore Shoot

there has been such misrule in any particular State, Patiala for example. What is contended is that when there is a *prima facie* case made out against any ruler, the Government of India ought to intervene and institute an open and public enquiry. Mr. Chudgar proves in chapter xvi of his book that the British Government and Parliament have responsibility in the matter of the internal administration of Indian States. The princes may cry out—as some of them did during the last session of the Chamber of Princes—against this duty and power of intervention. But it would be the height of absurdity on their part to claim that the British Government owes them the duty of protecting them against external and internal aggression but not the power to protect the subjects of any of them against their tyranny and debauchery, should they be oppressors and profligates. They cannot have the cake and eat it, too.

Mr. Chudgar shows that the responsibility of the British Government in the matter of the internal administration of the States and its right and duty to intervene arise from four sources: (1) By virtue of the British Government's position as paramount power; (2) From terms of treaties, engagements, and sanads made with and issued to various States from time to time; (3) By reason of the obligation of the Paramount power to ensure the progress and prosperity of India as a whole; and (4) from a variety of other causes. It is not necessary to make extracts from this chapter. Only the other day, in opening the last annual session of the Chamber of Princes the Viceroy asserted that this right of "intervention will be resorted to only in cases, where in the interests of your Highnesses' subjects, of India and of the Empire as a whole, no other course seems possible."

I have now the painful duty to give some idea of the Report of the Patiala Enquiry Committee.* The members of the Committee who either conducted the enquiry and signed the report or merely accepted and signed the report were:

Mr. Amritlal V. Thakker, Member, Servants of India Society, President, Bhil Seva Mandal, Ex-President, Kathiawar States' People's Conference,

Ex-President, Bhavanagar State People's Conference.

Mr. Laxmidas Ravjee Tairsee, Member, Bombay Corporation, Ex-President, Cutch State People's Conference, Ex-President, Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau.

Mr. Amritlal D. Sheth, Ex-member, Bombay Legislative Council, Editor of the Saurashtra, President, Rajputana States' People's Conference, President, Dhandhuka Taluka Local Board.

Prof. G. R. Abhyankar, Professor of Constitutional Law, Poona Law College, General Secretary, Indian States' Peoples' Conference, Ex-President, Deccan States' People's Conference, President, Miraj State People's Conference.

They are all public men possessed of an unchallenged reputation for probity, integrity and sound judgment, and a laudable record of unselfish services rendered to the country. As stated in their Report,

"None of the members of the Committee has any interests, friends or relations in the Patiala State. None of them even know any citizen or the ruler of Patiala. Theirs has been a perfectly disinterested task."

I have read the Report from the first page to the last. The details of many of the allegations and much of the evidence are so revolting as to be almost incredible. They haunt and vitiate the reader's imagination. If Hell actually existed, some of the details could be called transcripts from the diary of a denizen of that region. On rising from a reading of the volume I have felt that if the accusers and the witnesses have invented the whole or any part of their stories, they would be no mean rivals of those authors who have written 'realistic' stories of crimes. If literate in any language, they might be able to make money as writers of such fiction.

I am not in a position to and do not pronounce any opinion on the allegations and evidence contained in the Report. The Committee rightly states:

The Committee was fully aware of the difficulties that lay ahead. The Maharaja of Patiala is regarded as one of the leading Princes of India. He is also the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. Occupying the throne of Patiala for 20 years, he wields in his state all the autocratic powers which unlimited monarchy has given him. As Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, he holds a position of responsibility under the British Government. Thus, while on the one hand the Maharaja of Patiala is really a very powerful Indian Ruler, on the other are his helpless subjects pitted against him with absolutely no political powers. They have to fight single-handed against the misrule of this prince. Almost all the victims of the oppression of this ruler as also the witnesses of the oppression are the subjects of the State and are living in Patiala jurisdiction, Possessing vested interests in the

* *Indictment of Patiala*: being a Report of the Patiala Enquiry Committee appointed by the Indian States' Peoples' Conference, 1930. Price Rs. 10. To be had of the General Secretaries, Indian States' Peoples' Conference, Asoka Building, Princess Street, Bombay, 2.

State they are exposed to a very great risk both to their persons and to their properties in deposing against the ruler while he remains installed on his *gadi* and the Committee is powerless to afford any protection to them. Under these limitations the Committee felt considerably handicapped in its work. But still it started on its mission and the Committee is glad to announce to the public that it has certainly been able to gather a good deal of material which when examined and analysed establishes a strong *prima facie* case against the Maharaja.

As regards the allegations, it is stated :

The number of allegations mentioned in the memorial is very large. Naturally the Committee could not go into all of them because it had not adequate means at its disposal to do so. Some of the allegations are such that it was very difficult for the Committee to get into touch with the persons concerned. For example there is the allegation about the licentiousness and debased habits of the Maharaja the principal victims of which are the Pahadi Girls. The evidence to this charge cannot be obtained by merely going to the hills. Unless the relations of these aggrieved girls came before the Committee it was impossible to ascertain the exact details. The relations are panic-stricken and belong to the ignorant and illiterate hill-tribes. There is another allegation about persons rotting in Patiala jails. It was impossible to visit these people in the Patiala jurisdiction. If an official enquiry is held these inmates of the jails in Patiala can be summoned to give evidence. About the financial condition of the State and about its general administration the only authentic proofs are the administration-reports and the budgets of the State. This material is not available to the public. The Committee, therefore, had to be content with the investigations of only a few of the allegations in the Memorial and had to base its report on the material that came before it during the course of the investigations. For the purposes of this report the Committee has, therefore, prepared the following counts of indictment on which the Committee would proceed to report.

1. Lal Singh's murder.
2. The setting up and maintaining of a bomb factory in the Fort of Bahadur Garh in Patiala State.
3. Disappearance of Bichiter Kaur, her son and her daughter.
4. Keeping and not releasing the wife of Sardar Amar Singh.
5. Illegal arrest and confinement of Sardar Harchand Singh and confiscation of his property worth 20 lakhs.
6. Concoction of false cases.
7. Inhuman tortures, illegal arrests and confinements and high-handed confiscations of property.
8. Ruinous consequences of Maharaja's Shikars.
9. Tyranny of *begar* or forced labour and the system of exacting provisions.
10. Non-return of War Loan money.
11. Revenue and Irrigation grievances.
12. Misappropriation of funds raised for public purposes.

Neither the full details nor the summaries of all the allegations can be given in this article. Only the substance of the first

allegation is quoted below from the Report.

Sardar Lal Singh, who was the cousin of the father-in-law of the Maharaja, married a beautiful wife named Dilip Kaur. The Maharaja saw the woman, fell in love with her and kept her in his palace. He tried his best to induce Sardar Lal Singh to divorce her. Lal Singh refused. The woman was staying in the palace all along and had two daughters by the Maharaja. Only once or twice she was allowed to go to her husband. The Maharaja then married her privately. Lal Singh then expressed his intention to approach the British Government. This upset the Maharaja. He asked Nanak Singh, his Superintendent of C. I. D. to dispose of Lal Singh and gave him money for the purpose. But as Nanak Singh could not accomplish the deed soon services of one Gumdur Singh, a notorious exile from Patiala were secured for the purpose. It appears that it was arranged that the murder should take place when the Maharaja would be absent in England. The plot of murder was then hatched and after one unsuccessful attempt Sardar Lal Singh was murdered. When news of this murder reached the Maharaja in England, he distributed presents worth Rs. 1,100 among his men. After allowing a little time to pass, the Maharaja married this Dilip Kaur publicly. The woman is now known as Her Highness the Maharani Dilip Kaur.

Evidence in support of this and the other allegations is recorded in the report, and the examination of the evidence is also given in each case. In each case the Committee's conclusion is also stated. In concluding their Report, Messrs. Amritlal V. Thakker, G. R. Abhyankar and Amritlal D. Sheth, the members who actually conducted the enquiry, state their opinion as follows, in part :

106. We are asked by the Working Committee to state our opinion on the substance contained in the Memorial presented to H. E. the Viceroy by ten citizens of the Patiala State. With this purpose in view we have examined in the foregoing chapter the material that came to us. We are conscious of the fact that all this material was gathered behind the back of the ruler of Patiala and it does not bear that value which a cross-examination by the opposite party would give to it. But that is one way of looking at it. There is another as well. The tour of the Committee was widely advertised in the Press. The Committee was quite prepared to give quarters to the other party if they meant to present their side of the question. But while Patiala State could spare their police to surround the Committee-room everywhere and attempt the stopping of evidence that was forthcoming, they made no attempt to respond to the public invitation given to all by the Committee to help in the Committee's work. After that the Committee had to fall back upon the only alternative which was to go on *ex parte*. They tried their level best to ascertain the truth as far as possible and to convince themselves about the reliability of the witnesses. All that could be done under the circumstances, was done

by them to fill up the gap of the absence of the other party.

107. At the worst our enquiry can be said to resemble a police investigation. In the case of offences alleged against ordinary people, the police hold an investigation behind the back of the accused, and when there is sufficient material for a *prima facie* case, they send up the case for enquiry before a magistrate; and then the magistrate has to hold a regular enquiry. That is just our position. We have had in our possession a complaint against the Maharaja of Patiala. We held an investigation behind the back of the Maharaja; and as a result we proceed to state our opinion as to the substance in the allegations, that is, whether there exists *prima facie* grounds in support of the Memorial.

108. We have in the second chapter exhaustively dealt with all that came in our possession in this connection, and we have stated our conclusions on each of the count framed by us. Certainly our conclusions do not cover all the allegations mentioned in the Memorial. They cover only a few of them.

A mere reader like myself can go with the Committee only thus far. Not having seen and examined the original documents and written statements, nor having observed the demeanour of the witnesses who gave oral evidence at the time when they were examined, I cannot say how far the members are justified in stating

that not even one of the allegations mentioned in the Memorial has been found by us to be either wrong or malicious. Naturally we could cover only a small field, but whatever came to us in that small field has all gone to support the allegations in the Memorial. As a matter of fact, in some of the matters the material was even sufficient for a final verdict. Thus judging from what we had an occasion to examine, we have no hesitation in stating that the allegations made in the Memorial are not made lightly or irresponsibly but have the backing of very solid and in many cases startling and shocking facts.

109. We, therefore, find it as our deliberate opinion that the Memorial submitted to H. E. the Viceroy by the citizens of Patiala has a great substance in it and is one which must be taken up very seriously by all, be they individuals or a system, if they have a soul to swear by.

But I am convinced that the Maharaja of Patiala ought to try to exculpate himself, and the Government of India should, if necessary, create and give him an opportunity to do so. Either a Commission of Enquiry or a Special Tribunal would serve the purpose. Were the Government to do nothing, it would be a great scandal.

I have pointed out what, in my opinion, the Maharaja of Patiala and the British Government should do. The people of

Patiala, and particularly their leaders, have also their duty as men. If they believe the allegations to be true, then they are expected to engage in some kind of *satyagraha* to establish their right to be treated as human beings. That may or may not involve confiscation of their lands, loss of personal liberty, tortures and even death. But Sikh history shows that true Sikhs can be equal to all such trials.

In this connection it has to be noted that, in spite of (or, is it because of?) the publication of the Patiala Enquiry Committee's Report at Delhi on the opening day of the last annual session of the Chamber of Princes, the Maharaja of Patiala was re-elected Chancellor of the Chamber for the next five years. As the allegations against His Highness had yet to be enquired into, it would have been proper if some one else had been elected Chancellor this time. His non-election would not have meant that he was guilty, just as his election does not prove the contrary. Under the circumstances, the action of the princes would be interpreted in various ways. Some would construe it to mean that they were in a defiant mood. Others would think that in the opinion of the princes the Maharaja was innocent. Still others might assume that in their opinion such allegations against any one of them did not disqualify him for the office of Chancellor. And so on and so forth. But it is to be hoped that no one has interpreted the action of the princes to mean that such allegations are in their opinion an extra qualification for that high office.

In conclusion, it has to be recorded with great regret that on the 27th February, two days after the publication of the Patiala Enquiry Committee's Report, many distinguished Indian leaders attended a dinner given by the Maharaja of Patiala. Among those present are to be found the names of the following in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of March 4, 1930:—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Moonje, Mr. Hriday Nath Kunzru, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, and Mr. M. R. Jayakar. Other names need not be mentioned. No one is expected to prejudge the Maharaja, one way or the other. But it would have been decent to hold judgment in suspense and to refrain from giving the Indian States' Peoples and their self-sacrificing spokesmen a slap in the face.

The "United States of Europe"

THEORY AND FACTS

By JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., Ph.D.

(*alias* John J. Cornelius)

THOUGH ten years have gone by since the Great War, Europe has not reached the ideal of complete consolidation, and it still falls far short of representing a perfect international community whose members endeavour in peaceful competition to assert their economic strength and cultural capacity, while co-operating at the same time in the interest of the common ideals of peace, humanity and universal progress. Nevertheless, if we examine the present-day conditions in order to determine the extent of improvement in the international relations of the European States, we are led to give expression to optimistic conclusions. In judging the present-day situation in Europe, we cannot, of course, pay attention only to concrete political questions which involve the relations of the different States and which reflect, in addition to the positive aspects, the discouraging features of the European situation of to-day; we must take into consideration also the changes which have been brought about in the methods and forms of interstate relations, for it is above all in them that is manifested the undeniable progress of Europe and post-war international life.

There are, no doubt, the open and incompletely solved questions of European politics, and no attempt is made to minimize the difficulties which have appeared so far in various regions of Europe. But we must bear in mind that the majority of these problems and difficulties of European politics are obviously of a transitional and external character, and in no way organic. They are either directly connected with the liquidation of the war or they arise from its results and represent a reaction to its consequences, territorial, political and economic. The ten years that have passed since the War, constitute too short a period for the achieving of a complete adaptation to all its results. Europe is still living in the midst of pre-war process of consolidation. In spite of all the shortcomings, the

new methods of international and interstate politics introduced under the influence of the League of Nations are indications of a favourable development of international relations in Europe; they not only facilitate a greater stability of conditions, but they also tend to smoothen the friction points and lessen disputes and conflicts.

The efforts directed towards the settlement of all disputes through arbitration, the securing of a maximum of guarantee of peace and the building up of a new international order may, indeed, be criticized and the results achieved so far be underestimated, but one cannot afford to overlook the facts that such pacific ideals and methods are gaining ground and that they are influencing the relations between the European States. The ramified and ever-widening net work of arbitration, conciliation, friendship and guarantee treaties, which link together the European States, has its gaps but there is no doubt whatever that this system of treaties is the expression of the new political, mental and moral outlook of the post-war Europe. This new attitude of mind has made possible the present agitation for a federation of Europe.

The great conception of a "United States of Europe" has been in the minds of poets, thinkers and statesmen for more than a century, but the present European outlook has helped M. Briand to bring European unity a step nearer to reality. On the 9th September 1929, M. Briand invited the heads of twenty-seven European delegations to a luncheon in Geneva and there discussed the question of bringing Europe under an economic federation. At this luncheon the late Dr. Stresemann, as Foreign Minister of Germany, in pledging his country, declared: "Certain suggestions have been made for the closer collaboration between the States of Europe. Certain pessimists have scoffed at that idea, but I do not share their scepticism. I decline to regard the whole idea as chimerical... The diversity which exists now is not

only prejudicial to European commerce, it is as incomprehensible to the continents overseas as it is sometimes to us. The rationalization of European production and the marketing of its merchandise will be equally profitable to other continents. I can assure you my government is ready to enter discussion on any arrangements such as have been suggested... aiming to facilitate commerce and end the increase of tariffs. We await the propositions that will be made to us." The exchange of opinions at this luncheon was what M. Briand called "a good corner-stone," and the cause received further impetus from the assurances given by other European statesmen. Within the year the nations of Europe have been asked to study the details of a European federation, answer a questionnaire prepared by M. Briand and submit their views at a meeting to be held during the eleventh Assembly of the League of Nations in September of this year. The ultimate consequences of this significant move, of course, cannot now be forecast.

In this pan-European agitation some writers emphasize the cultural unity of Europe in the Middle Ages as a source of encouragement for the disunited Europe of to-day. She was united under the Roman Empire and later under the Holy Roman Empire. And though its political dismemberment has varied with the fortunes of war and dynasties, the memory of the cultural unity of the past continues, and in recent years it has led to the consideration that their destiny, like their cultural inheritance, is one and the same. The conception of the far-seeing poets and philosophers is that the contemplated European union might take the form of a political federation under a single government. About the year 1760, Michael von Loens, a great uncle of Goethe expressed himself in reference to the then current idea of a political federation of Europe thus: "The union of a few of the more powerful royal houses of Europe might make something of the sort possible. But then the spirit of conquest, the desire for heroism and the almost always idle nobility would become purposeless, for there would no longer be any use for soldiers to conquer provinces and States. In the central European Council all questions of succession, from which most wars arise, would have to be previously settled among all the States so that one should know from

the outset to what person or line the land would devolve on the death of the reigning prince." He clearly envisaged the difficulties which would have to be met in the case of a political federation.

But the federation that M. Briand has in mind for the present is neither cultural nor political but economic. For the present Europe is mainly concerned with the improvement of her economic condition, and the first step towards this goal is considered to be a lowering of tariffs in general interest. "Europe is in a chaotic state" declares M. Briand. "You see small countries which could sell their agricultural produce at a good profit straining themselves to create national industries, while almost impassable tariff barriers rise between them and their neighbours." Take for instance the journey from Paris to Stockholm; it requires no fewer than six different kinds of coinage and stamps and also a knowledge of five different languages, if one choose the far from extravagant road through Belgium, Holland, Germany and Denmark, though the whole territory covered may easily be put inside of an American State or an Indian Presidency. Besides these States are walled in, like the rest of Europe, from each other by customs barriers.

Europe is thus divided into something like thirty small and large nations which seek protection in tariffs as high as possible, the big ones chafing under the limitations imposed by the smaller ones, the little ones inordinately expanding to resist the invasion of their greater neighbours, each trying to reassure itself by a complicated system of alliances and arbitration treaties but actually arming to the teeth and thus preparing a veritable financial catastrophe by an excess of armament. But its admirable industrial equipment falls far short of its full utility because the war, which stimulated the creation of new plants, also intensified the disposition to regard national self-sufficiency as the economic ideal. There are more tariffs now than before the War; they are more complicated. The tariffs are not only less stable but on the average they are about 75 per cent higher. Moreover, their paralyzing effect upon trade is all the greater since the tendency toward larger units of production places increasing handicaps upon the national industries in the smaller States which tariff protection encourages. The standard of living in

Europe, therefore, has declined relatively, though Europe's productive resources have greatly increased since the War.

Will an economic federation of Europe help to relieve this unhealthy situation? There is no doubt whatever that with the whole Continent as market, the excellent manufacturing equipment of the industrial nations, which now appears over-developed because trade barriers prevent its full functioning, would operate at greater capacity and render the services of which it is capable. The economic life of Europe would then enter upon a freer and more normal era and the continent as a whole would be benefited by such a free flow of commerce. Consider for a moment the market that would then open up in the Continent. In such a federation, Russia must be left out for the present on account of her antagonistic economic system and Great Britain too, since she is vitally related to another, and to her more important, economic grouping. Even thus limited, Europe would still cover an area greater than that of continental United States, with a population of about 322,000,000. With the colonies, she would exceed the British Empire in territory and population. Europe would produce more wheat and wool than America, more coal than the British Empire, four-fifths as much steel as the United States, one-third more iron, a fairly good amount of petroleum, more than one-third of the world's rubber and far more than the American output of meats. In shipping she would exceed that of the British Empire. Thus a united Europe would compare very favourably with the British and American economic groupings.

"Even if we were to exclude Russia" writes Prof. J. A. Hobson (he includes Great Britain in the European Federation) "the rest of Europe would furnish an area considerably larger than the United States with a population more than twice its size and a variety and capacity of food production, mines, forests and other essential raw materials at least equal and probably greater. If Russia and the European colonies were included in the contemplated area of co-operation, the size and variety of resources would be immensely superior, while the population both for production and consumption would be immensely larger." In reference to the capacity of some of the European races, Prof. Hobson observes that

so far as the educated classes in most European countries are concerned their scientific knowledge and training, their technical and business capacity, are at least of as high a level as that in America. Indeed, in certain countries, notably in Germany, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries, and probably in France and Britain, the highest grades of intellectual training in the applied services are superior. It is the vigour and alertness of the average man that gives America her present advantage in the industrial world. If the barriers to the mobility of men, goods and ideas could be broken down in Europe, leaving human resources to mobilize and apply themselves with freedom and efficiency to the development of known and discoverable natural resources, the material wealth of Europe would advance toward the standard of America.

One can easily guess, therefore, what the full consequences of the formation of a United States of Europe would be. America's singular prosperity is attributable chiefly to its large-scale production, which reduces the labour cost per unit. The relatively high wages, which this enables the workers to receive, maintain the purchasing power of the nation at such a level that it consumes about 90 per cent of its own output. This is possible because the American producer sells in a domestic market which embraces a continent and is wholly free of customs barriers. If the Continental producer enjoyed similar advantage, one may assume from the resources and the market that would thus be made available, he could duplicate to some extent at least in Europe what quantity production has accomplished in America. An economically united Europe would create for the producer one of the most important conditions which now favour the American producer. For he would then have a tariffless market represented by a population more than twice as great as that of the United States. He could thus produce on a much greater scale and could go in for a measure of efficiency and economy which are possible only where there is vast organization. It can therefore scarcely be questioned that in a United Europe the productivity and, consequently, its prosperity and standard of living, would rise immensely.

Thus an economically united Europe might attain an industrial efficiency and a material prosperity comparable to those now enjoyed by the United States of America. And if an

economic solidarity were brought about Europe would act inevitably as a political unit also. But the bringing of prosperity would not be the only result of a European federation. If, on the one hand, we could assure social well-being, says M. Briand, by manufacturing on the basis of mass production and by increasing the purchasing power of the consumer, while, on the other hand, through close economic relations among the different States of the Continent, we would create an *entente cordiale* and such an intermingling of vital interests that war became impossible, in that case disarmament would become possible. For, States so intimately linked could easily come to an agreement for the creation of a common police force, which would be the best means of reducing national armed force.

The theory of a "United States of Europe" involves many difficulties, and it is no wonder, therefore, if many are sceptical about the whole scheme. Customs barriers, for instance, though they be absurd and excessive, are, as some critics maintain, the natural manifestations of the existence of separate national spirits living side by side in the Continent and hence they cannot be brought together under a single banner. While this is true, we must not overlook the fact that most social unifications come about in response to external pressure. In the case of Europe, the external pressure which is driving her towards a union, is the rise of America as her rival. America's onslaught, cultural and economic, is making Europe fully conscious that unless she is prepared to become the economic vassal of America, the present position should not be tolerated. The only possible course for Europe to preserve her economic independence would seem to be the creation of a federation of European States comparable to the United States of America. The unreasonably large number of frontiers, tariffs, currencies and languages prevent Europe, in contrast to America, from being really efficient. If the frontiers could not be wiped out right away, why not, asks M. Briand, at least do away with tariffs and transform Europe into a single economic community like that of the United States?

The undoubted superiority of the United States and its present domination of the world is not due merely to its unlimited natural resources. Its present economic and

financial position must be accounted for by the fact that the United States is a political unit and its forty-eight States, instead of being walled in by tariffs are linked together to provide the producer a whole continent as an open market. And if Europe is to equal the United States in its economic, political and military strength, she must also achieve some unity like that which obtains in America. If such a unity were achieved, Europe with her tremendous natural and human resources, would soon become at least the equal of the United States, if not her superior. Rightly does Mr. Norman Angel point out that if such a unity is achieved in Europe, then they should have on this side of the world "a unit of two hundred and fifty million people, of whom the British, German, and Scandinavian at least have shown themselves to be every bit as inherently capable of military, political, social and economic organization as the Americans. If we can imagine such a unification having taken place, there would be in the Near East and in Africa, a field for the employment of large scale industrial organization corresponding in some measure to the part played by the undeveloped West in the industrial development of America. Thus it is clear that the rise of America as Europe's rival at a time when the latter is in a state of economic depression, is making it necessary for Europe to consider seriously M. Briand's scheme of an economic federation. The present scheme is really the outcome of a protective reaction to the economical and financial hegemony of the United States of America.

But the theory of rationalization of industries and a wide market for European goods, some critics assert, overlooks the fact that Europe specializes in quality and not in quantity. The European is a strongly individualized type, personally and nationally. Though a modicum of rationalization may help Europe along, it will never transform its life, essentially rebellious to uniformity. Then again the vision of Europe, they say, takes the Continent as a political basis. Though there is a certain amount of Continental solidarity, yet one must not overlook the differences in language, customs and habits of living. Hasty thinking about the European situation may lead the enthusiast to leave unnoticed the main feature of Europe,—that which makes her what she is,—the feature that within her small area there is more

variety and wealth of human spirit than on any similar space on the planet.

True, even if Europe were freed from tariff boundaries, she would still be handicapped, no doubt, by a social diversity in comparison with which American society is uniformity itself. Its population would still be divided by more than a score of languages and differentiated by an infinite variety of ancient and locally cherished traditions. It must be admitted that for a long time it would preclude anything like fluidity of labour supply, of similarity of wants and tastes which obtains in America. But the critics fail to see that this diversity might eventually yield before the powerful and levelling force of an increasingly industrialized Continent,—as has already happened in Great Britain, France, and Germany where local languages, dress and other habits have steadily declined. Prof. Hobson maintains that "if the principle of economic union were firmly grasped, differences of language and race would not count heavily as obstacles. Though linguistic barriers must impede mobility in Europe, we need not exaggerate the impediment. In every country the classes engaged in commerce easily surmount the barrier and, though the workers move more reluctantly into areas of foreign-speaking population, the reluctance diminishes after the first ground is broken.

But then a merely economic federation, other opponents point out, would be unworkable without an organization of political government to adjust the complex problems which it raises. There is, no doubt, some truth in this objection. Even those who are upholding the idea of an economic union are seeking to find a way for political co-operation. As early as 1760, Michael von Loens proposed the United States of Europe with fifty peace judges, a league capital if possible in Holland and a court of penalties against breakers of the peace. Under the present situation, the League of Nations may have to be changed into a central authority with far more real powers than it now possesses. If it undertakes the responsibility, it may have to confine its activities largely to Europe. In fact, when M. Briand invited the European representatives to his luncheon to discuss his scheme, a striking thing that happened was that of the Great Powers Japan was left out and out of the British Empire only Great Britain and Ireland were entitled to

attend. This shows how such a combination of European States would cut across the main political currents of the League. Those who are opposed to the scheme of a United States of Europe maintain that the League should not become limited but should always remain a universal institution. However, the fact is that the League is not really a universal organization; it may be so in theory, but in fact it is very much a European affair. They forget that it is really this aspect that stands even now in the way of American participation.

What frightens America is the multitude of conflicts in Europe in which she does not want to be involved. If a European League were established which would remove from the present League of Nations all responsibility as to interstate affairs, and if the latter could be made really a world League with responsibilities for international affairs, then America too could join the world League without departing from her principle. If America sees in the present League of Nations a perpetuation of the war groupings and of the relations of the victors, she would see in a United Europe exactly the opposite. In such a union she would recognize that the new Europe would not be, as at Geneva, a centre of a League of States represented only by the Governments, but a genuine League of Nations represented by a parliament. Thus the formation of a European federation would result in removing the present weakness of the League. A united Europe, therefore, would not displace the League, as some fear, nor even oppose it, but would really reconstruct part of it which would be separated from the League and set apart to devote itself solely to European affairs, thus rendering the present League a truly world league in function and formation.

The situation in Europe, as has been pointed out, makes the formation of a United States of Europe easier now than before the war. In place of eighteen States before the War, we now have some thirty States. Four empires, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia and Turkey,—have disappeared; three of them disintegrated and republics have now taken their place. Before the war all the States, excepting France and Switzerland, were governed by monarchies. Even those which still retain the form of monarchy have all changed to nominal monarchies of the English type. Kingdoms and State churches, the absence of which once facilitated the

Union of America, have at last almost disappeared in Europe also. Thus many of the great obstacles, including such ones as successions, powerful dynasties and nobilities have been removed by the war, and now Europe finds herself under more favourable circumstances for an economic union.

Obstacles there are to the realization of this dream, and no one is more keenly aware of them than M. Briand himself. Would Soviet Russia be brought into a union of the capitalist nations? If not, a considerable section of Europe would be left out. Then there is Britain whose interest is divided between Europe and her non-European empire. Some argue that she is more a part of Europe than ever, since in an age of aviation the Channel is no longer a barrier or protection; while others contend that her principal interest lies in consolidating the empire into an economic unity of its own. Still others hold that Britain's game to-day is, as in the past, to keep the Continent divided, so that she may be supreme. "England has her commercial ideal," says a European writer, "and wants to keep her hegemony on the Continent, whose divisions assure her supremacy. Germany has her pan-German ideal. Italy with its masses fired by a dream of domination has its ideal of a Roman Empire determining the destinies of all the peoples." So far European nations have not yet shown any whole-hearted disposition to make the necessary sacrifices in the interest of the European community of nations, and without such sacrifices of national interests union cannot be achieved.

Is European unity, then, nothing more than the idle dream of an elderly statesman? To M. Briand and many others the idea of a European federation is not a matter of luxury but one of dire necessity. Imagine the United States cut up into thirty small units, each seeking protection in tariffs. Under such conditions America could have attained neither its high standard of living nor its amazing prosperity. M. Briand wants to see Europe united like the United States; his dream is to substitute co-ordination for the present chaos, to transform an unhealthy organism in which the various members clash one with another, into a normal one in which European resources would be shared in common. His ambition is to raise the European level of existence and bring to the unfortunate inhabitants of certain regions of Europe, a little of the

comfort which the workers enjoy in the United States of America.

Though many think that this scheme is directed against America and her commercial domination of Europe, yet M. Briand does not think of it in that way. He says: "Let it be clearly removed from your mind and the minds of all people that such a project should never be destined nor become directed against any one else. We are seeking nothing pretentious. What we are trying to do, and my suggestion has been welcomed wherever the national leaders meet, is to reduce the state of anarchy in which Europe is to a state of organization. . . Ours is a work of peace, not of opposition; and to the United States of America, as it is recognized over there, it would be of immense service if this should be done and the anarchy of Europe replaced by productivity and harmony." Although the idea of uniting Europe is not new,—Napoleon tried to do it by force,—it was an Austrian, Count Coudenhove-Kalergi, who planted the idea in the present era by publishing his book entitled "Pan-Europa" a few years ago. In 1926 the Count succeeded in assembling in Vienna a pan-European Congress, which created considerable interest in his plan for an economic federation of the Continent. "The peace of Europe depends," says Henry Ford, "upon prosperity, and prosperity depends upon broadening and the increasing of European industry. That this is now being recognized is evidenced by the interest which a large number of European statesmen are taking in this project of a "United States of Europe."

This ideal of a Europe delivered at last from the menace of war, and welded into a united and co-operating community, this vision of a Continent regaining the unity it enjoyed during the Middle Ages, has now taken possession of M. Briand. The federation of Europe cannot hereafter be thought of as a dream for the idle to indulge in. The economic centre of gravity has shifted westward, Europe can no longer afford to dissipate its energies either on the battlefield or in economic dissension. The only way open for her to save herself is the way worked out by M. Briand. There are, as has already been pointed out, many difficulties, but they are there only to be solved. The League of Nations can help greatly in solving some of the problems by reorganizing itself for the purpose of this scheme. Even if all the dangers and obstacles to the peaceful

relations of the European States have not been removed, the improved interstate relations and the present outlook in Europe lead one to believe that this ideal of a

"United States of Europe" will soon enter the field of practical politics, and the League of Nations may have a large share in making this dream of an economic federation a reality.

Mahatma Gandhi's Letter to the Viceroy

BY RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

MAHATMA Gandhi sent the following historic letter to Lord Irwin, the British Viceroy in India, on March 2nd, 1930, from Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati :

BRITISH RULE—A CURSE

Dear Friend,

Before embarking on civil disobedience and taking the risk I have dreaded to take all these years, I would fain approach you and find a way out.

My personal faith is absolutely clear. I cannot intentionally hurt anything that lives, much less fellow human beings, even though they may do the greatest wrong to me and mine. Whilst, therefore, I hold the British rule to be a curse, I do not intend to harm a single Englishman or any legitimate interest he may have in India.

I must not be misunderstood. Though I hold the British rule in India to be a curse, I do not therefore consider the Englishman in general to be worse than any other people on earth. I have the privilege of claiming many Englishmen as my dearest friends; indeed, much that I have learnt of the evil of British rule is due to the writings of frank and courageous Englishmen who have not hesitated to tell the unpalatable truth about that rule.

And why do I regard the British rule as a curse?

It has impoverished the dumb millions by a system of progressive exploitation and by a ruinously expensive military and civil administration which the country can never afford. It has reduced us politically to serfdom. It has sapped the foundations of our culture and by the policy of cruel disarmament, it has degraded us spiritually. Lacking the inward strength, we have been reduced by all but universal disarmament to a state bordering on cowardly helplessness.

In common with many of my countrymen, I had hugged the fond hope that the proposed Round Table Conference would furnish a solution. But when you said plainly that you could not give any assurance that you or the British Cabinet would pledge yourselves to support a scheme of full Dominion Status, the Round Table Conference could not possibly furnish the solution for which vocal India is consciously, and the dumb millions are unconsciously, thirsting.

Needless to say, there never was any question of Parliament's verdict being anticipated. Instances are not wanting of the British Cabinet, in anticipation of the Parliamentary verdict, having pledged itself to a particular policy.

The Delhi interview having miscarried, there was no option for Pandit Motilal Nehru and me but to take steps to carry out the solemn resolution of the Congress arrived at in Calcutta at its session in 1928.

THE TREND OF BRITISH POLICY

But the resolution of Independence should cause no alarm, if the word "Dominion Status" mentioned in your announcement had been used in its accepted sense. For has it not been admitted by responsible British statesmen that Dominion Status is virtual independence? What, however, I fear is that there never has been any intention of granting such Dominion Status to India in the immediate future.

But this is all past history. Since the announcement many events have happened which show unmistakably the trend of British policy.

It seems as clear as daylight that responsible British statesmen do not contemplate any alteration of the British policy that might adversely affect Britain's commerce with India or require an impartial and close scrutiny of Britain's transactions with India. If nothing is done to end the process of exploitation, India must be bled with ever-increasing speed.

The Finance Member regards as a settled fact the 1-6 ratio, which by the stroke of a pen drains India of a few crores, and when a serious attempt is being made through the civil form of direct action to unsettle this fact, among many others, even you cannot help appealing to the wealthy landed classes to help you to crush that attempt, in the name of an order that grinds India to atoms.

Unless those who work in the name of the nation understand and keep before all concerned the motive that lies behind the craving for independence, there is every danger of independence itself coming to us so charged as to be of no value to those toiling, voiceless millions for whom it is sought and for whom it is worth taking. It is for that reason I have been recently telling the public what independence should really mean.

WHAT INDEPENDENCE MEANS

Let me put before you some of the salient points.

The terrific pressure of land revenue, which furnishes a large part of the total, must undergo considerable modification in an Independent India. Even the much-vaunted permanent settlement benefits the few rich zamindars, not the ryots. The ryot has remained as helpless as ever. He is a mere tenant at will. Not only, then, has land revenue to be considerably reduced, but the whole revenue system has to be so revised as to make the ryots' good its primary concern. But the British system seems to be designed to crush the very life out of him. Even the salt he must use to live is so taxed as to make the burden fall heaviest on him, if only because of the heartless impartiality of its incidence. The tax shows itself still more burdensome on the poor man when it is remembered that salt is the one thing he must eat more than the rich man, both individually and collectively.

The drink and drug revenue, too, is derived from the poor. It saps the foundations both of their health and morals. It is defended under the false plea of individual freedom, but, in reality, is maintained for its own sake. The ingenuity of the authors of the Reforms of 1919 transferred this revenue to the so-called responsible part of dyarchy, so as to throw the burden of prohibition on it, thus, from the very beginning, rendering it powerless for good. If the unhappy Minister wipes out this revenue, he must starve education, since in the existing circumstances he has no new source of replacing that revenue.

If the weight of taxation has crushed the poor from above, the destruction of the central supplementary industry, *i. e.*, handspinning, has undermined their capacity for producing wealth.

The tale of India's ruination is not complete without a reference to the liabilities incurred in her name. Sufficient has been recently said about these in the public press. It must be the duty of a free India to subject all the liabilities to the strictest investigation, and repudiate those that may be adjudged by an impartial tribunal to be unjust and unfair.

A STAGGERING PHENOMENON

The iniquities sampled above are maintained in order to carry on the foreign administration, demonstrably the most expensive in the world. Take your own salary. It is over Rs. 21,000 per month, besides many other indirect additions. The British Prime Minister gets £5,000, per year, *i. e.*, over Rs. 5,400 per month at the present rate of exchange. You are getting over Rs. 700 per day against India's average income of less than annas 2 per day. The Prime Minister gets Rs. 180 per day against Great Britain's average income of nearly Rs. 2 per day. Thus you are getting much over five thousand times India's average income. The British Prime Minister is getting only ninety times Britain's average income. On bended knee I ask you to ponder over this phenomenon. I have taken a personal illustration to drive home a painful truth. I have too great a regard for you as a man to wish to hurt your feelings. I know that you do not need the salary you get. Probably the whole of your salary goes for charity. But a system that provides for such an arrangement deserves to be summarily scrapped. What is true of the Viceregal salary is true generally of the whole administration.

THAT EMBRACE OF DEATH

A radical cutting down of revenue, therefore, depends upon an equally radical reduction in expenses of administration. This means a transformation of the scheme of Government. This transformation is impossible without Independence. Hence, in my opinion, the spontaneous demonstration of 26th January, in which hundreds of thousands of villagers instinctively participated. To them Independence means deliverance from a killing weight.

Not one of the great British political parties, it seems to me, is prepared to give up the Indian spoils to which Great Britain helps herself from day to day, often in spite of the unanimous opposition of Indian opinion.

Nevertheless, if India is to live as a nation, if the slow death by starvation of her peoples is to stop, some remedy must be found for immediate relief.

The proposed Conference is certainly not a remedy. It is not a matter of carrying conviction by argument. The matter resolves itself into one of matching forces. Conviction or no conviction, Great Britain would defend her Indian commerce and interests by all the forces at her command. India must consequently evolve a force strong enough to free herself from that embrace of death.

SINFUL TO WAIT ANY LONGER

It is common cause that, however disorganized and, for the time being, insignificant, it may be, the party of violence is gaining ground and making itself felt. Its end is the same as mine. But I am convinced that it cannot bring the desired relief to the dumb millions. And the conviction is growing deeper and deeper in me that nothing but unadulterated non-violence can check the organized violence of the British Government.

Many think that non-violence is not an active force. My experience, limited though it undoubtedly is, shows that non-violence can be an intensely active force. It is my purpose to set in motion that force as well against the organized violent force of British rule as the unorganized violent force of the growing party of violence. To sit still would be to give rein to both the forces above mentioned. Having an unquestioning and immovable faith in the efficacy of non-violence, as I know it, it would be sinful on my part to wait any longer.

This non-violence will be expressed through civil disobedience, for the moment confined to inmates of the Satyagraha Ashram, but ultimately designed to cover all those who choose to join the movement with its obvious limitations.

MY AMBITION—CONVERSION OF BRITISH PEOPLE

I know that in embarking on non-violence I shall be running what might fairly be termed a mad risk. But the victories of truth have never been won without risks, often of the gravest character. The conversion of a nation that has consciously or unconsciously preyed upon another, far more numerous, far more ancient and no less cultured than itself, is worth any amount of risk.

I have deliberately used the word conversion, for my ambition is no less than to convert the British people through non-violence. and thus

make them see the wrong they have done India.

I do not seek to harm your people. I want to serve them even as I want to serve my own. I believe I have always served them. I served them up to 1919 blindly. But when my eyes were opened and I conceived non-co-operation, the object still was to serve them. I employed the same weapon that I have in all humility successfully used against the dearest members of my family. If I have equal love for your people with mine it will not long remain hidden. It will be acknowledged by them, even as members of my family acknowledged it after they had tried me for several years.

If the people join me as I expect they will, the sufferings they will undergo, unless the British nation sooner retraces its steps, will be enough to melt the stoniest hearts.

IF YOU CANNOT SEE YOUR WAY—

The plan through Civil Disobedience will be to combat such evils as I have sampled out.

If we want to sever the British connection it is because of such evils. When they are removed the path becomes easy. Then the way to friendly negotiation will be open. If British commerce with India is purified of greed you will have no difficulty in recognizing our independence.

I respectfully invite you then to pave the way for an immediate removal of those evils, and thus open a way for a real conference between equals, interested only in the promotion of the common good of mankind through voluntary fellowship and in arranging terms of mutual help and commerce equally suited to both.

You have unnecessarily laid stress upon the communal problems that unhappily affect this land. Important though they undoubtedly are for the consideration of any scheme of Government, they have little bearing on the greater problems which are above communities and which affect them all equally. But if you cannot see your way to deal with these evils, and my letter makes no appeal to your heart, on the 11th day of this month I shall proceed, with such co-workers of the Ashram as I can take, to disregard the provisions of the Salt Laws.

I regard this tax to be the most iniquitous of all from the poor man's standpoint. As the Independence movement is essentially for the poorest in the land, a beginning will be made with this evil. The wonder is that we have submitted to the cruel monopoly for so long.

It is, I know, open to you to frustrate my design by arresting me. I hope that there will be tens of thousands ready, in a disciplined manner, to take up the work after me and, in the act of disobeying the Salt Act, lay themselves open to penalties of a law that should never have disfigured the Statute Book.

NO THREAT BUT A SACRED DUTY

I have no desire to cause you unnecessary embarrassment, or any at all, so far as I can help. If you think there is any substance in my letter, and if you will care to discuss matters with me, and if to that end you would like me to postpone publication of this letter, I shall gladly refrain on receipt of a telegram to that effect soon after this reaches you. You will, however, do me the favour

not to deflect me from my course unless you can see your way to conform to the substance of this letter.

This letter is not in any way intended as a threat but is a simple and sacred duty peremptory on the civil resister.

Therefore, I am having it specially delivered by a young English friend who believes in the Indian cause and is a full believer in non-violence and whom Providence seems to have sent me, as it were, for this very purpose.

I remain,
Your sincere friend
M. K. GANDHI

To this letter Mr. Gandhi received the following reply from the Viceroy's Private Secretary :

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

His Excellency the Viceroy desires me to acknowledge your letter of the 2nd March. He regrets to learn that you contemplate a course of action which is clearly bound to involve violation of the law and danger to the public peace.

Yours very truly,
G. CUNNINGHAM
Private Secretary.

Commenting on this reply in *Young India* Mahatma Gandhi says that "it begs the question." "On bended knee I asked for bread and I have received stone instead."

"It was open to the Viceroy to disarm me by freeing the poor man's salt, tax on which costs him five annas per year or nearly three days' income. I do not know outside India any one who pays to the State Rs. 3 per year, if he earns Rs. 360 during that period. It was open to the Viceroy to do many other things except sending the usual reply."

The poor man's salt could not be freed from taxation for many reasons, we guess. Such surrender in the civil fight would have meant a real defeat of the British Government in India, as distinguished from the mock defeats sustained by it in the glorified debating clubs yclept the central and provincial legislatures. British prestige—dearer to the Britisher than right and justice, would have suffered in consequence of such defeat. And, moreover, the Government had in probability, not without reason, the fear that, if the salt tax were given up, that would encourage the civil resisters to attack other sources of revenue. Another main reason why the Government could not give up the salt tax is that it would have meant the loss of seven crores of rupees to the "public" exchequer. The loss could be made good by fresh taxation, which must be unpopular and impolitic; and there would be no sense in repealing one kind of tax to levy another.

Taxes can be repealed if there be corresponding retrenchment in military or civil administration, or both, which is one of the things Mahatma Gandhi appealed to the Viceroy to effect and which, for that very reason, cannot be done without a tacit admission of defeat and consequent loss of prestige, resulting in emboldening the civil resisters. Moreover, no considerable retrenchment in any direction can be effected without touching the pockets of English-servants of the Government, who are here mainly to make money.

Mr. Gandhi goes on to state why the Viceroy did not do any of the things which he could have done.

"...the time is not yet. He represents a nation that does not easily give in, that does not easily repent. Entreaty never convinces it. It readily listens to physical force....It will listen also to mute resistless suffering. It will not part with the millions it annually drains from India in reply to any argument, however convincing. The Viceregal reply does not surprise me.

"But I know that the salt tax has to go and many other things with it, if my letter means what it says. Time alone can show how much of it was meant."

Mr. Gandhi is quite right in saying that, in things touching the Englishman's pocket or vital to him in some other way, he will never listen to mere argument. Of course, if there is reasonable fear of losing more by not listening to argument, he will listen. And he will listen also under some sort of adequate pressure. Mr. Wedgwood Benn may assert a thousand times that argument is the winning card. But, in the first place, against our convincing arguments the Government uses the *ad baculum* argument, sometimes literally, sometimes by suppressing convincing books like Dr. Sunderland's "India in Bondage," and very often in the form of fines and imprisonments, so that we are prevented from acquainting the world with our case in full: and, in the second place, the Britisher has the knack of ignoring our arguments, of not being convinced by them and of arguing still even though defeated, like Goldsmith's village pedagogue.

In conclusion, Gandhiji says:

"The reply says, I contemplate a course of action which is clearly bound to involve violation of the law and danger to the public peace. In spite of the forest of books containing rules and regulations, the only law that the nation knows is the will of the British administrators, the only public peace the nation knows is the peace of a public prison. India is one vast prison house. I repudiate this law and regard it as my sacred duty to break the

mournful monotony of the compulsory peace that is choking the heart of the nation for want of free vent."

By "danger to the public peace" Lord Irwin probably means something in addition to, if not other than, the stir, the excitement, the agitation, the disturbance of the pathetic contentment of the masses, the giving up by many of their usual ways of life, caused by the civil disobedience movement. Perhaps his lordship refers to the expectation and apprehension that the civil insurgents may resort to physical force, to the giving and receiving of blows, to the breaking of limbs and shedding of blood, etc. If that is what he refers to, the reply is that, so far as Mr. Gandhi and his followers are concerned, civil disobedience is clearly *not* bound to involve danger to the public peace. Physical assault cannot come from them. Nor, if it came from others, would there be any retaliation in kind from the civil resisters—whatever the provocation. "Danger to the public peace" may, of course, come from the guardians of law and order and from those who are under their influence.

Though Mahatma Gandhi has a secretary or secretaries—honorary, of course, he himself wrote the letter to the Viceroy and sent it in his own name. Obviously, Lord Irwin could not come down from the artificially high pedestal on which he has been placed and answer Gandhiji's letter personally. That would have been to sacrifice the 'dignity' of his position. Reasons of state and expediency required that he should maintain a certain aloofness from even the greatest leader of a "subject" people. But history has not left to posterity the task of judging who is the greater man of the two, Mahatma Gandhi or Lord Irwin, who had the honour of being addressed as a friend by the former: their free and unbiassed contemporaries have already given their verdict. It is not known whether his lordship cherishes in his heart any friendly feeling towards the Mahatma. If there be any such feeling, his reply has succeeded in concealing it. The reply does not even show that Mr. Gandhi's letter has been carefully read and considered. The appeal on "bended knee"—we were grieved and felt humiliated that such words had to be used—has gone for nothing.

Mr. Gandhi's letter states the reasons why India wants to be free and independent. Of course, in the abstract every country, even if well governed by foreigners

(assuming its possibility), has the right to long for and win perfect self-rule. For, even the best kind of foreign rule can never be a substitute for the best kind of self-rule. As has been pointed out in this *Review* repeatedly, foreign rule, besides being uneconomical, stands in the way of the people ruled becoming self-directing and attaining their full intellectual and moral stature. As men are not cattle, it is not enough for them to be well taken care of. They must be able to take care of themselves.

So, theoretically, it might not have been necessary for Mahatma Gandhi to enumerate the evils of British rule in order to make out a strong case for Indian freedom and independence. But from the point of view of the practical politician it was necessary to take the course that he did. His rôle is not that of the dreaming doctrinaire. Though his appeal or remonstrance was addressed to the Viceroy, it was meant also for the public in India and all over the world. And everywhere the many are moved more by a true tale of actual sufferings and grievances than by the deprivation of an abstract or theoretical right, however obvious. The question would always be asked: Granted that self-rule is to be preferred to foreign rule, but how in the concrete are you worse off under foreign rule? And as very much could be said truthfully against British rule, Mahatma Gandhi has come out with what in his opinion is a true indictment of that rule. Of course, it is not exhaustive—he would not himself claim that it is.

On the 7th of March, *The Indian Daily Mail*, then under the editorship of the veteran Mr. K. Natarajan, took exception to Mr. Gandhi's characterization of British rule as a curse. It wrote:

"The moral influence of British rule on personal character, on the position of women, in stimulation of public spirit, in the attitude to children and the poor and infirm, far outweighs the great material burdens imposed by it."

We do not agree.

Mahatma Gandhi's own comments on this observation may be read in *Young India* of March 12. Any discussion of the merits and demerits of British rule would be beyond the scope of this article. Probably we are too near it and too much under its influence of various kinds to be able to form and publish a correct estimate. But there is just space for a few general observations.

It is found that in modern times some

of the non-material improvements attributed in India to British rule and other similar improvements have also taken place and are taking place in oriental countries not subject to Great Britain. Therefore, if credit for these things is to be given in India to British rule, it must be shown that the British Government has directly and deliberately tried to bring about and has brought about such improvements. If such proof be not forthcoming, these improvements in India, as in other eastern countries, should be attributed to what are vaguely termed world forces and the spirit of the times.

For the purpose of maintaining British domination in India, an army of subordinates was required, and hence suitable education had to be given to some Indians. Mass education was not necessary for the purpose, and the British Government has not, therefore, shown any enthusiasm for universal education. For exploitation also India and Indians had to be 'modernized' to some extent.

If there have been any improvements in consequence, they are by-products.

Perhaps Great Britain had and has also to make certain altruistic endeavours just to show to the world that her rule is meant for the good of India.

In estimating "the moral influence of British rule on personal character," the word character should be understood in a comprehensive sense. We do not want to minimize any improvement in personal character which may have taken place in any direction during the British period. But it should not be forgotten that one effect of British rule has been to produce an "inferiority complex" in the minds of Indians. Those among them who are immune from the attack of this complex are so, not because of but in spite of British rule. Another effect of British rule is deep-rooted defeatism. A third effect is timidity, resulting in mental reservation, shrinking from thinking courageously and telling the whole truth in political, politico-economical and socio-political matters. There are men among us who are saintly in their character in the ordinary sense but are afraid or unwilling even to converse in private circles on such matters. So, there has been not only physical but also spiritual emasculation.

Those who hold that, on the whole, British rule has had an elevating influence on our character, may have reasons for their conviction. They may think that British rule is fundamentally different from other foreign

governments. But let us see what Englishmen themselves think of foreign rule in general.

In his *Expansion of England* Sir John Seeley says that "subjection for a long time to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration." Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman declared: "Good government is no substitute for self-government. The atmosphere of subjection is poisonous, killing all that is virile and worthy, and fostering all that is vile and ignoble." Macaulay wrote in his *Essay on Milton*: "If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait for ever."

An American scholar and historian may also be quoted. Speaking before the American Historical Association in 1901, Charles Francis Adams said:

"I submit that there is not an instance in all recorded history, from the earliest times until now, where a so-called inferior race or community has been elevated in its character through a condition of dependency or tutelage. I might, without much danger, assert that the condition of dependency, even for communities of the same race and blood, always exercises an emasculating and deteriorating influence. I would undertake, if called upon, to show that this rule is invariable—that from the inherent and fundamental conditions of human nature, it has known and can know no exceptions. This truth I could demonstrate from almost innumerable examples."

"The position of women" has improved in modern times in Turkey, in Persia, in China, etc., for example, without subjection to British rule. So, if there has been any such improvement in India during British rule, it need not be thought that it has taken place through the instrumentality of British rule and could not have taken place without that rule. For the education of girls and women the British Government has all along spent as little as practicable, and has resisted legislation against the marriage of little girls as long as practicable. Legislation against the keeping of *devadasis* in temples was first undertaken in an Indian State. Only the other day in the Bengal Council, a Government member opposed the enfranchisement of women in Bengal and through this indirect Government influence the motion for their enfranchisement was lost.

British rule has stimulated public spirit of a certain kind mostly in those who are subservient to it or those who want titles and honours from it. Before British rule there was much public spirit, though of a

different kind. Take the case of Bengal. In pre-British days, there were thousands of tanks excavated by private persons for the supply of drinking water and irrigation. It was considered a meritorious act to dig such tanks. Most of these tanks have now silted up. British rule has not stimulated public spirit in this direction. In pre-British days Sanskrit and Bengali schools were maintained almost in every village by the munificence of the public. They are no longer so maintained. In those days and even for some generations after the establishment of British rule in Bengal, the rich and the well-to-do provided theatrical performances, called *Jatras*, free of cost, for the entertainment and education of all and sundry. Public spirit has ceased to take this form.

As for the kind of public spirit which manifests itself in direct or indirect efforts to free the country politically, socially, educationally, etc., it cannot be claimed that British rule has stimulated it, except by setting in motion the natural law according to which impact in one direction is followed by rebound in the opposite direction.

If there has been any moral influence of British rule in the attitude to children, the poor and the infirm, it must be due to the Government setting an example. It should, therefore, be ascertained how many maternity classes and homes, kindergartens, children's playgrounds and parks, children's hospitals, pure milk organizations, invalid's homes, hospitals, charitable dispensaries, medical schools and colleges, etc., the Government has established or adequately subsidized, and whether their number is at all adequate to the needs of the country. The British Government's attitude to the poor may be judged by its attitude to the salt tax, the land revenue systems and mass education in general. As for the attitude of our well-to-do classes to the poor, in the East the wave of humanitarianism and of democratic fraternization with and service of the poor is not confined to British-ruled India.

Whether British rule is a curse or a blessing cannot be decided by drawing up lists of benefits received by some classes or regions under it. It must be judged by its net material and moral, physical, intellectual and spiritual effect on the country as a whole and the people as a whole.

And, after all, whatever one's opinion may be as to the character of British rule, self-rule must be won, because there is no substitute for it.

Opinions may differ as to whether Mr. Gandhi's way is the best for winning freedom. Those who do not believe in his method are welcome to pursue theirs with equal conviction, devotion, courage and self-sacrifice. To ridicule him shows that those who do so are men of little minds. Ridicule, moreover, is wasted upon him—that is not the way to convert him.

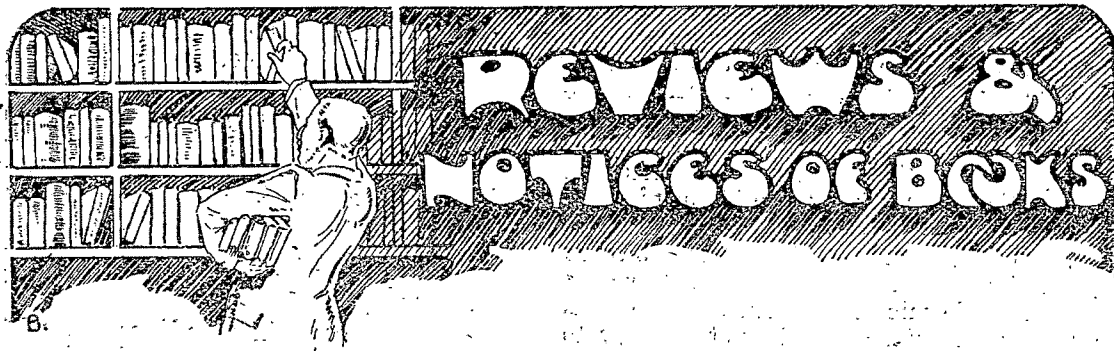
The attack on the salt monopoly is only the first stage in the campaign. There are other means held in reserve. Civil disobedience will continue until freedom is won, even if

the first step taken proves outwardly abortive. Entirely abortive it can never be. It is a great thing for men to feel that they can be self-reliant in making the country free and can effectively stand up to the largest empire in the world while endeavouring to do so. Civil disobedience is inspiring men with this conviction.

The movement must not be judged by its physical proportions. It is epoch-making, path-breaking.

Hitherto wars of independence have been sanguinary. Mahatma Gandhi is the first man in history to wage a bloodless war of independence. It required a man of his spiritual elevation and profound faith in human nature to make this new departure.





[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE HINDU REVENUE SYSTEM: By Dr. U. N. Ghoshal. (Calcutta University, 1929.) Pp. xviii + 313.

The author's aim is to give "a complete account of the origin and development of the Ancient Indian revenue system, based upon an exhaustive and critical study of the relevant data...to trace, under the different heads of revenue, the sequence of development from crude to relatively advanced methods." The subject is admittedly beset with difficulties unknown to workers on similar topics with reference to European countries, from the utter absence of actual documents (like the Greek papyrus discovered in Egypt), the paucity of systematic works on the subject (as distinct from pious injunctions and good counsels for kings), and the lack of dates in Sanskrit literature. Happily, in the post-Christian centuries, we have dated inscriptions, a goodly number, though liable to uncertain interpretation in respect of their technical terms. The author, who is a practised writer on Hindu polity and administration, has carried our knowledge of the subject a good deal forward by concentrating light from the inscriptions by means of painstaking synthesis, while his knowledge of French and German has enabled him to utilize the latest published researches of European Orientalists. His "Glossary of Fiscal Terms" (pp. 289—300) will be particularly helpful, not only to students of ancient Indian polity but also to epigraphists and Sanskritists in general. We only wish the list were more elaborate and strengthened with exact citation of authorities and parallels. For this, space could have been easily provided by compressing the earlier part of the book which is needlessly diffuse. Opinion will, no doubt, vary as to the correctness of some of his translations; for instance, *Chauradanda* (which is missed out in the glossary) may, we venture to suggest, have meant the assessment on the villagers for the compensation paid to a robbed person for theft committed within the limits of the

particular village community. There was such communal responsibility in Hindu India, and Sher Shah revived it.

The author's conclusions are concisely summed up at the end, in part IV (pp. 271-288), to which we draw the reader's special attention. He holds that "the Hindu revenue system, so far from being slight and primitive [as popularly believed in Europe], may claim to have surpassed the achievements of classical antiquity as well as mediaeval Europe, and even anticipated some of the characteristics of modern finance," (p. 272.) In establishing the first part of this claim, the time-factor is against our author; all the detailed data on which he bases his conclusion are later than the birth of Christ, of the fourth and even the seventh and eighth centuries A. D., whereas for "classical antiquity" we have methodical treatises and epigraphic evidence as early as the fourth or even fifth century before Christ, i. e., eight hundred or more years earlier. Nor can our *Smritis* and *Samhitās* claim the same scientific character as the Greek and Latin works; they belong to a different category altogether. Mediaeval India, no doubt, had much in common with mediaeval Europe (especially the Continent), but by that time the Muslim had come and the Hindu system was no longer intact.

The author's wide outlook and far-ranging comparisons will demand careful consideration of his theories on the part of his critics, even when they differ from him.

J. SARKAR

BEGINNINGS OF VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY: By Father H. Heras, S. J. (Indian Hist. Research Institute, Bombay, 1929), Pp. 152, with one graph, Rs. 4-8.

We have here the subjects of two lectures delivered by Father Heras at the University of Mysore in 1928, on (a) the founder and the original name of the city of Vijayanagara and (b) the origin of the Sangama dynasty. Father Heras is

nothing if not a revolutionary in history, and he has demolished, by a most exhaustive analysis of epigraphic and other evidence, the popular story that the city was founded at the instance of the scholar-saint Vidyāranya and named *Vidyā-nagar* after him, ("the City of Victory" being a later title.) He shows how this story originated long afterwards and was given popular credence by means of fabricated lithic records and inscriptions (mostly in the reign of Sadashiva.) This falsification of history is traced (p. 33) to the Sringeri monastery (in the Kadur district of Mysore), as it was likely to be "very profitable to the ascetic dwellers of this *math*." After a critical examination of the evidence with infinite patience (pp. 35-60), Father Heras reconstructs the true story of the foundation of the last great Hindu empire of the South.

In the second lecture, with equal critical acumen, he rejects the popular theory of the Telugu origin of the first royal dynasty of Vijayanagara, and puts forth the theory that "the family of Sangama [the son of Bukka] who had settled in Karnataka, most likely as feudatory to the Hoysalas (Ballalas)...also adopted the surname of Hoysala," (p. 89), and belonged to the same common stock of the Hoysala-vamsa (p. 93.) Father Heras's topographical study and personal tours lead him to the conclusion that "the cradle of the Empire of Vijayanagara is Anegondi, and the Empire itself was born there in order to defend the South against the Muhammadan invasions." We commend Father Heras's method of approach, confronting of Indian and European (Portuguese) sources, and historical excursions to the spots to other writers on Indian history for imitation. In spite of this thin volume being rather heavy reading (which was inevitable), in spite of its being a pioneer work in a new line of inquiry and therefore inviting destructive criticism of this detail or that,—it will long remain an indispensable hand-book to all students of mediaeval South Indian history.

THE DELIVERANCE OR THE ESCAPE OF SHIVAJI THE GREAT FROM AGRA: *By Baba Saheb Deshpande.* Pp. 44+130+136. Rs. 3. Many portraits.

The book professes to be a "fragment from the history of the Marathas," but is in no sense a history, as it merely consists of the exuberant rhapsodies of an enthusiastic admirer of Shivaji, without the least attempt at the proper weighing of evidence. It is significant that a work of this character should have been published "under the auspices of the Bharat Itihas Samsodhak Mandal of Puna." The portrait of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh (facing p. 20) is false; for the true portrait see Hendley's *Rulers of India and Chiefs of Rajputana*. S.

THE LIBRARY MOVEMENT: *A Collection of Essays by Diverse Hands. With a foreword by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C. Published by The Madras Library Association, 1929.*

In this volume there are essays on the library movement by leading South Indians and an introductory note on libraries in general by Dr. Tagore. The object is to emphasize the important library movement which during recent years has become a force in the South. The plan consists in popularizing literature and general information through

pamphlets, leaflets, libraries and the cinema. The book has, in addition to these essays, several supplements in the various South Indian languages. The get-up is excellent.

B. B. Roy.

GASTRIC DISORDERS, INDIGESTION, DYSPEPSIA, CHOLERA, ETC. PART I: *by Dr. Ram Swarup Mureia.* Pp. 34 price not mentioned.

This small pamphlet is supposed to be an introduction to the whole book which is to be issued consecutively in four parts. In it the author describes the glories of Ayurveda, and it has no bearing on the subject as indicated in the title.

A. K. MUKERJI

A HISTORY OF INDIA: *By C. S. Srinivasachari, M. A., Professor of History, Pachaiyappa's College Madras, and M. S. Ramaswami Aiyangar, M. A. Professor of History and Economics, Maharaja's College, Vizianagram. Published by Srinivasa Varadachari & Co. 4, Mount Road, Madras. Price Rs. 2-8.*

We congratulate the authors on the production of *A History of India*, covering the history of Hindu India. The book is well suited to the requirements of the students, for whom it is intended. It is a distinct improvement on the existing books, because it not only narrates the political events, but lays special emphasis on the social and economic condition of Ancient India. The writers have tried "to put in accounts of the social and economic life of the people, to trace the growth of cultural movements and to show the influences that were at work in the making of the complex known as the Hindu Civilization." As the writers hail from the Deccan, the history of South India has received due prominence from them. It cannot be denied that the South played an important part in the history of India and the writers have given us a separate chapter dealing with the early Tamil kingdoms, the Pallavas, the Cholas and their administration, the Cheras and the Pandyas, the Hoysalas and the Kakatiyas. In another chapter the accounts of the kingdoms of the Deccan, of the Kadambas, the Gangas, the early Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas, the later Chalukyas and the Yadavas of Devagiri have been put in. The chapter on the Dravidian culture and institutions is the most important feature of the book. With the recent excavations at Mahen-jo-daro the question of Dravidian culture is engaging the serious attention of Indologists. So it is well that a chapter is devoted to the study of the social, economic, literary and religious development of the Dravidians.

P. N. B.

RAJANI—*By Bankim Chandra Chatterji. Translated by P. Majumdar. The Book Company, Ltd. Calcutta.*

The translation of a Bengali novel into English presents peculiar difficulties. Not only is the structure and the genius of the two languages quite distinct, but the gulf which separates the two peoples who speak them, in manners, modes of speech and behaviour, makes it an almost impossible task to put a Bengali book into an English

garb and at the same time make it convincing. We could hardly expect that these innate difficulties should have been overcome quite successfully in Mr. Majumdar's translation of *Rajani*, one of Bankim Chandra Chatterji's most famous novels, but he has taken great pains to make it a piece of business-like work. The flavour of exoticism in language which makes such uncomfortable reading of the ordinary English translation of a Bengali novel is not quite so obvious here.

LECTURES ON THE MESOPOTAMIAN CAMPAIGN: *By Lieutenant B. B. More, B. A., LL. B., Baroda. Price 2-8.*

This book is a collection of lectures on the Mesopotamian campaign. The author was formerly the Military Secretary to the General Commanding the Baroda Army and delivered these lectures in pursuance of the desire of the Maharajah that an attempt should be made to interest young officers of the Baroda Army in the theoretical aspect of their profession. The book gives a brief account of the whole Mesopotamian Campaign from its inception to its close, and though, as was perhaps inevitable, slightly academic in its scope, it will serve as an introduction to those who wish to pursue the subject further in the official accounts of the campaign.

POST-WAR GERMANY: *An Object Lesson in National Reconstruction. By Prof. K. T. Shah. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Price Rs. 2-8.*

In this book Professor K. T. Shah brings together the five lectures which he delivered under the auspices of the Bombay University School of Economics and Sociology and forms the first book in the "University of Bombay Extension lectures Series." Professor Shah's aims have been twofold. He has, in the first instance, attempted to give an objective account of the happenings in post-war Germany, and, secondly, by holding up before our eyes an example of national regeneration in extremely difficult, perhaps impossible, circumstances, almost unparalleled in history, he has given us an object lesson in national reconstruction. It is impossible to enter into anything like a detailed discussion of the numerous topics dealt with by Professor Shah. But his is a sound work which will form an inexpensive (a boon for students of this country) introduction to the subject. There is also a select list of authorities at the end of the book which will be helpful.

N. C. C.

SPEECHES BY SADHU VASWANI: *Edited by Sham Lal Mehta, B. A., Journalist, Multan.*

Prof. T. L. Vaswani is a man in whose case, it is the personality of the man, more than the originality of his ideas, which has made his speeches and writings popular. Sadhu Vaswani is a *Brahmachari* and gave up the post of the principal of a first grade college, so that he might travel all over India to satisfy the spiritual need of his nature and also to teach the people the truth he has learnt by himself through experience. The simplicity of his language is effective. He says, "To surrender yourself to the domination of matter is unspiritual. To despise matter is also unspiritual...Repression becomes expression some day." He advises young men to be strong, for

the weak is not honoured. "Believe me," he says, "the physical strength is the basis of national advance and the body is a temple of the spirit."

S. LAW

THE EVOLUTION OF BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS INDIAN STATES, 1774-1858, (*Calcutta University Readership Lectures*): *By K. M. Panikkar. (S. K. Lahiri) pp. xii+117. Rs 3.*

In this thin volume the author gives a rapid and rather sketchy survey of the growth of the relations between the British Paramount Power and the Indian States and how the latter came to their present position. In a short course of popular lectures like these, no erudition or originality can be looked for, and the author gives no evidence of extensive reading or intensive thought. The bibliography cited by him omits important works, particularly blue-books like the despatches of Wellesley and Lord Hastings. On Dalhousie, Advocate-General Jackson's polemic work is not noticed. On the effect of the subsidiary system, the opinion of Sir Arthur Wellesley might well have been quoted. This subject, as well as the real work of Dalhousie with reference to the Doctrine of Lapse, is very lucidly treated in the *Brief History of the British in India* by Innes.

The Paramount Power having guaranteed the subsidizing State against internal revolt, it became the moral duty of the former to interfere with the internal administration of the latter in the event of the native ruler's misrule. Nothing can get over this basic fact. The subsidiary alliance of Oudh or the Nizam was quite different from the subsidiary alliance of Golkonda with Shivaji: the latter was for protection against foreign aggression and left the sovereignty of Qutb Shah unimpaired. So, too, when Nana Farnavis (p. 42) in 1790 offered to *subsidize* a British force, the offer would be more correctly designated as hiring a body of foreign mercenaries for a specific purpose.

As for the attitude of the Nizam *vis à vis* of the Marathas and the English (p. 33), the whole previous history of the relations between the first two Indian Powers shows that a cordial understanding between the two was an impossibility in the nature of things. On Oudh, the author prefaces a quotation with the words "No stronger condemnation of the annexation of Oudh is possible than these words &c." Now, the most effective condemnation of the Nawab of Oudh's administration is contained in Sleeman's *Journal of a Tour Through the Kingdom of Oudh*: an Indian's blood boils with indignation at these detailed proofs of how misrule had turned "the Garden of India" into an inferno, and the most chivalrous Rajput clans were reduced to savagery in consequence of the Nawab's freedom.

On p. 116 Mr. Panikkar maintains that it is wrong to hold that the suzerain rights of the Mughal emperors were inherited by the British Crown. He forgets that in international law the right of conquest is as valid as, and in ethics it is more laudable than, the legal rights to territory acquired by Stanley or Cecil Rhodes when they plied an African savage chieftain with gin and got his thumb-impression on a piece of paper ceding hundreds of square miles of territory to a European Company. In the words of Sir

Anthony Absolute, the English inherited the Delhi "Estate with the livestock on it."

On p. x, Elphinstone is called a statesman and soldier which he was not. On the field of Assaye this civilian rode stirrup to stirrup with the victorious general and was complimented by the future Wellington with the words "Sir, you have mistaken your profession," but he was not a soldier-statesman ("political" is the correct designation) like Sir Henry Lawrence. On p. 59, the footnote cites "Cornwallis' Correspondence p. 5581" but Cornwallis Correspondence edited by Ross in three volumes does not run to five thousand pages, nor does the edition by Forrest.

X.

ALTAI-HIMALAYA : *By Nicholas Roerich. With twenty reproductions from paintings. New York. Frederick A. Stokes Co.*

The lure of the vast unknown tracts of Central Asia has drawn countless great travellers and explorers to those lands. Some have gone with the idea of exploration only, with the hope of mapping lands unknown to the civilized world. Others have gone into those mysterious lands with widely variant objective.—Science, Archaeology, Religion, History, Philology and a host of other cultural motives playing their parts.

The stories and narratives published by these explorers, together with the results of their expeditions, provide fascinating reading. From Sieur Marco Polo to Sven Hedin, Aurel Stein and Von Le Coq, the history of these expeditions provide perhaps the most entrancing chapter in the realm of travel and exploration. Perhaps that is so because the key to the riddle of the birth of civilization and a hundred other mysteries surrounding the history of mankind is supposed to be hidden in the self-same lands.

The volume under review is just another such narrative, differing from the previous ones in that it records no tangible results as due to the persistent treacherous moves of the powers that be in those lands. This expedition after overcoming countless obstacles and undergoing terrific hardships had to turn away from its main objective in the end.

But this does not mean that the book is any the less fascinating reading. Indeed, what the author gives in journal form contains such a mass of graphic description, colourful details and cameo-like word portraits—all linked together with the gold of the author's thoughts, as can only be got from the pen of an artist-philosopher and a mystic. What is 'uncommon in travellers' narratives, the intimate details of the psychology and beliefs of the people of the land, is found in this book on practically every page. The vivid imagery of the artist's vision has brought it out so much in relief that on finishing the book one feels as if a whole host of strange acquaintances, friends, as well as foes—have taken leave all of a sudden.

The main object of this expedition and the mystic details given as circumstantial proof of the Christ Issa having "trodden these same paths and preached in these same places" may or may not impress the reader's mind. But there is not the least doubt left that the author has tasted *Amrita* for in spite of all the treachery, sloth, ignorance and brutality he was subjected to during

this expedition, we do not find any record of a lasting bitterness in this book, nor do we see that his faith in humanity is shaken in the least.

Of the illustrations nothing need be said. Roerich the Artist is famous enough,

K. N. C.

HINDI

BLAGAWAN PARSWANATHA : *By Kamtaprasad Jain. M. R. A. S. Published by Mr. Mulchand Kishandas Kapadia, the Digambar Jain Pustakalaya, Chandrapuri, Surat. Pp. 414.*

The life and times of Parswanath, the promulgator of Jainism, are given in this book as traditionally handed down in the works of the Jains. The author has got a laudable command over these materials, but they are not treated critically. There are not a few ideas and incidents which are most extravagantly delineated in this book, and it seems to be meant for the co-religionists of the author. The book is, however, not without interest for others. The author has narrated the history of the Nagas and the Jaina version of the Ramayana from the Jaina sources.

SHWASTHYA-VIJNAN : *By Dr. B. G. Ghanekar, B. Sc.; M. B., B. S. Published by the Author. Benares Hindu University, Benares. 1929. Pp. 232.*

This treatise on Hygiene will be found useful by the Ayurvedic students and practitioners. The author has tried his utmost to present the modern notions and formulae of Hygiene in a way most acceptable to those used to the older methods of the science. All the pertinent texts in Sanskrit are freely quoted and matched in the body of the book most dexterously. The author has indeed done a service to Hindi literature.

SADHAN-PATHA : *By Mr. Hanuman Prasad Poddar. Published by Ghanasyamdass, Gita Press. Gorakhpur. Pp. 72.*

Thoughts on life and its philosophy. The frontispiece is a coloured picture of Krishna, and there are many Hindi poems noted in the text.

AVISKAR-VIJNAN : *By Mr. Udaybhanu Sarma. Published by the Madhya-Bharat-Hindi-Sahitya Samiti, Indore. 1929. Pp. viii+157.*

The science of discovery in any field of work is bound to be a fascinating subject. The author of this book, which is the first part of the proposed work, deals with the mental laboratory or the mental equipment of man.

RIGVEDALOCAN : *By Pandit Naradev Sastri, Vedatirtha. Published by Satyavrata Sarma, Santi Press, Agra, U. P. Pp. 308.*

It is a good sign of the times that the Vedas are really being studied and discussed in a useful way. The book is an honest attempt in this direction. The first part deals with the history and mythology of and the various theories about the Rigveda, and the second with its contents re-arranged under 75 different headings. The book will be immensely helpful to those who wish to have the Rigveda in a nutshell. There are some maps and illustrations.

HINDI MEN NATYA-SAHITYA KA VIKAS : *By Pandit Visvanath Prasad Misra. Published by the Sahitya-Sevak-Karyalay, Brahmavar, Benares. 1929. Pp. 52.*

An essay on the modern dramatic literature in Hindi showing the necessity of real creative art.

VINA : *By Mr. Sumitranandan Pant. Published by the Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad, Pp. 90.*

Mr. Pant has made his mark in Hindi lyrical poetry. About a century of his earlier poems are collected in this book. These *Khadiboli* verses have given a new power of expression to the Hindi poets and Mr. Pant's book have not a few sparkling passages.

RAMES BASU

BENGALI

UMAR KHAYAM : *By Sureschandra Nandi: With a Foreword by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C. I. E. Published by Messrs. Gurudas Chatterjee & Sons. Price Re. 1-8.*

The work is a short study on Umar Khayam and includes a number of articles, contributed by the author from time to time to Bengali periodicals on various topics connected with the life and works of the great poet of mediaeval Persia. We appreciate Umar's poetry for beauty and directness : we believe that as a free thinker his rank is very high and that he often rises to the level of even the greatest of his compeers in the world of modern thought. The intense pessimism which his poetic utterances reflect is the outcome of a deep philosophy based on a survey of the human life in its true perspective. But for all that, there is no despondency, no bitter feeling or remorse. Why should there be pining and sadness for what is not? If life bringeth us not success, should there be only fruitless repining and sad lament? Can impotent repentance make amends for the unattained and the unattainable? Let us look to the present and enjoy life to our heart's content. Fill the cup, therefore, to the brim, oh Saki! with sparkling wine and let us drink deep and forget the hard facts of our worldly existence! Sinners we might be, but one who has not sinned has no right to the mercy of the Lord, for his mercy is for the sinners only and that only is our hope.

Mr. Nandi is a thorough scholar and offers his study from the various points of view. He gives in a brief compass an appreciative estimate of works done by the versatile erudition and genius of the great man who was at the same time a mathematician, an astronomer, a speculative philosopher and a poet—all of a very high order. No possible source of information has been left untackled and no pains have been spared to infuse life and discrimination in the style and the method of this handy study. Works like this will truly be regarded as assets in Bengali literature.

The fact of the book being furnished with a foreword by Sir Jadunath Sarkar bespeaks its great worth.

The work is embellished with three beautiful illustrations, of which two, we think, are of doubtful genuineness. However, it may be a matter of opinion, and perhaps the author has satisfied himself about them.

We should further like to request the author not to be so sparing in the next edition, about the notes. The volumes and the pages of the works referred to in the existing notes have been nowhere mentioned. This defect also we hope to see remedied in the second edition of the book.

On the whole we appreciate the scholarship of the author and accept his estimate of Umar, the great pioneer of freethinking in Persia of the mediaeval times.

S. KUMAR

PATH CHALTE GHASHER PHUL : *By Sajani Kanta Das, Ranjan Publishing House, Calcutta.*

This is a volume of lyrical poems by the editor of a polemical and humorous Bengali monthly, in which the poet indulges in an imaginary journey round the world, seeking in turn to evoke the spirit of the folksongs of the Negro, the Eskimo, the Chinaman, the Japanese, the Hottentot and others. We cannot set much store by its local colour, for, it is no more than surface-deep. But geographical cavillings apart, it is possible to find in the book a vein of fanciful and wayward beauty indicative of a luxuriant lyricism.

N

GUJARATI

KNOW THE (PRESENT) TIMES : *By Muniraj Sri Vidya Vijayaji. Printed at the Sohana Mitra Press, Baroda, Thick. card-board, pp. 339. Price Re. 1-8 (1928).*

Muniraj Sri Vidya Vijayaji is a great student of Gujarati and a forceful speaker. As a speaker, he generally speaks on the subject of the improvement and uplift which the domestic and social life of the Jains requires, and the twenty-six different topics on which he effectively expresses himself in the book relates to that subject. It is a bugle call to the Jains to put their house in order and thus know the times in which they live.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

INDIA'S POLITICAL CRISIS—By William J. Hull, Ph. D., F. R. Hist.-S.

MONOGRAPH ON SALT (Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce)

HANDBOOK OF SNAKE-BITE—By P. Banerji
CHRISTIANITY AND THE INDIAN RELIGION OF GRACE—By Rudolf Otto

THE EURASIAN PROBLEM—By K. E. Wallace
DIABETES MELLITUS AND ITS DIETETIC TREATMENT—By Major B. D. Basu

MORAQH-I-CHUGHTAI
SPLENDOR THAT WAS IND—By K. T. Shah
POTTER'S CLAY—By Hilton Brown

ECONOMICS OF RURAL BENGAL—By K. B. Saha
PROPHETS AND PATRIOTS—By N. C. Banerji

THE SHORT STORY—By N. V. Gokhlay
WARREN HASTINGS AND PHILIP FRANCIS—By S. Weitzman

MUHAMMED TUGHLAQ—By R. S. Gupta
VYASASIDDHANTAMARTANDAM—By K. Desikachariar
THE GITA IDEA OF GOD—By Brahmachari Gitananda

KAMPILI AND VIJAYANAGARA—By N. Venkata Ramanyya

Architectural and Art Treasures at Polonnaruwa*

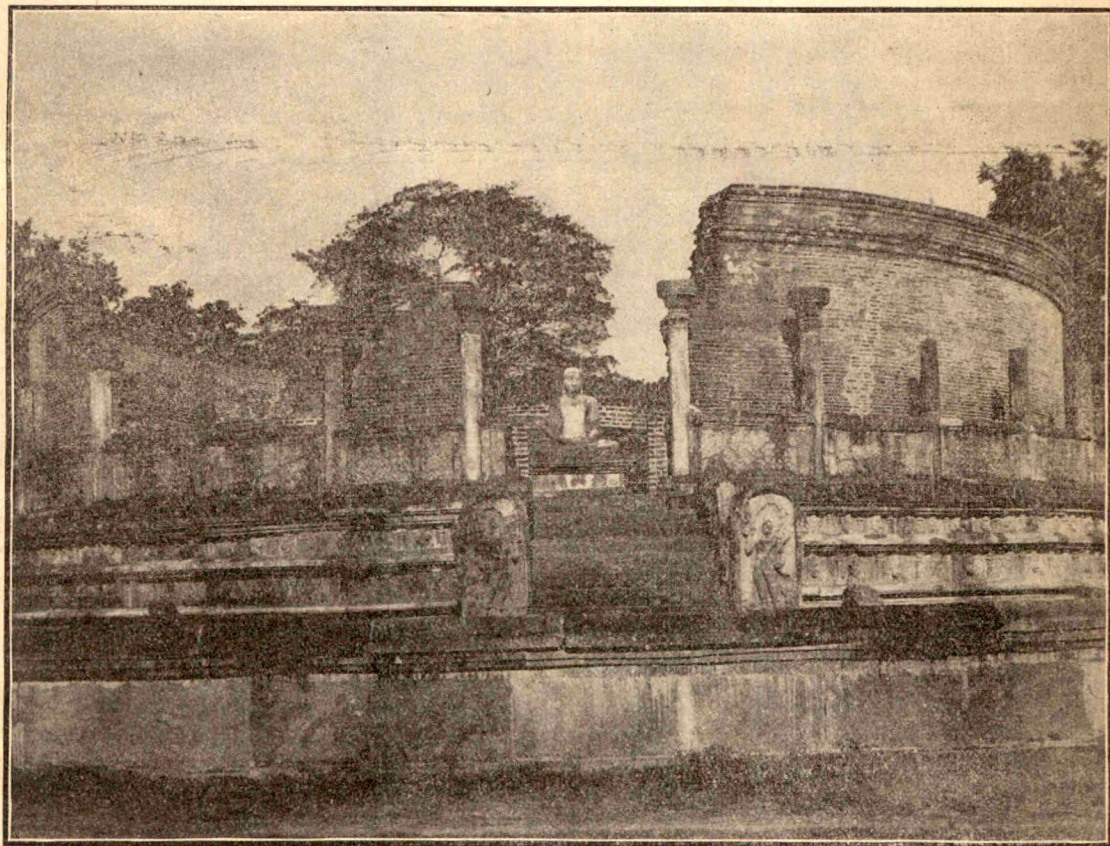
III. STRUCTURES SACRED TO BUDDHISM

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

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BEFORE I deal with the ruins of the buildings that the kings who ruled over Lanka in the early middle ages erected at Polonnaruwa, their capital, to the glory of the Buddha, I wish to refer to a point relating to Ceylonese chronology, to which

my attention has been drawn by Dr. Joseph Pearson, the Acting Archæological Commissioner. Upon reading the first article of this series, he informed me that Mr. S. Parnavitane, his Epigraphical Assistant, had contributed an article to the *Ceylon Journal of*



The Vata-da-gé, or Round Relic House at Polonnaruwa

Copyright Photograph by St. Nihal Singh

* This article must not be reprinted nor translated in or outside India without first securing the written consent of the author. The first and second articles of this series appeared in the January and February issues of the *Modern Review*.

Science (Section G., devoted to Archæology) in which he contended that, notwithstanding the general impression, to the contrary, Anuradhapura (and not Polonnaruwa

remained the capital of Ceylon during the ninth and tenth centuries.

I know Mr. Parnavitane personally and entertain high regard for his attainments. I, therefore, asked for a copy of his article. The issue of the *Journal* containing it is still in the press, but the editor-in-chief (Dr. Pearson) has obliged me by furnishing me with a set of galley-proofs.

Mr. Parnavitane's contention, summed up in a few sentences, is this :

In 907 A.D. Sena I, who it is freely acknowledged, preferred Polonnaruwa to Anuradhapura, died. According to the *Mahavamsa*, his successor, Sena II, "took (with him) the army and the conveyances ; came to *the city* and became the King."

The words italicized by me, Mr. Parnavitane claims, have a special connotation. They refer to Anuradhapura, and to no other city. He cites quotations in support of that theory.

Mr. Parnavitane further contends that not only do the chronicles furnish evidence in support of his theory, but so also do the "inscriptions found in and near Anuradhapura." The great majority of the inscriptions so far discovered, indeed, belong to those centuries. Few inscriptions of that period have, on the other hand, come to light at Polonnaruwa.

An "examination of the monuments at the two capitals of Ceylon," Mr. Parnavitane claims, reinforces the conclusion at which he has arrived. "A great many of the structural remains at Anuradhapura belong to the period before Sena II. (who, as already pointed out, ascended the throne in 907 A.D.) and Mahinda V. (981-1017 A.D.).

I shall not venture to anticipate the verdict of the scholars as to the correctness or otherwise of the theory advanced by Mr. Parnavitane. Whether Polonnaruwa was or was not the capital of Ceylon during the ninth and tenth centuries is immaterial for the purpose I have immediately in view in this series of articles. The ruins with which I have dealt or expect to deal were built during the eleventh century or after. With two or three exceptions, they were, in fact, constructed by Parakrama Bahu or his successors, *i.e.*, after the middle of the twelfth century.

I am, nevertheless, beholden to the Archaeological Commissioner for calling my attention to this matter and for furnishing me with Mr. Parnavitane's article ahead of publication. Both Dr. Pearson and Mr. Parnavitane have shown great interest in my researches, and

I take this opportunity to acknowledge with gratitude, the assistance that they have given me from time to time.

II

The ruins of the principal buildings sacred to Buddhism at Polonnaruwa lie, for the most part, in five distinct groups :

(1) The most southerly group is situated to the east of the dam that holds the waters of Topavava—the great artificial lake built at the command of Parakrama Bahu the Great, and often spoken of, with justifiable pride, as "Parakrama's Sea." With the exception of a circular building, known as the Pot-Gul Vihare (the library shrine) and a colossal statue popularly (but without any valid authority) believe to have been carved in the likeness of Parakrama Bahu, little else is left.

(2) About a mile and a half to the north of the Pot-Gul Vihare are the ruins of a series of structures rising from a platform, answering to the description of Jetavana contained in the Sinhalese chronicles but known in archaeological lore as the "Quadrangle." They lie in close proximity to the citadel in which Parakrama Bahu had his palace, which I described in the first article of this series. Much money and energy have been expended in restoring them.

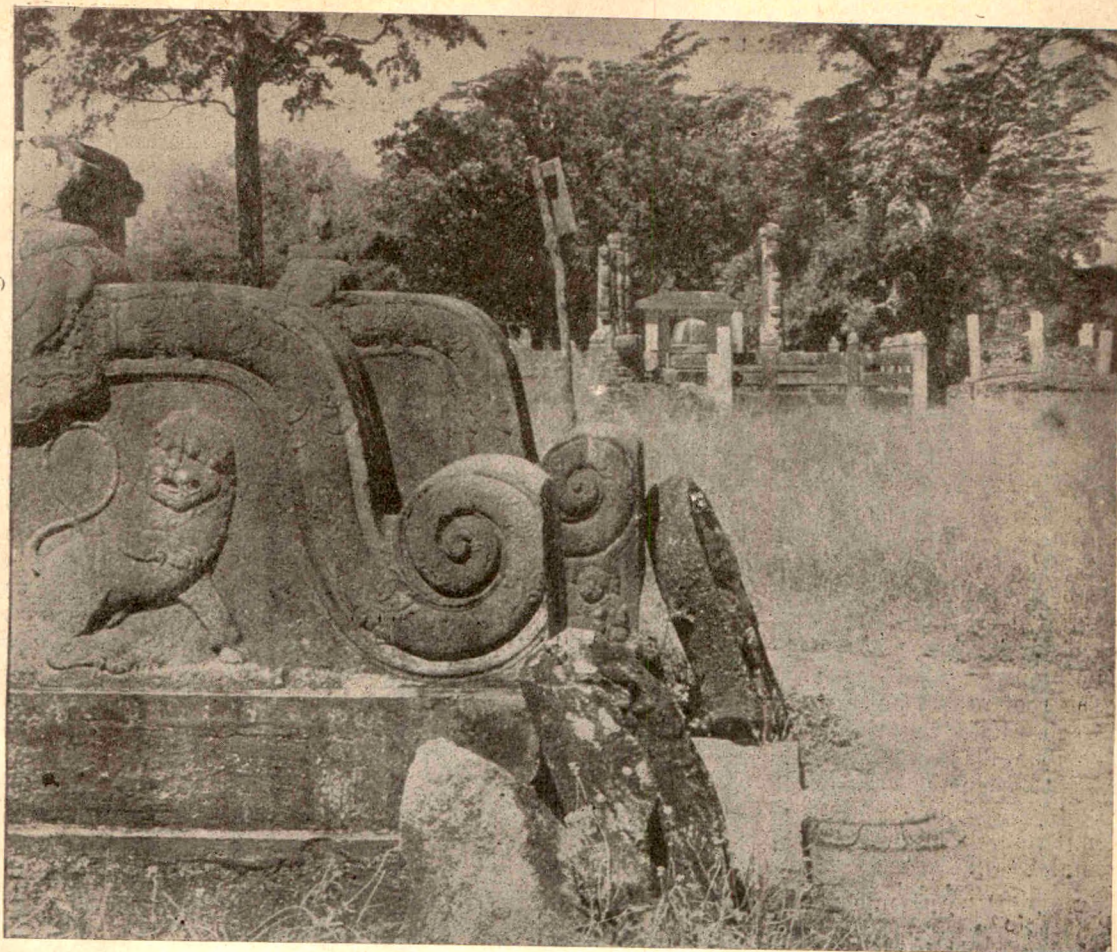
(3) Some three hundred yards to the north-east of the "Quadrangle" commence the ruins of structures comprised in the Alahana Parivena. The Ruvanveli (or Rankot) Vihare is in a fairly good of preservation.

(4) About one hundred and fifty yards to the north of this Vihare are a group of buildings really forming a part of this Parivena. For the sake of convenience, however, I am listing it as a separate group under the ancient name of Boddhasima Pasada. Lanka-tilak, towards the northern edge of these precinct, is a ruin of great importance.

(5) A series of scattered ruins lie to the north of buildings mentioned above beyond the Kalugala Vihare (which was described in the second article). The Damilathupa (or Mahathupa) is now no more than a mound of clay overgrown with grass and bushes, but the building erroneously called the Damila Maha Saya is noteworthy both in respect of style of architecture and decoration.

III

The Pot-Gul Vihare, as I barely indicated in the course of the preliminary survey that I made in the first article, is popularly spoken



Detail of Balustrade at the Vata-da-gé

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of as the "library." No evidence has so far been unearthed that would confirm that view.

As a Buddhist scholar pointed out to me, however, it would be wrong to condemn the tradition merely because of the small size of the building. In the centuries in which it was erected manuscripts were stylussed on *ola* leaves, *i.e.*, leaves of the *talipot* palm; and hundreds, if not thousands of them, could be stowed away on shelves against the walls of even a small chamber. I may note that the apartment in which a large number of palm-leaf (*Ola*) manuscripts, many of them exceedingly rare, belonging to the *Dalada Maligawa*—the Palace (or Temple) of the Tooth of Gautama the Buddha—are kept in Kandy, is, to be sure, not very spacious.

The contention that this building, despite its small size, may have served as a library,

therefore, is not entirely pointless. It is necessary, in this connection, to bear in mind the fact that a statue of a giant figure holding an *Ola* book in his hand, is carved upon a boulder at the edge of or perhaps just outside the Pot-Gul Vihare precincts (as described in my first article) and is taken as a symbolical figure.*

Polonnaruwa, in the hey-day of its splendour, must have had more than one

* Mr. Bell suggests that this statue "is exactly twice life-size of some once famous Hindu *guru*." That *guru* might possibly be Kapila, the ascetic for whom, according to the Mahavamsa, Parakrama Bahu I "built an eagle-shaped dwelling adorned with diverse works of art and ornamented with peaks and the like." *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon—North Central and Central Provinces Annual Report, 1906.* By H. C. P. Bell.

library well stocked with *Ola* books. Probably each large monastery had one of its own. In these circumstances it would be exceedingly hazardous to dismiss the popular theory just because archaeologists have been unable to unearth any material that would establish that fact.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell, for many years Archaeological Commissioner, scoffs at the tradition, which, he thinks, was manufactured quite recently. He is inclined to identify the 'Pot-Gul Vihare with the "delightful circular house" in which, according to the *Mahavamsa*, the *Jatakas* or stories relating to Gautama's previous births, were read to Parakrama Bahu. It was, he states, an integral part of a series of buildings erected upon a platform surrounded by a brick rampart decorated with elephant heads.

With Mr. Bell's plan I have carefully and laboriously gone over the ground. The foundations of many of the buildings can still be traced, but remnants of walls have disappeared during the generation or so that has elapsed since he made his original exploration.

The roof of the building collapsed a long time ago. Rain has ruined the frescoes with which its walls were decorated. The grace that its designers and builders gave to it, nevertheless, lingers. Few buildings in Polonnaruwa or elsewhere are its superior in elegance of line.

The oblong vestibule that gave entrance to the rotunda from the east has crumbled away. So has the *mandapaya* which was subsequently added at the end of the vestibule.

Nothing remains of the four *stupas*, estimated by Mr. Bell to have been about fifteen feet in diameter, that stood at the four corners of the rectangular space enclosed within a wall.

What a harmonious scheme had been conceived and executed! It makes one sad to contemplate the havoc wrought not only by the destructive forces of Nature but also by the greed of man. There is every reason to credit the theory that vandals hunting for valuable manuscripts and other treasure caused much of the damage.

An inscription discovered in the locality establishes the fact that the circular building, together with the vestibule, was built in the time of Parakrama Bahu I. The *mandapaya* was, however, added after his death by the widowed *Rajini* (sub-Queen) Chandavati, better

known as Rupavati, who, according to the author of the *Mahavamsa*, "was adorned with the ornaments of many virtues, as faith, piety and such like, who was skilled in dancing and music and was richly endued with a mind as keen as the point of the blade of a *kusa* grass."

There is reason to believe that the conception did not originate with the Sinhalese, but was borrowed from Kambodia. The pattern upon which it appears to have been modelled was discovered at Mi Baume in Siamese Kambodia. Judging from the description of the Kambodian monastery given by M. Tissandier, the Polonnaruwa imitation was faithful though "on humbler lines."

It is definitely known that intercourse existed between Kambodia and Lanka in the time of Parakrama Bahu the Great and had probably existed for decades prior to his coming to the throne. Buddhism constituted a link between the two countries. Not only did priests and pilgrims journey from Khmer to the Island, but the Kambodians made good soldiers and were in requisition as mercenaries in Lanka.

Polonnaruwa had a gate known as the *Kamboja Vasala*. It had also a distinct Kambodian quarter believed to have been situated in the southern part of the city.

IV

The next group of buildings sacred to Buddhism to which I wish to direct the reader's attention are situated, as noted earlier in the article, on a raised platform known as the "Quadrangle," to the north of the citadel and beyond the Siva Devale marked "Number one" by archaeologists, which I described in the first article.

A building known as the Vata-da-ge dominates this group. It does not appear to be as old as the Thuparama, which stands to the west of it and which I shall describe in another article. The Sat Mahal Pasada, of which I have already written, towers over it at the north even the Thuparama, itself somewhat squat, is higher. The Vata-da-ge, taking the structure as a whole, occupies, however, a little larger area. It is, in any case, the most lavishly decorated building in the group and, at least in my estimation, is the most pleasing in form and unity of scheme.

As its name implies, the Vata-da-ge is circular. A Briton—Lieut. M. H. Fagan of the 2nd Ceylon Regiment—who saw it one

hundred and ten years ago when it was buried in the jungle which no other countryman of his had pierced up till then—was struck with its beauty, even though the entire "Quadrangle" was then a mass of unkempt ruins tangled with thick vegetation. The city, at that time, was hardly even a dot on the map of Ceylon and was known as Topare because of the numerous *topes* or *stupas* situated in the vicinity of the Topavava—the artificial lake or tank.

Fagan critically examined the "stone pillars" which he found "standing in the jungle a short way on the left of the road as a mere cart track. He took their measurements and noted down the particulars for future reference.

This circular structure, which Fagan took to be "a temple open above," was in a sad state of confusion. He ascended to a platform which was rounded and had a stone wall backed with brick concrete and a coping and cornice of cut stone, most of which was standing. Six more steps led to another platform faced all round with cut stone in square panels ornamented with carvings in relief divided by small pilasters, and, like the other, edged with a stone cornice and mouldings. Here he found the walls of a temple, circular in form, about twenty feet high and two and a half feet thick. A handsome cornice of brick encircled the top. From the bits still adhering it was evident that the whole had been coated with fine plaster. At exactly the four cardinal points were the remains of four doors, each reached by a short flight of stairs.

In the centre rose "a mound of earth and ruins, in the middle of which" was "a square pit, four feet wide, lined with brick and nearly filled with loose brick and jungle." A number of pillars without capitals, about five feet high and four feet apart, stood on the "band or footing of cut

stone "running round the base of the wall." They gave Fagan the impression of having been regularly ranged from door to door, and bore marks of having been highly ornamented.

On each side of the steps leading up to the four doors stood a guardian god shaded



One of the Buddhas in the Vata-da-gé

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by a cobra (*naga*) hood. Cobras were also carved on each side of the steps and on a number of stones that were lying strewn about, cut in relief, coiled in different attitudes and of fine workmanship.

The walls of the temple, though overgrown with Indian fig trees, were well preserved. The bricks, each measuring twelve by seven and a half inches, had about one-eighth of an inch of *chunam* (lime) between them. The layers were quite fresh looking, as if the plaster had just been stripped off.

Some damage was caused to the Vata-da-gé towards the end of the last century through the carelessness of a party of workmen who felled the trees growing on the site of the ruins and burnt them on the spot instead of carrying them to some other place to dispose of them. The landing and balustrades were split and their exterior carving was defaced by the falling trees and subsequent fire.

Not until 1904 did the Ceylon Government authorize the restoration of this building. Before beginning operations Mr. Bell made a preliminary survey of the site and evolved a tentative plan of work. He then detailed a large gang of labourers mostly if not exclusively imported from India, who, for a mere pittance, braved the dangers of the malaria-infested jungle, to clear away the debris and to unearth the remains of the structure. Trees had to be uprooted and vegetation removed. In some cases the stairways and other portions of the structure which were in a fair state of preservation had to be dismantled to stop natural processes of decay from percolating water and other causes, which had been going on for centuries.

It was no light task for the Archaeological Commissioner, who was neither an archaeologist nor an engineer by profession, but was fortunately possessed of abundant common sense, enthusiasm for the work entrusted to his care, and the capacity to "learn by doing"—to fit together the bits of stone and brick-work that were unearthed. The broken slabs and columns and statues had to be recovered from the debris and patched together as perfectly as possible before they were set up.

Statues which were found to be representations of the four Buddhas of our *kalpa* (of which more later) were in a terribly mutilated state. Heads had been broken off from torsos, limbs had been shattered into bits and the *asanas* (or thrones) had been badly damaged. Some of the pieces could not be discovered, despite diligent search.

The climatic conditions in which the work had to be done added to the difficulties. Though Mr. Bell was assiduous in administering quinine to his labourers, attacks of malaria were frequent. Nor did he himself escape fever, dysentery and other tropical ailments.

The work of reconstruction was divided into sections. A quadrant—the portion of the

building between two stairways—was undertaken at a time. In 1904 the north-east quadrant was restored and a beginning was made on the north-west section. Then work was begun on the south-west quadrant—the most damaged of all. Next attention was given to the south-west portion. By the end of 1907 the reconstruction was practically completed.

The Vata-da-gé, as it appears to-day, rises in two terraces. The first is about three hundred and seventy-five feet in circumference, * is stone-faced and paved throughout. The circle is broken, at the north, by portico with bays, reducing the periphery to about three hundred and fifty-three feet.

This portico originally had a roof supported on twelve pillars varying in height according to their position. No effort has been made to restore it. Even some of the pillars have not, in fact, been set in place and are lying about on the platform. I hope that the Archaeological Department will not leave them in that condition for ever.

The stairs leading up to the portico have *makara* balustrades and *naga* guardstones. They rise from an elaborately carved moonstone five feet by three feet four inches in size. It is fringed with "cobra" leaves, followed by circular concentric bands of thirty geese, fourteen elephants and twelve horses, then a broad trail of a flowering vine with seven curves, and, last of all, a full blown nine-petalled lotus.

The moonstone is fastened to the bottom step by a six-inch horizontal band carved with leaves and tendrils (*vignette*) issuing from *makara* heads. On a level with the bottom step, on the inside of each balustrade, is a *gana* (dwarf).

Beyond the portico is the basement. The circle is broken by four stairways, each seven feet broad and five feet high consisting of seven steps with a wide landing at the top. They are all of granite, from moonstone to landing. On the risers are rows of *ganas* between pilasters, with two *ganas* meeting and facing each other in the middle of every step.

At either side of these stairways are balustrades with *makara* tops and a roll

* In these measurements I follow the calculations made by Mr. H. C. P. Bell while Archaeological Commissioner and contained in his official reports.

issuing from the mouth of each *makara* terminating in a deep scroll at the bottom. On the outer faces of the wings are Sinhalese lions carved in relief. On the inside, at the helix, is a *gana* supporting the scroll on his head and hands. Though seemingly similar in design, close examination reveals the fact that each is somewhat different from all the others in detail.

On the face of the basement are two bands separated from each other by a broad moulding, covered with carvings in low relief. The lower dado consists entirely of single Sinhalese lions standing on three paws with the fourth paw raised in a defensive posture, arranged in panels. The upper band shows *ganas* in every conceivable posture, separated by pilasters.

At the edge of the space at the top of the coping is a profusely carved, low stone screen. The effect of the flowered diaper embellishment of this screen is rich and pleasing. Behind it rises a high brick wall.

The style of carving in the Vata-da-gé, generally speaking, is rather florid—inferior, in my estimation, to similar work done in Anuradhapura two or three centuries earlier. It indicates to me that the revival which took place under Parakrama Bahu the Great did not carry the craftsmen quite back to the height of the curve registered during the preceding period. The inclination to elaboration which can be detected here grew in strength and under Kirti Nissanka Malla and his successors got beyond control, and degeneracy and decay set in. I shall speak further of this matter in a later article.

In the centre of the second terrace—the top platform—are the remains of a brick *stupa*. At the head of each stairway, seated in the attitude of meditation on an *asana* (throne), with the back towards the *dagaba*, is a statue of the Buddha. Three of them have been restored by the Archaeological Department. The fourth was without head or torso at the time of my last visit to Polonnaruwa a few months ago.

V

Buddhism is a living religion in Ceylon. It is, indeed, passing through a process of revivification. I have, therefore, not been surprised to find, on more than one occasion, men, women and children in the act of worship before these Buddhas. Clad in neat (often white) garments, sometimes accompanied by priests, they reverently bow before the

images, and place flowers and lighted, shallow, oil lamps in front of them. Some stick lighted candles on the stone and brick-work, recite verses and make their vows. Their reverent attitude is touching: but, the smoke



Image standing in the open near the Vata-da-gé, suggesting, by its general appearance, that it was conceived and executed by a

Kambodian Craftsman.

Copyright Photograph by St. Nihal Singh

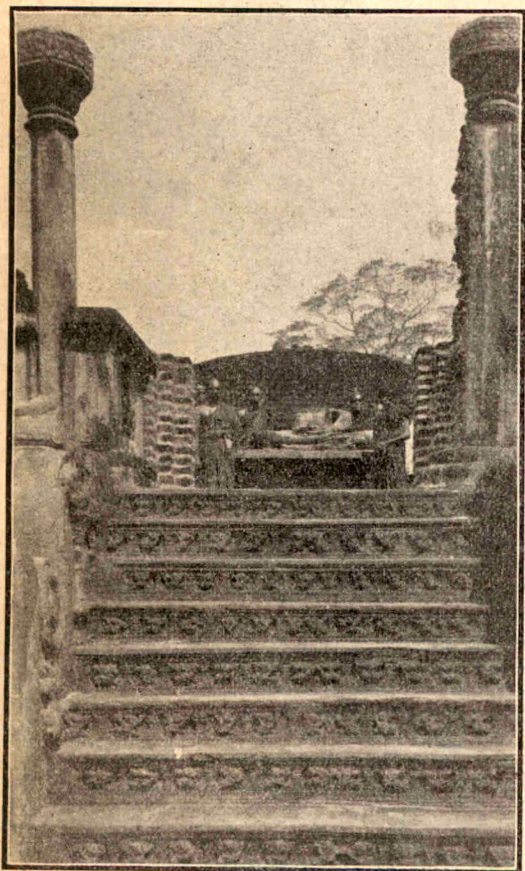
from their oil lamps and the grease from their candles cannot do any good to the monument that they themselves regard as sacred. Dead flowers lying about, moreover, give the place an unkempt appearance.

Probably a sense of delicacy prevents the Archaeological Department from interfering, even though the Vata-da-gé is within its reservation and under its control. Buddhist leaders who, I should think, would be no less solicitous for the preservation of this building—unique in the island, and, in fact, in the world—might, however, utter a word of warning.

VI

Some time ago I mentioned to a learned Buddhist priest whom I met near the Vata-da-gé that the spectacle of men, women and children worshipping an image of which the head and trunk of the body had been destroyed leaving little more than the feet, had greatly impressed me.

"Perhaps you do not know that the four statues at this place are not all representations of Gautama, but that they are images of all the four Buddhas (Enlightened Ones) of this *kalpa*," he replied.



Detail of Carving on the Steps of Vata-Da-Gé
at Polonnaruwa

Copyright Photograph by St. Nihal Singh

Without waiting for a reply from me he went on to relate that the four Buddhas of this *kalpa*—Kaku-sandha, Konagamana, Kasappa and Gautama—and had visited Lanka, each in his own time. So, at least the Buddhists in this island believed.

I told him that I found statements to that effect in the Sinhalese chronicles, but asked him if he would enlighten me by telling me what his conception of a *kalpa* was.

"A *kalpa*," the old man explained, "is beyond human understanding. Imagine, however, that you stand in sight of a hard rock four miles long, four miles wide and four miles high. Then suppose that once in a hundred years a *deva* (god) were to fly over the solid granite and each time he passed above it the corner of his robe just touched it. When the mountain had been completely worn away by so light a touch, even then a *kalpa* would not be entirely finished."

After a short pause the kindly priest added :

"Or, suppose you were to break up into small pieces all the stones in the whole world, including every mountain, lofty or otherwise—and were to grind the small pieces into tiny pieces no larger than a pepper seed, and then suppose you were to count all those little grains one, two, three, and so on—when you had counted them all in this fashion, still a *kalpa* would not be finished."

VII

Who built the Vata-da-gé ?

The *Mahavamsa* speaks of "a round temple of the Tooth-relic built wholly of stone and adorned with beautiful pillars, staircases, walls, and such like, and ornamented with rows of figures of the lion, the *kinnara* (a demi-god with the body of a man and the head of a horse), and the *hamsa* (sacred goose or swan), and covered with many terraces, and surrounded with diverse kinds of lattice-work." *

It will be readily seen that the description fits in with the Vata-da-gé. The proximity of the building to the royal residence constitutes, in itself, a valuable proof, for it is known that the Tooth-relic was highly treasured by the Sinhalese and kept, for safety, in a shrine built within the palace enclosure or near it.

The open nature of the building might be considered to rule out the hypothesis that it could have been used as a repository of so precious a relic. It must, however, be remembered that the relic was jealously guarded by priests and laymen—by day and

* *The Mahavamsa* (L. C. Wijesinha's translation), Chapter lxxviii, verses 40-41, p. 212.

by night—and that the danger against which it had to be guarded was not stealth so much as capture.

The identification of the building is rendered difficult from the fact that the *Mahavamsa* mentions "a beautiful Tooth-relic temple of stone" which Kirti Nissanka Malla had caused to be "made in the excellent city of Polonnaruwa."* If the portion of the chronicle dealing with this King was composed by the same writer who was responsible for the section relating to Parakrama Bahu the Great, he was too much of a partisan of Parakrama to be a great admirer of Kirti Nissanka Malla. As I shall show in the following article, Nissanka Malla was inimical towards the *Govi* clan to which Parakrama Bahu belonged, and did not hesitate to denounce him as unjust and oppressive. Such a writer could not have gone out of his way to attribute a shrine to Nissanka Malla if that King did not build it.

An inscription has, moreover, been discovered on the *perron* of the Vata-da-gé which, in so many words, gives to Kirti Nissanka Malla the credit for erecting the structure. He, it is proclaimed, caused the "costly circular relic house" to be built.†

Sinhalese scholars and British archaeologists alike take the view, however, that the main structure of the Vata-da-gé was built at the instance of Parakrama Bahu, while the *perron* was added by Kirti Nissanka Malla. Some sycophant, seeking to please that monarch, who is regarded as having been boastful and vainglorious, carved this inscription giving him the credit for the whole undertaking.

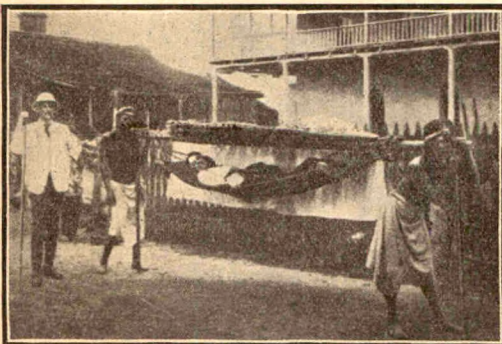
Another building in the Jetavana group—known as the Heta-da-gé, and not the Vata-da-gé, is, it is presumed, Kirti Nissanka Malla's Tooth Temple. I shall describe it in the article that follows.

* *The Mahavamsa* (L. C. Wijesinha's translation) Ch. lxxx, verse 19, p. 221.

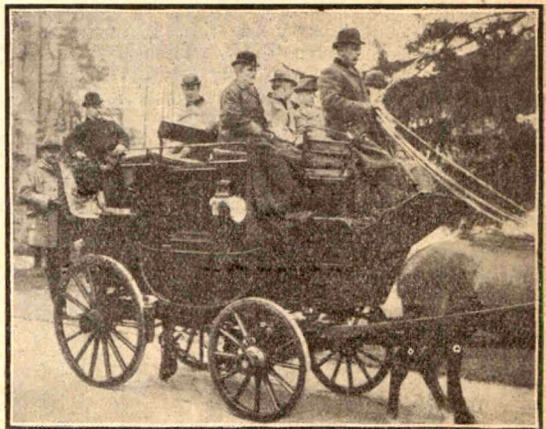
† *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, edited and translated by Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe.

Gleanings

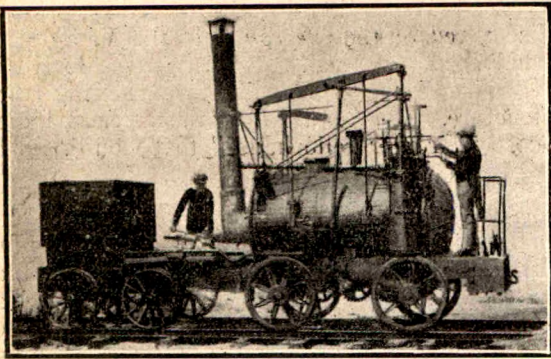
Looking Back Along the Road in Transportation; Quaint Predecessors of Modern Speed and Power.



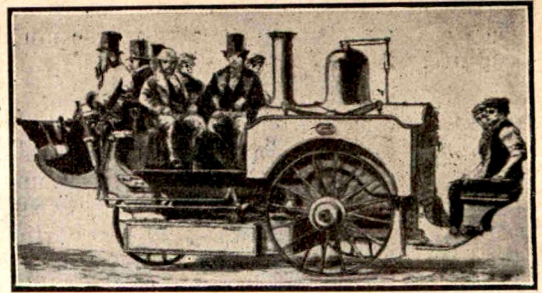
Plenty of leg room in the de luxe sedan of Angola, West Africa. Two dusky natives, slinging a hammock across their shoulders, supply the motive power.



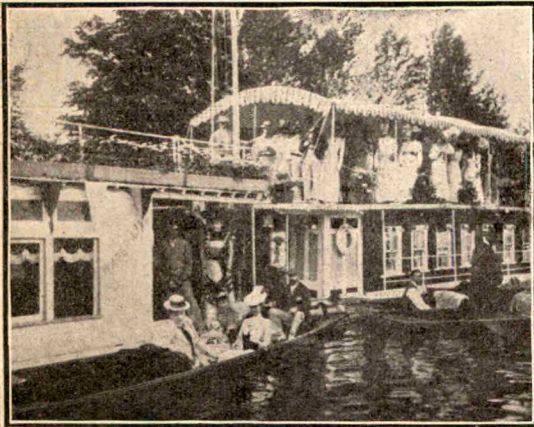
For speed, the honking motor car may have all the advantage, but for real thrill the old tally-ho coach, with its liveried bugler, was hard to beat. It vanished from the highroad with the nineteenth century.



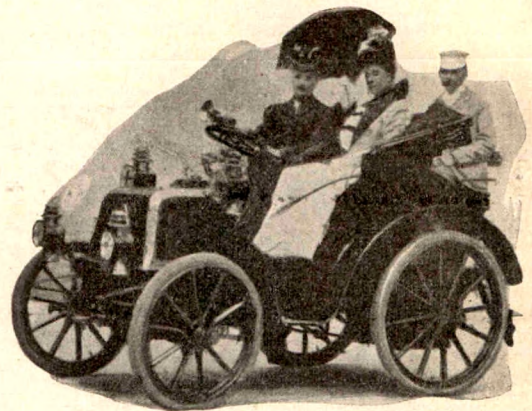
"Puffing Billy," Stephenson's first locomotive, which started the railway revolution in the early nineteenth century. Folks complained it would kill crops and cattle.



Early indications of a transition from the steam railway to automobiles are seen in this combined locomotive and carriage that appeared in 1862. It was designed to run on three wheels, without rails. Note the general resemblance to a hansom cab.

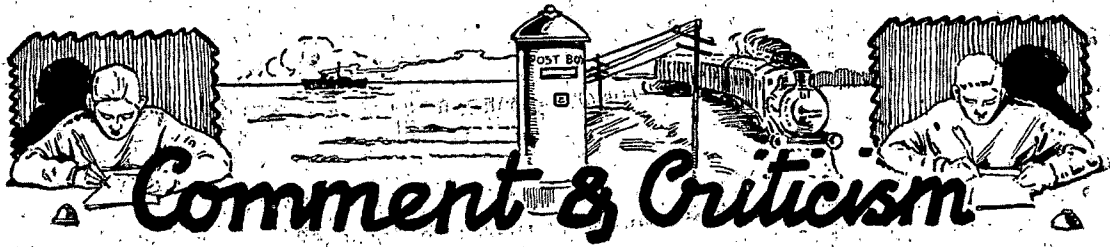


A "wild" houseboat party on the Thames in the easy-going Victorian days. Though the boat scarcely moved, the gay sparks had a great time. The modern descendant of this craft is the speedy cruising yacht.



In the early days of automobiles the Dion-Bouton victoria was the most fashionable car in Paris. The design of its radiator is still followed in some of the French machines.

Popular Science



[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

The Gujarat Vidyapith

I was surprised and pained to read the note on National colleges in the February number of the *Modern Review*, as I expect a journal of the reputation of the *Modern Review* to be absolutely sure of its facts and statements.

To say that the graduates of the Gujarat Vidyapith are not in a position to earn their livelihood is anything but true. I invite your attention to an article in the *Modern Review* of March 1928 entitled "The Snatakas of Gujarat Vidyapith."

The Vidyapith has so far turned out about three hundred graduates. I do not know that any one of them has contributed in the least to swelling the ranks of the unemployed graduates of our Government-controlled universities. In fact, our *Snatakas* are everywhere in great demand. I have letters from public institutions and private firms assuring that they prefer our graduates to the orthodox B. A.'s and M. A.'s, because our students give better work, write better Gujarati, are more reliable, conscientious, hard-working and resourceful. Even the complaints against them redound to their credit. Their sense of self-respect is sometimes inconvenient to their employers. The *Snatakas* may work honorarily for any length of time but they rarely accept a private job on less than Rs. 60 per month. But the bulk of our graduates have been absorbed by national institutions of the province. The Antyaj Seva Mandal, Bhil Seva Mandal, Majur Mahajan (Labour Union), Bardoli Swaraj Ashram and many similar institutions can testify to the diligent and responsible work rendered by our *Snatakas*. I purposely do not mention here the details of the very valuable service they have rendered to the Vidyapith and to various national schools in this part of the country. Out of a total of 300 graduates at least eighty-two are known to have been employed in institutions of national service. I doubt if any similar institution of the orthodox type can show this percentage of workers in the national cause.

It is a fact that since the opening of the rural service class in the Gujarat Vidyapith we have begun to get students from the mufasil anxious to do rural work, but not ready to go through the whole college course, either because they cannot afford to pay for their board and their studies or

because their parents are unwilling to help them. We have this year devised a self-help scheme for such boys.

There is nothing in these facts to warrant the conclusion that the Vidyapith students are not 'even yet' (?) in a position to earn their livelihood, or, in other words, that they have not reached the level of students of the Government or aided colleges in this respect. About the level, intellectual or moral, of these students the less said the better. Let us hope some day they will come up to the level of the National Vidyapiths.

I pass by the other inaccuracies in the report you publish. No one can gainsay the fact that at the inception of the Non-Co-operation movement there was a great deal of mushroom growth. But the institutions that are working today in full vigour have, you will recognize, stood the test of time and constitute the permanent constructive contribution of the Non-Co-operation movement. But even in its destructive aspect Non-Co-operation never meant boycott of alien peoples or alien cultures. It simply meant the boycott of governmental connection or recognition. Your remarks about scholarship or recognition in the republic of letters are, if I may say so, beside the point. The national institutions were created with the sole objective of Swaraj and its problems. Khadi, village sanitation, village economic surveys, flood relief, Satyagraha movements and welfare works are some of these problems. And Gandhiji times without number cited to the students of our Vidyapith in a wonderful way how great scholars and scientists suspended the pursuit of pure learning and pure science during the Great War, which for their nation meant a question of life and death. It was never the aim of our colleges to imitate in any way the orthodox colleges. In fact, they failed only to the extent to which they tried to copy what you are pleased to call 'regular' colleges. In point of service for Swaraj I may claim without fear of contradiction that the national institutions have justified their existence. The fact that many scholars did not take to national education was no fault of that education.

D. B. KALELKAR

Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad:
14-3-1930

Mughal Frontier Policy

May I request you to publish these few lines in connection with a review of my book, "*A History of Mughal North-East Frontier Policy*," made in the last number of your esteemed journal (January, 1930, pp. 76-77).

The reviewer has frankly confessed his incompetence to test the fulness and accuracy of the sources utilized by me and has, therefore, thought fit to quote Prof. J. N. Sarkar's evidence in trying to refute a statement of mine which runs as follows: "As for the payment of the balance of the war-indemnity, the account of the *Buranjis* is extremely meagre and obscure. In only one work is the topic dealt with fully, and there too in a self-contradictory and confusing way. It appears Prof. Sarkar has laid undue stress on that *Buranji* in concluding that 'the promised war-indemnity was paid in full in three years' time, the last instalment being paid as late as May, 1667.' *The payments of the money are certainly nowhere recorded by the Muhammadan historians* (the portion in italics, which is quite relevant, was omitted by Prof. Sarkar), and the repeated demands for the submission of the arrears alleged (by the *Buranjists*) to have been made by successive Mughal *faujdar*s upon the Assam king seem, apart from any other consideration, to render Mr. Sarkar's contention untenable."

Prof. Sarkar has put forward categorically five points in support of his position, of which No. (1) is a passage from the most authentic Ahom chronicle the *Buranji from Khunlung and Khunlai*. But the learned Professor has chosen to ignore the following important passages which precede his own: (1). "The king (Jayadhwaj Singh) made peace by offering a princess, silver, gold and elephants to the Mussalmans. Tributes in silver, gold and elephants were not paid in full and a part remained for future payment." (2). Then (early in the reign of Chakradhwaj Singh, the successor of Jayadhwaj Singh) Rashid Khan (the Mughal *faujdar* at Gauhati) sent Shek Kamal to realize the remaining portion of silver and other tributes from the king."

The implication of these statements is quite clear. Not only elephants but also payment of money was withheld by the Assam Government. As regards the explanation offered by Prof. Sarkar (*History of Aurangzeb* second edition, vol. iii, pp. 183-84) regarding the way in which the elephants delivered by the Ahoms were entered in the accounts as not paid but still due, the *Buranjis* I have consulted maintain complete silence.

The passage of the *Alamgirnamah* (p. 958 of the Persian text) quoted by Prof. Sarkar does not give us any idea as to the number of elephants received 'as *peshkash* from the Zamindar of Assam' or as to the name of the Zamindar himself. There seems therefore no special reason to hold that the elephants sent from Assam really represented the balance of the war-indemnity due. It is just possible that the elephants might be those originally delivered to Mir Jumla in fulfilment of the preliminary treaty stipulations, the despatch of which was delayed on account of his sudden demise till the time of his successor—Shaista Khan.

(3). It is difficult to ascertain precisely which "*Ahom Buranji*" Prof. Sarkar refers to. Is it the same as that named rather vaguely as '*Buranji VIII*' on p. 178 (footnote) of his *History of Aurangzeb*,

second edition, vol., III, or is it identifiable with another *Buranji* mentioned in Gait's *History of Assam*, second edition, p. xii as *Buranji* 'No. 8'—containing an account of the tribute paid to Mir Jumla. In the latter case, it is in Assamese and not in Ahom language and a gist of it is given in Gait's *Report on the Progress of Historical Research in Assam*, pp. 17-18.

From it we learn Sayyid Firuz Khan (the Mughal *faujdar* at Gauhati after Rashid Khan) demanded the remainder of the war-indemnity in such a peremptory manner that Chakradhwaj Singh determined to take the chance of a second defeat. . . . There is thus a clear suggestion that the war-indemnity was not paid in full even during the reign of Chakradhwaj Singh who succeeded Jayadhwaj Singh.

Apart from any other consideration, the evidence cited here (No. 3) by Prof. Sarkar clearly contradicts that previously quoted by himself (No. 1). The *Ahom Buranji from Khunlung and Khunlai*—admittedly the most authentic indigenous original source, definitely says that elephants, besides gold and silver, were still due at the time of Jayadhwaj Singh's death, while this one, suggests that the promised indemnity was paid *in full* before that event. It is difficult to place much reliance on the latter work, which is not corroborated by other *Buranjis*.

As I have explained clearly (p. 355 footnote and pp. 362-63, and footnote of my book), Chakradhwaj Singh was bent on war ever since his accession to the Ahom throne and was too eager to find out a suitable plea for commencing it. His complaint regarding the breach of boundary stipulations should not, therefore, be treated seriously.

Prof. Sarkar himself admits that the *Buranji* cited should be regarded as 'less authentic than the Ahom chronicles' and its evidence need not, therefore, be scrutinized. Suffice it to say that there is nothing in this *Buranji* to warrant the assumption that 'the demand clearly refers to the 100 elephants which were short.'

From what I have detailed above, it would probably be clear that the *Buranjis* do not really suggest that 'the promised war-indemnity was also paid in full' even in three years' time, and the Muhammadan historians also may be regarded as agreeing on the point.

I cannot conclude without quoting the following statement of Sir Edward Gait (*History of Assam*, second edition, p. 153) in this connection: 'It is not quite clear how much (of the balance of the indemnity) remained unpaid. In only one *Buranji* is the subject at all fully dealt with, and that one is very obscure. . . . it would seem that a sum of Rs 1,12,000 was still due.'

SUDHINDRA NATH BHATTACHARYYA

58, Hatkhola.

Wari, Dacca.

23rd January, 1930

Lecturer in History,
Dacca University.

On referring to Prof. Sarkar, he writes as follows:

"The Ahom King Jayadhwaj, in his treaty with Mir Jumla, agreed to pay a war-indemnity of 20,000 tolas of gold, 1,20,000 tolas of silver and 20 elephants *down*, and a balance to be delivered in three four-monthly *instalments* thereafter, each consisting of 1 lakh tolas of silver and 30 elephants.

besides a *permanent annual* tribute of 20 elephants. (*P. Ibriyya*, 154.) The first portion was actually delivered in full from 5 Jan. to 14 Feb. 1663. (*Ibid.*, 157-167). Therefore, the last of the three instalments of *balance* would fall due on 14th Feb. 1664. But King Jayadhwaj died in Nov. 1663, by which date he was not legally bound to complete the payment of the balance.

"If Mr. Bhattacharya had read the *Buranji* from *Khunkung* through, he would have found that the passage quoted by him, "Tributes in silver gold and elephants were not paid in full and a part remained for future payment," occurs on page 9 Book III, among the record of Jayadhwaj's reign, and before the mention of the death of that monarch, *i.e.*, long before the date when the full payment of the balance could be legally claimed by the Muslims.

"As I have clearly shown in my *Aurangzib*, Vol. 3, p. 184 note, the Ahoms paid the balance in full thus—

in 1663,	30 eleph. (March) and 1 lakh Rs. (Oct.)
„ 1664,	63 eleph. (Feb. Aug. Nov.) and Rs. 80,000 (Feb. Oct.)
„ 1667	50 eleph. (=1 lakh Rs.) and 1 lakh Rs. in cash (May.)

Rashid Khan and Sayyid Firuz were Mughal *faujdar*s in the period intervening between Jayadhwaj's death and the payment of the last instalment (*i.e.*, May 1667), and it was quite natural for them till this last date to dun the Ahom Government for the money due. Yet Mr. Bhattacharya strangely enough considers this early dunning as a proof that the balance was *never* paid at all! King Chakradhwaj, the successor of Jayadhwaj, renewed the war with the Mughals in Bhadra (Sep. 1667), after the indemnity had been fully cleared, and the *Buranji Kh* suggests nothing to confute it, if the dates are carefully considered. There is absolutely no ground for discrediting the other *Buranji*, which gives these details, with the exact dates of payment and the names of the agents on the two sides who delivered and received each instalment. The apparent inconsistency in it, on which I at first remarked in the above foot-note to my *Aurangzib*, is, I now feel sure, due to the careless copyist of the MS. English translation (which I used) having dropped one zero at the end of the *figures* for gold and silver at three places; but this need not lead to any confusion as the correct amounts are given in *words* in the Persian history and in another *Buranji*.

"The *Buranjis* have been cited by me with the exact titles and numbers which they bear in the Shillong Secretariat library copies, which were transcribed for me verbatim. The indemnity was completed in Chakradhwaj's time (as I stated long ago in my *Aurangzib* and not in Jayadhwaj's reign as I stated by oversight in my last letter to you), but no part of it was outstanding when Chakradhwaj renewed the war."

J. S.

The above facts illustrate Mr. Bhattacharya's curious method of consulting documents, and his process of reasoning.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

Babu Mahesh Chandra Ghosh on the Life and Gospel of Sri Ramkrishna

[REJOINDER AND REPLY]¹

In the February issue of the *Modern Review*, Babu Mahesh Ch. Ghosh has published a lengthy criticism of the *Gospel of Sri Ramkrishna* according to 'M', Vols. 1 and 2. The reviewer prefaces his writing with an appreciative quotation of Babu Pratap Chandra Majumdar and then endorses this view with some eulogistic words of his own.

As regards the book, the critic unfortunately² finds therein "omissions, additions and alterations" and even some "purposive interpolations." About this, however, later on. He further writes, "For devotional purposes there *may not rise any question as to the authenticity* of the book but when *sectarian and doctrinal* questions arise we should accept facts with caution." (*Italics ours*). Certainly there must not be two standards to judge the truthfulness or otherwise of a statement. The writer evidently bases his lengthy review on *sectarian and doctrinal* grounds. This is where we think he is committing a mistake. At the very outset we want to assure Mahesh Babu that no sectarian or doctrinal questions can ever arise so far as Sri Ramkrishna's life and teachings are concerned, simply because he was above and beyond all sects and doctrines.³ He only reinstated the broad and catholic principles of religion which are eternally true and, which, in spite of him, would have been equally true. The learned critic who apparently subscribes to some set doctrines⁴ has been entirely misled to read his own ideas in Sri Ramkrishna. Hence his unfounded and adverse criticism of the book. Even an ordinary reader of the *Gospel of Sri Ramkrishna* knows that he accepted all religious paths as leading to the same goal.

The review has been divided into several sections. We shall take up his points *seriatim* :

SHAKTI WORSHIP

What was the attitude of Sri Ramkrishna to Shakti as symbolized in the Divine Mother of the universe? The reviewer says that it was "defiant and abusive."⁵ He quotes some passages from a Bengali book in support of his view. Two of the surviving disciples of the Master who lived pretty long in close association with him deny⁶ the knowledge of Sri Ramkrishna's using the expression or showing the attitude attributed to him. Even conceding that Sri Ramkrishna used such an epithet

¹ Babu Mahesh Chandra Ghosh's reply to Swami Nikhilananda's objections is printed in foot-notes.—Ed. M. R.

² It is the *additions, alterations and interpolations* that are unfortunate, and not their *exposure*.

³ True; but many of his followers are dragging him down to the level of sectarianism.

⁴ An unwarranted assumption.

⁵ Misleading. M. G. said, "Gradually Paramhansa succeeded in getting rid of the influence of *sakti*, and his attitude towards her became defiant and abusive" (M. R. for Feb. page 190. lines 15 & 17).

⁶ Unauthenticated.

towards the Divine Mother, it only shows his intimate relationship with Her. Ramprasad,⁷ Kamalakanta and other devotees of goddess Kali used similar epithets which bespeak of their deep love towards the Divine Mother. It is not at all difficult for a Hindu whose relation with God is of the deepest nature, to understand this attitude. An English mother also often uses such terms of endearment as "Kiddy" or "Monkey" towards her children. Sri Ramkrishna possessed a childlike nature. He would often transcend social conventions as regards his speech and conduct which often wounded some of his ultra-puritanic Brahmo visitors. But the sincere among them relished these moods of Sri Ramkrishna discovering therein his childlike simplicity.⁸ All through life he cherished the highest love and devotion for the Goddess Kali whom he accepted as the highest embodiment of divinity in the relative plane of consciousness. It is not⁹ a fact that "He saw no utility in Shakti worship." It is not also a fact⁹ that "He succeeded in getting rid of the influence of Shakti. She was his lifelong companion whom he looked upon as his affectionate Mother to guide him in his footsteps in the world. He entered into final Mahasamadhi by uttering the name of Kali. Only physical incapacity prevented him from visiting the Divine Mother in the temple which, otherwise, was the daily routine of his life. It was under his influence that Swami Vivekananda and some of his brother disciples who, in consequence of their Brahmo training, had not believed in the efficacy of the image-worship, finally accepted Kali as the Mother of the universe. Again under his influence,¹⁰ Totapuri, the Vedantist monk, who had scoffed at Kali, finally prayed to Her.

We find a consistent answer from the life and teachings of Sri Ramkrishna about his real attitude towards the Shakti worship. To him Brahman and Shakti are one¹¹ and the same like milk and its whiteness or like a snake and its crooked motion.¹² In the quiescent state when it remains as one with Shakti, we call it, after the Vedantist, Brahman. In the relative state we call it Kali or Shakti when she presents two aspects, viz., those of *Vidya* and *Avidya*. In Her *Vidya* aspect, She is worshipped in various forms and unlocks the door to liberation. The *Avidya* aspect, in order to continue the creation, constantly throws before us the veil of ignorance. Naturally the devotee shuns this. Though the former aspect is also a figment of the mind from the standpoint of the Absolute, the devotee cannot ignore it because it is too real to be ignored so long as the mind roams in the relative plane. Knowing Shakti to be all-powerful, the devotee

prays to Her to remove the veil of ignorance. Another fatal mistake of Mahesh Babu is to think that the *Avidya* aspect is the whole of Shakti, which emphatically it is not. He needlessly¹³ stresses the "Hero-attitude" which the Tantra philosophy prescribes for a comparatively lower class of *Shadhakas* in whom the cravings of flesh are very strong. The ultimate ideal of the *Tantrika Shadhaka* is the realization of the दिव्यभाव or "God attitude," which transcends all human passions. The Master himself often warned¹⁴ the devotees against adopting the "Hero-attitude". On account of his all-comprehensive realizations, Sri Ramkrishna, at the mere will, could immerse himself in the beatitude of the *Nirvikalpa Samadhi*¹⁵ as well as keep his mind in the relative plane in which state he looked upon himself as an instrument of the Divine Mother for disseminating spiritual truths to Her devotees. At that state he naturally looked upon Goddess Kali as the highest object of worship and adoration. He never¹⁶ maintained an adverse attitude towards Her as Mahesh Babu thinks.

VISION

The intellect can hardly understand the transcendental experiences of a seer realized in *Samadhi*. *Samadhis* may be classified as higher or lower according to the intensity of concentration upon the objects of meditation or according as they approach the Unity behind the universe. In the ordinary or lower *Samadhi* which naturally belongs to the relative plane, the mind soars in the region of gods or goddesses as well as abstract ideas such as love, beauty, etc. But in *Nirvikalpa Samadhi* which is beyond the reach of mind and speech, the *Sadhaka* transcends all relative consciousness and becomes one with Truth itself. This is the highest vision of Truth. The conditions precedent to all spiritual visions are the absolute purity of heart and complete detachment from the urgings of the lower nature. Visions, which one may experience, by concentrating upon material objects, are altogether different from those of spiritual persons. Because the rejection of materiality is the *sine qua non* of spiritual life. The entire gamut of Sri Ramkrishna's visions belongs to the spiritual plane.¹⁷ It is preposterous to conclude that Sri Ramkrishna's *Samadhi* belonged to the material plane when we remember that his mind was always fixed upon God.¹⁸ The very same ground precludes the idea of his ever

⁷ Did they ever address Her as शाली (sister-in-law)? Even if true, their weak points do not strengthen the case of Ramkrishna.

⁸ Addressing mother as शाली (sister-in-law) is not an example of childlike simplicity.

⁹ Authenticated facts wanted.

¹⁰ Yes, when Ramkrishna was under the influence of Kali.

¹¹ No. Sometimes different. He was not consistent (*vide M. R.*, p. 190).

¹² What follows is Swamiji's defence. We want Paramahansa's views with chapter and verse from authentic sources.

¹³ Why 'needlessly'? It is fundamental.

¹⁴ True, but he considered it to be one of "the ways of worship for gratifying Her" (Gospel, ii. 11). This path may be "very strenuous and dangerous" (ii. 11), as Paramahansa says. But that is not the point at issue. The question is, what is the nature of this Shakti and what is the relation between Her and Her worshipper, when She can be, as is admitted by Ramkrishna, gratified sexually and thus propitiated by Her worshipper. She is certainly not Mother *per se*.

¹⁵ He was afraid of being immersed in *Nirvikalpa Samadhi*.

¹⁶ Documentary evidence wanted.

¹⁷ *Vide* note no. 15.

¹⁸ Mind may be on God, yet it may not be *Nirvikalpa Samadhi*.

being subject to mental stupor and hallucination. Sri Ramkrishna passed through many stages during his exalted moods ranging from the visions of gods and goddesses to complete absorption in *Nirvikalpa Samadhi*. Naturally all visions of his except *Nirvikalpa Samadhi* belonged to the lower and relative plane. Several instances of Sri Ramkrishna's visions cited by Mahesh Babu undoubtedly belonged to this lower plane. But to explain them as hallucination or to say, after the sceptics, that they do not belong to the spiritual realm is a confession of the crass ignorance¹⁹ of the philosophy of *Samadhi*. The sceptic can never be convinced.²⁰ Hence we leave them at peace. These visions may be the externalization of the inner thoughts, as the psychologists say. But these inner thoughts of the experiencer, as in the case of Sri Ramkrishna, are always spiritual thoughts. Because during these visions or after them, the Master was often found bathed in spirituality and he always bore on his person the impress of ecstasy. The argument of the logician is altogether beside the point. It is perfectly logical to say that in the *Samadhi* of a lower degree the *Sadhaka*, who believes in various forms or aspects of God, can have the vision of those forms or aspects, though he does not see any form in the highest *Samadhi* when the distinction between the subject and object is totally obliterated. The visions of Sri Ramkrishna are perfectly justifiable from the standpoint of Vedantic monists with whom the psychologists agree.

Mahesh Babu cites one of the exalted moods of Sri Ramkrishna coming down from which he used the epithet *भ्राता* (brother-in-law) towards Hazra, one of the devotees, who had admonished the Master for showing an inordinate love for Narendrakhal and other young men of spiritual nature. Mahesh Babu takes exception to this epithet and on that account characterizes this *Samadhi* as belonging to a lower order and "created by desire for and attachment to earthly companions." There was nothing earthly in the relationship between Sri Ramkrishna and Narendrakhal. During the trance quoted above, the Master saw that the Divine Mother manifested Herself most clearly through the pure boys which was the cause of Sri Ramkrishna's attraction for them. One day Swami Vivekananda himself took his teacher to task for bestowing upon him special love. At this the Master fell into a trance and afterwards said to Swami Vivekananda that his love for the young man was entirely due to the latter's spiritual nature. As regards the use of the vulgar epithet, we have already pointed out that it was entirely due to his simple childlike nature. He also said many times that, unlike the case of common men, these vulgar terms never roused in him a corresponding idea nor did they ever go beyond his tongue. Of those who make a distinction between God-visions and trance-experiences of Sri Ramkrishna

and who try to explain these trance-experiences of the Master as hallucinations, we can only say in the words of the Master, "How can I blame these poor men? How are they to know?"²¹

SRI RAMKRISHNA AND THE BRAHMO SAMAJ

Mahesh Babu only speaks about the relationship between Sri Ramkrishna and Keshab but does not give the full attitude of the Master towards the Brahmo Samaj. He never denounced the Samaj but he asked its members to dive deep in the practice of religion till they realized Truth. He often, out of his love and affection, encouraged some of the sincere Brahmos to go beyond their bigotted conventions and set formulae. He never liked the intolerance of the average Brahmos towards other forms of Hindu worship. He also encouraged Keshab Chandra to outgrow sectarianism and emphasized the spirit of universal toleration which Keshab, to, had partly realized through his liberal intellectual understanding.

MOTHERHOOD OF GOD

No responsible person has ever said that the Brahmos entirely borrowed the idea of the Motherhood of God from Sri Ramkrishna. Even Mahesh Babu himself admits that "it is a fact that Keshab and his followers emphasized the divine motherhood under the influence of Ramkrishna."

THE SENSE OF SIN

Mahesh Babu divides the early Brahmos into two groups, namely, the *Anandavadins*, 'the proclaimers of Joy', and the *Dukkhavadins*, 'the proclaimers of Sorrow.' We do not know the philosophy of the *Anandavadins* nor the rationale of their optimistic temperament. Stern and uncompromising in renunciation, a real *Anandavadi* believes in the divine nature of man and derives real pleasure from his communion with God who is the repository of Eternal Bliss. It is impossible for him to be attached to the senses. Like a real monk, he finds the lower nature to be completely dead for him. Did the *Anandavadi* Brahmo carry into practice the ideal which they professed to represent?²²

The reviewer seeks to exemplify from the life of Sri Ramkrishna the truism that "too much thinking of one's own weakness paralyzes one's power of resistance." He takes exception to the Master's incessant denunciation of lust and gold. He describes how the touch of metal jarred on the nerves of Sri Ramkrishna and how the touch of an old maid-servant of Dakshineswar gave him torture. "The psychological explanation," says Mahesh Babu, "is that sub-consciously he felt himself insecure and in constant danger of succumbing to their evil influence. *Kamini-Kanchana* became his nightmare and 'day-mare'." He diagnosed Sri Ramkrishna's spiritual moods as being due to self-created neurosis. According to the critic a saint must not think²³ of sex when he sees a woman. He warns us against extreme

¹⁹ "No case, abuse the plaintiff's attorney." Swamiji is not the only or an authoritative expositor of the philosophy of *Samadhi* in the world.

²⁰ Nor can the credulous and sectarians be easily enlightened.

²¹ Rather patronizing and abusive.

²² Why this question? Veiled condemnation?

²³ Not "must not think" but "does not think". It is not a question of "ought"; it is a psychological fact.

asceticism and prescribes the middle path as the right path.

By denouncing lust and gold Sri Ramkrishna erred, if at all he did so, in the company of good souls like Christ and Buddha. According to him lust and gold are the mightiest obstacles in the path of spiritual progress. Men and women are symbols of lust to one other.^{24, 25} Their intimacy cannot but rouse in mind cravings for flesh. Even boiling water extinguishes the burning embers. He himself practised this ideal to its perfection in his own life. He was a world-teacher. Therefore, his life should be immaculate and must not give occasion for the slightest misunderstanding which would, otherwise, be taken advantage of by erring men. So it was with him. Mahesh Babu's explanation is not at all correct. The real explanation is that continual thinking on God and purity completely transformed his nervous system which was always attuned to the highest and therefore reacted involuntarily at the approach of the object of temptation.²⁶ Such reaction was always noticed even while he was asleep.²⁷ He became a complete automaton in the hands of the Divine Mother who would never allow him to take a false step. He was not a neurotic patient who shows incoherence in his thought and becomes subject to excitement and exaggeration. A neurotic is less than a man. But he was a superman. The serenity of his mind was never ruffled. Again it is not a fact that he had an abhorrence of all women. The woman in question was an impure one. Therefore her touch shocked his nerves²⁸ involuntarily. Innumerable woman devotees received from him their spiritual illumination.

Mahesh Babu's advocacy of the middle path²⁹ is not the first instance of its kind. Many people create such a comfortable philosophy, making it a pretext³⁰ for subtle and refined enjoyments only to find in the end that their soap-bubble security is always pricked at the slightest touch with reality. Those who profess to be *Anandavadis* and make a bravado³¹ of their optimistic temperament, are often self-duped. Many an unwary Samson puts his lock of hair to the scissors of cunning Delilahs. Enjoyment and renunciation are like poles asunder.³² To think of a man or a woman without

being conscious of their sex is good enough as a copy-book maxim but dangerous for all practical purposes. The slightest slip causes ruin. Persons possessing a Bohemian temperament and following the Greek ideal of life often find themselves stranded in their spiritual pursuits. Mahesh Babu's middle path is an illusion and a snare. It may be necessary for the beginner whose urge of flesh is too strong to be stifled. Sri Ramkrishna was perfectly aware of the inherent weakness of human nature and therefore never prescribed utter renunciation for all and sundry. But his own case was totally different. For him any object associated with lust and gold was anathema. His life is a bold challenge to the ideal of "beer and skittles" of the present-day world. He resuscitated the eternal truth that Immortality can be reached only by complete renunciation, which, in order to be effective, must be external as well as internal.

BRAHMO WORSHIP

Sri Ramkrishna rightly criticized one aspect of the Brahmo-worship, namely, dwelling too much on the glory of God's work. He never condemned it wholesale. He simply said, "Why do you dwell so much on the glory of God's work?" The emphasis is on the words italicized by us. He knew that singing of God's attributes is necessary for the beginner in order to rouse in his heart the fervour for the Divine. He himself recommended this for the ordinary *Sadhakas*. But this is certainly a preliminary form of worship. And too much of it keeps the mind on the surface plane while in deep meditation the devotees forget the glories of God and lose themselves completely in the consciousness of Truth. Therefore he urged the Brahmo leaders like Keshab and Shivanath to dive deep into the consciousness of God. Besides there is a distinction³³ between the glory of God's works (*ऐश्वर्य*) and his attributes (*गुण*) which

Mahesh Babu failed to notice. Sri Ramkrishna condemned laying too much stress on the glory of God's works after the Brahmo fashion, as he said, it only fosters our own latent desire for enjoyment.³⁴ But the contemplation of the attributes of God, such as his love, purity, truth, blessedness, etc., which brings one nearer to Him was encouraged by Sri Ramkrishna. Thus there is no contradiction, as Mahesh Babu thinks, in the quotations he gives on this point. Of course, in trying to bring home to the devotees a still deeper kinship that exists between man and God, he would sometimes ask them to go beyond this aspect of worship as well. Instances are frequent of his merging in *Samadhi* when singing the praise of God. Sri Ramkrishna compares God to the Lord of the garden and the Brahmo worship to the admiration of that garden. Mahesh Babu thinks that "the Gardener and the garden are not mutually exclusive. The Gardener without the garden and

complete renunciation for householders (Gospel; i. 402-403). Nor is it intended for all; the tortoise cannot remain high up in the air.

³³ Attributes and their manifestations are concomitants. We know attributes through their manifestations.

³⁴ To see God in Nature is also God-vision. He is to be seen within as well as outside.

^{24, 25} What about the monks of Ramkrishna monasteries and their female co-workers in various parts of the world?

^{26, 27, 28} This means that he could not bring his nervous system under control and so it acted involuntarily. This is what is called *Neurosis*. The whole physical constitution of the perfect saint is under perfect control as in perfect *Samadhi*. He is as little affected by 'woman and gold' as by pot-sherd. To Mirabai no man was *man*.

²⁹ Enunciated by Buddha and advocated in the *Gita*.

^{30, 31} Vials of wrath and billingsgate.

³² Where does the one end and the other begin? Living in up-to-date modern houses, using motor cars and the telephone, earning money by lecturing and by writing and publishing books and magazines, asking for and receiving subscriptions and donations, managing large funds and property, eating fish, flesh and sweetmeats, chewing betel and smoking, going to theatres—what are these? Enjoyment or renunciation? Paramahansa did not prescribe

the garden without the Gardener—both are meaningless abstractions.” This pantheistic attitude of Mahesh Babu denotes, according to the Vedantists, a lower state.³⁵ But according to the transcendental experience of the seer, truth reveals itself in its pristine beauty only when the last trace of phenomena is gone.³⁶ All relative existence, however rosy, is illusory. The noumenon³⁷ is alone true but phenomena are unreal. The magician alone is true but his magic is unreal. God in the transcendental state is not certainly an empty entity. That is His real nature.³⁸

But ordinary men can hardly conceive of that state. Therefore, scriptures concede for them an empirical reality of the universe. Another reason why ordinary people fight shy of rising to the giddy heights of the *Advaita* realizations is that they are always afraid of the annihilation of the ego. They think that with the destruction of the ego all charm of life would be gone.³⁹ They do not like to merge their individuality in the consciousness of the Absolute. But they forget that they realize their true individuality only when they discover their identity with the Absolute.

NAMA-JAPA

The reviewer says that “Paramahansa’s divine worship consisted primarily in (1) Nama-Japa (repeating God’s name) and (2) singing his praise. Sri Ramkrishna, we know, was perfectly conscious that these two forms of disciplines are of an inferior order. He laid the greatest stress on meditation, renunciation and eagerness for realization. Once Sri Ramkrishna said to a Vaishnava Goswami that mere repeating the names of God without eagerness for His realization was ineffective. The *Gospel* is replete with such instances. Sri Ramkrishna’s forte was that he was all things to all men. He knew that different men possess different temperaments and therefore never prescribed the same path for all. He prescribed *Nama-Japa* to the followers of *Bhakti-Yoga* and even to those he would say, “*Japa* is higher than worship (mechanical); greater than *Japa* is *Dhyana* (meditation); still greater is *Bhava* (ecstasy); and greater than ecstasy are *Mahabhava* (absorption) and *Prema* (Love). Love is the cord to bind God.” He never believed in the efficacy of mechanical *Japa*.⁴⁰ Once he admonished Hazra, a devotee, for practising such *Japa* and said, “If you go to Calcutta you will find thousands of people counting beads—even the public women do so.”

³⁵ Yes, lower according to some; but higher according to the Highest Philosophy of the Absolute.

^{36 37 38} Noumenon without phenomenon is a meaningless abstraction. Noumenon ever manifests itself in phenomena. The Unity of the Absolute does not exclude variety. Abstract unity is a pure logical figment. Undifferentiated homogeneous entity is considered by some Vedantists as the Transcendental and True Nature of the Absolute. But it is really hypostatization of an abstract logical idea and is metaphysically non-existent.

³⁹ It is sometimes convenient to vilify other systems and to attribute low motives to their followers.

⁴⁰ He believed in magical and mystical power of particular names (*Gospel*, ii. 185; 196; *M.R.*, page 194, col. 2).

The value of *Nama-Japa* has been emphasized by all men of realizations, such as Chaitanya, Tulsidas, Ramanuja etc., and their testimony is more valuable than all the logic of the modernists. We, however, agree with the writer of the review that, “in our country the *Nama-Japa* has, in the majority of cases, become lifeless and mechanical. But he misquotes the classic example of Haridas, who used to repeat the name of God three lacs of times every day and says, that in this case, on account of quick succession, it had, “no psychical value, neither emotional nor cognitive.” The learned writer forgets that in the case of a sincere *Sadhaka* like Haridas, God-consciousness was part of his very life.⁴¹ His whole nervous system pulsed with the name of the Lord and this only helped him to realize his continuous presence.

The Brahmos prefer the attributive appellations of God, such as (full of love) to His प्रेममय other names such as, Hari, Durga, Kali etc. Mahesh Babu thinks the former to be more effective than the latter. This is not true. To the devotee the mere mention of the names of the Lord brings before his vision the concept of love, power, beauty, truth etc. with which these are associated. In this sense these names are also attributive. All names of God, attributive or otherwise, are charged with a deeper meaning for all sincere devotees. Sri Ramkrishna often sang the glory of God’s attributes (but not of His works) because through this he kept his communion with the Divine in the relative plane of consciousness.

CATHOLICISM

Mahesh Babu preaches broad catholicism and universal toleration in religious matters. We now hear missionaries of various religions speaking about toleration. While thus speaking they often betray a spirit of condescension to other religions and arrogate to themselves a position of superiority.⁴² They often mean to say, “Yes, there are some good points in other religions and many bad points too. All other religions except our own are of a lower order. But these are necessary for them because their minds are not as highly developed as ours. Therefore, we tolerate them.” Speaking about the religion of the image-worshipper, Mahesh Babu himself writes, “We know their belief is wrong,” and then adds patronizingly,⁴³ “but that does not make them sinful.” Such preachers of toleration are only so in name. But Sri Ramkrishna’s catholic attitude covered a wider ground. His attitude towards other religions may be better described as acceptance with veneration. He found by actual realization that all religions equally lead the aspirant to the same goal. If one religion is true then all other religions must be equally so. Has not every religion produced men of realization? Further he realized by actual practice that the husk of religion (ceremonials) is as necessary as its kernel (fundamental philosophy). Both are necessary for the spiritual development of the aspirant. Therefore, he held no belief to be wrong.

⁴¹ True; but it is not the effect of mechanical *Nama-Japa*.

⁴² Uncalled for sarcastic remarks. These show how uncharitable and intolerant our Swamiji is.

⁴³ This sarcasm is uncalled for and misleading (Vide the original review, *M. R.*, page 196).

DISCIPLES

Mahesh Babu says that Sri Ramkrishna "made no disciples" and quotes the Gospel in his support. It is true that the saint of Dakshineswar said, "I have no disciple—I am the servant of the servant of Rama." But the reviewer forgets that in the ordinary plane of consciousness it was impossible for Sri Ramkrishna, the simple child of Kali as he was, to assume the rôle of a conventional *Guru* with whom is associated egoism. Again, it is also a fact that he could easily raise himself to exalted moods of unity with God in which state the Divine Mother Herself used his person as the *Guru* to quicken spiritual impulses of devotees by various mystic processes as touch or the initiation by *Mantram*. Such disciples are still living with us.

INCARNATION

The reviewer writes that "Sri Ramkrishna never claimed to be an incarnation; but he was a *Bhakta*, a God-intoxicated man." He adds, "An *Avatar*, according to Sri Ramkrishna, is one who grants salvation, but he never exercised nor claimed such privilege or power. On the other hand, he was afraid of contamination and avoided sinners and the deformed." As regards the first point, it is true that he never preached that he was an incarnation of God. Such was the attitude of Christ, Buddha, Chaitanya and others. Only on particular occasions and to very intimate disciples did he reveal his real nature. A couple of days before the Master's final *Samadhi* he said to Swami Vivekananda who doubted his *Avatar*-hood, "Well, Naren, He who was born in previous ages as Ram and Krishna, is now before you as Ramkrishna—though not from your Vedantic standpoint." On another occasion he said to M., "There are no outsiders here. One day Harish was with me and I saw Sachchidananda come out from this body. It said, 'I am born as an incarnation from time to time.'" He added later on, "...I find that this time here is the fullest manifestation though with an excess of *Sattva*." This is enough confession from him to convince, if such confession can at all convince the sceptic, that he is an incarnation of God. Hearing some of his devotees preaching him as an incarnation the Master once said, "What do they know of *Avatar*-hood? One of them is a dramatist and the other a chemist. Long ago, men of vast learning like Padmalochan, Narayan Shastri and others talked and talked of this body (meaning himself) being an *Avatar* till I became sick of it." It is not for the commonalty of mankind to believe in an incarnation. The Master did grant liberation by his mere grace. He had that power. Some of his disciples are standing monuments of this fact. Only in the life of Christ we find that he demonstrated his supernatural power and divinity by healing the sick and the deformed. But this is not a proof, *par excellence*, of *Avatar*-hood. Sri Ramkrishna did not always avoid sinners or fought shy of contamination. There are instances of vicarious atonement in his life by which he alleviated the miseries of others. He cheerfully showed his grace to penitent sinners. There is the familiar instance of Babu Girish Chandra Ghose. Keshab Chandra, on account of his Brahmo influence, would not accept Sri Ramkrishna as an incarnation. But he said,

"Christ, Chaitanya and Ramkrishna belonged to the same category. Ramkrishna should be preserved in a glass case so that he may not be contaminated with the dirt and filth of worldliness." Hearing this Sri Ramkrishna said, "A piece of sweet bread, in whatever way it may be taken, will always taste sweet." But it is not our intention to establish the *Avatar*-hood of Sri Ramkrishna to those who would not believe it.

THE NOTE

Mahesh Babu ends his long review by giving some instances of interpolation in the English edition of the Gospel. He characterizes it as an after-thought. He even goes so far as to imply that there is 'purposive' interpolation in the book.

We know that the English version does not follow the Bengali original literally. It is a free rendering of the Bengali *Kathamrita* in several instances. The translator had to do this in order to explain some highly technical Bengali expressions and aphoristic statements of Sri Ramkrishna which would otherwise remain unintelligible to average English readers. May we ask the learned critic if he has found in the English edition anything which contradicts the *Kathamrita* or is not substantially corroborated by the latter? If not, how can the reviewer impute motive to the English translator and designate some of his simple explanatory⁴⁴ statements as *interpolation*, which means *unfair* insertion of a *spurious* word or passage in a book?

Mahesh Babu himself betrays inconsistencies⁴⁵ in his own elaborate criticism. He ends his review by saying, "The book is inspiring and worth reading"; then he adds a note, which suggests his own after-thought, closing with the words, "these examples are more than enough to condemn the book."⁴⁶ At one place he says that Sri Ramkrishna attained to the level of *अपरोक्षानुभूति* or the highest intuitive realization and again almost in the same breath he writes that some of his visions "were created by desire for and attachment to earthly companions." A man of highest realization can never have any such desire or attachment.⁴⁷ And the man who could indulge in abusive language, whose visions were often related to lower planes, and whose divine worship consisted primarily of *Nama-Japa* or singing His praise, characterized by the reviewer as a lower form of worship, has been again described by the critic as "an incarnation of the spirit of Chaitanya, a God-intoxicated man," "a simple child of nature," without any guile whose "ecstatic devotion (*Bhakti*) was alone sufficient to attract devotees" to him.⁴⁸ These inconsistencies

⁴⁴ Not simply "explanatory statements" and amplifications but deliberate additions and interpolations in many places. We have cited only 18 cases. The very fact that the author *can* and does deliberately interpolate, throws doubt even on the authenticity of the Bengali edition.

⁴⁵ No; Vide *infra*.

⁴⁶ The authenticity of many passages has been impugned; hence it is condemned. It is inspiring and worth reading in spite of the interpolations. The *Mahabharata* is inspiring though there are innumerable interpolations.

^{47, 48} "Saints are not saints at all hours." Sometimes they soar; they also come down to lower

are enough to condemn the entire review.⁴⁹ Surely we expected a better understanding of Sri Ramkrishna from a learned man of the author's standing. But his criticisms only remind us not to forget that mere book-learning, *unaided by Sadhana*,⁵⁰ is useless in appraising spiritual values.

The reviewer has measured the profundities of Sri Ramkrishna's realizations with his own yardstick. Years ago, Prof. Max Muller wrote in appreciative terms about Sri Ramkrishna's exalted spiritual position and to-day M. Romain Rolland puts him in the same category with Christ.⁵¹ Is it not a pity that one of his own countrymen should

levels. So the same man may have various grades of experience.

⁴⁹ The statement shows how man's mind can be blinded and perverted by sectarianism.

⁵⁰ "If you do not agree with me, you must needs be a sceptic and arrant fool. If you have any learning, it must be 'mere book-learning, *unaided by Sadhana*'."

Does not the speaker here arrogate to himself, by implication, spiritual superiority?

⁵¹ But have they praised all that he is stated to have said and done? Meat-eaters eat fowl and speak highly of it. But do they mean its beak and claws, wings and feathers, ingesta and egesta?

be so little able to understand the God-Man of Dakshineswar whose advent has restored the spiritual glory of our Motherland to its pristine excellence, and whose life shines as the beacon light in the midst of the wilderness of the modern materialistic age? Is it not an irony of fate that his spiritual realizations should be misunderstood and adversely commented on by one of his own people when the great Master is being swiftly recognized everywhere as the brightest star, the like of which has not appeared in the spiritual firmament of the world for many a century?⁵²

EDITOR'S NOTE

Our rule is not to publish any comments on reviews or notices of books. And according to our rule, comments should not exceed a certain length. For certain reasons we have sometimes made exceptions to these rules. In future they will be strictly adhered to.

⁵² Blind and undue glorification of great men is not only unspiritual and demoralizing but also impolitic and ineffectual. It bewilders even intelligent truth-seekers and prevents them from seeing and accepting what is true and worthy.

British Ban on Indian Medical Degrees

By SIR NILRATAN SIRCAR, M.A., M.D., etc.

MEDICAL graduates of some of the Indian Universities had been registered under the British Medical Act since the year 1902. There are two lists for registration:

1. The British list, in which occur the names of British graduates;
2. Colonial and foreign list. (Indian graduates are registered in this list.)

For the registration of British graduates inspection of British Colleges as well as the visitation of examinations in Great Britain are authorized in the first portion of the Act. But for enlistment of colonial and foreign graduates, it is distinctly laid down that the examination is not the condition, the principle of recognition being reciprocity.

In a letter addressed to the Chairman of the Medical Council, New Zealand, the Registrar of the General Council of Medical Registration admits that the Council have no

right to inspection or visitation of examinations held outside Great Britain and Ireland.

In the year 1923, in spite of the absence of any statutory provision for visitation of examinations or inspection, the Calcutta University rather unexpectedly found Colonel Needham at its door, proposing a visitation of its examinations, which were about to be held at that time. The University did not see its way to accede to the proposal. It was ignorant of what had passed between the Government of India and the General Council of Medical Registration of Great Britain, but it was not convinced of the existence of any legal provision for inspection or visitation of examinations.

Calcutta graduates were not recognized for three years after this and eventually a settlement was arrived at. Last year two proposals reached the University for a permanent solution of the question, *viz*:

1. Formation of an All-India Medical Council.

2. Pending its formation inspection and visitation of examinations by a commissioner of standards of teaching and examination.

Obviously the proposal required very careful consideration.

The All-India Medical Association strongly protested against the second proposal. No wonder that at their Delhi Conference, the provincial ministers rejected the first proposal and only recommended the second one, which was afterwards rejected by the Assembly by a financial cut for supplies.

This not only set the Jumna but also the Thames on fire. For it was the General Council of Medical Registration who appointed Colonel Needham as the Commissioner, and the Assembly, not being quite convinced that the appointment would satisfy all the conditions previously laid down by the General Council of Medical Registration themselves in this connection, *viz.*, of authoritative, well-informed, and impartial inspection and visitation of examinations, refused their support to the proposal. This was too much for the Council.

But it was not merely "the proud and suspicious Nationalism of India" that was of this opinion. The Indian Universities Conference that met in October, 1929, also considered the idea of inspection and visitation of examinations by an extraneous body like the General Council of Medical Registration through a single officer to be undesirable, and for the purpose proposed the creation of an All-India Board.

The Calcutta University approved of this idea and addressed the Government of India to expedite the formation of the All-India Council of Registration and in the meantime the formation of an All-India Board for inspection, consisting of representatives of

the Universities and Government, was recommended.

The Government of India actually sent these proposals to the General Council of Medical Registration of Great Britain, but the latter insisted upon the appointment of a "Commissioner" and rejected the proposals of the Government. A ban has been pronounced on all Indian Medical degrees by the General Council of Medical Registration of Great Britain.

As regards results, our graduates have been deprived of the following privileges :

1. British degrees and qualifications.

2. Post-graduates studies in Great Britain.

3. Services, particularly I. M. S.

As regards the degrees and qualifications, it has been amply proved that they are often a snare; and after all, other foreign degrees and distinctions have at least equal value.

As regards facilities for higher studies, let our young men remember that there are places abroad where arrangements for higher studies are better and more convenient for Indians. Instead of going to Great Britain for such purpose our young graduates will go to places that are resorted to by the scholars and teachers of Great Britain for their own edification.

As regards the third point, I fail to see how the Indian Medical Service, the bone of all this contention, can continue to remain the vested interests in perpetuity of the people of Great Britain if there be an iota of truth in all talks about the Round Table Conference and Dominion Status and Indianization of Services.

The General Council are thinking of strengthening their control on our medical department by this step. I am sure they will be sadly disappointed in the long run.

The Application of Research To Rural Life

By LEONARD K. ELMHIRST

WHEN I left India in 1924 the rural reconstruction work of Visva-Bharati at Sriniketan, in the village of Surul, was almost ready to enter upon the third stage of its growth. May I go over the ground covered in the first two stages.

In 1922 twelve of us set out for the village of Surul, two miles from Santiniketan, at the request of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore to carry out research into the conditions of village life and to build up a staff that could at a later date, work out the solution to such problems as we found there.

The second stage opened when the staff, partly recruited from the first group of students, partly from outside, began to concentrate attention upon the most important of the problems discovered. These problems, in the main concerned health, industry, education and social and individual states of mind. Life in the villages of Birbhum seemed quickly to be ebbing away and leaving only desert and dereliction behind.

I think it would be fair to say that we were entering upon the third stage of our work about the time I left for China in 1924. Research was still being vigorously promoted but we had already realized that without a much closer touch with the villages of the immediate neighbourhood we were not going to be able to feed sufficient reliable data back to Sriniketan, which represented our research laboratory, nor to return to the village the results of the research work. What we needed was an extension service manned by those who were willing themselves to live and work in the village, to find their own self-support there, and to act as the medium of exchange between the village and the research workers in the laboratory.

In those days it was not difficult to find men of enthusiasm and devotion, but men who combined this devotion with any practical capacity were scarce. A village worker, unable to support himself by his own labour and therefore to meet the villager on his own ground, was not likely to win men's confidence nor to use to the

full the resources of the laboratory behind him. Young men, however, soon began to offer themselves for this practical training, and to-day these men are beginning to make their mark.

One of the temptations which our village workers faced when the doors of the village first opened to them was that of trying to cover a wide area all at once in response to urgent appeals from distant villages. It is now obvious that the decision to concentrate both research and extension work on the immediate area was a wise one.

The progress that has been made during the last six years by an all-Indian staff has been of such encouraging a nature that it is worth while trying to analyse to-day what are the principles that seem to lie behind any programme of rural reconstruction.

When life has reached as low an ebb as in the villages of Birbhum that we visited in 1922, every power that research can give has to be mobilized in the service of society. The underlying problems have first to be disentangled and then handed over to the best available specialists for examination and diagnosis. In the planning of treatment it is vital to discover the root causes which are often social and psychological. It is so easy to be led away by immediate and more apparent symptoms, disease, poverty and despair, into the giving of charity and the destruction thereby of the impulse towards self-help.

It is well to differentiate here between what is often called pure research and the research that is needed by so many Bengal villages to-day. Research of any kind is expensive. The result applied in practice may produce economic fruit, but the process itself eats up money as a thirsty man in the desert drinks water. Research itself should never be expected to pay. Therefore, where funds are limited, we cannot afford to detach research from the immediate problems of life. Once the problems have been analysed, the money available must be distributed in proportion to the seriousness of the problem.

Here, then, there is no room for that kind of pure research which is so detached that its results may never have any direct bearing on the processes of life. There is to-day in India and elsewhere a great expenditure of money on this kind of research, in the field of science as well as in the field of learning, without sufficient consideration of the bearing either of the expenditure or of the research on the immediate problems of life. Suddenly a catastrophe like the great war comes and demonstrates that the root problems of society still await the attack of the research mind, whilst many who had fled the immediate problems of life, and were lost in realms of pure research in science, archaeology or history are, with a rude shock, suddenly brought to earth and plunged into the stream of life, only to find it a living death. It is for this reason that society, whether it be that of a district like Birbhum, a province like Bengal or a country like India, in these days, can never afford for very long to delay the setting up of a supreme council of research which will take cognizance of all the problems of society,—social, economic, industrial, educational and psychological, and co-ordinate all research effort.

Here someone may object that research occupies time and demands money, and that meanwhile the people die. In a certain village near Surul in Birbhum less than a hundred years ago there were five hundred households. To-day there are twenty-five. What is to happen whilst the research is under way? In the intiation of research into any problem of society it is well to see that a capable extension service is established at the same time. By extension service is meant a channel through which the problems of the village may be fed continuously to the headquarters of research. The extension worker is the man in the field, in continuous intimate touch with the life of the village and all its problems. He is also the agent who is responsible for feeding back to the village the solutions that result from research. The extension service may be likened to the blood circulation system of human society. It provides between the village and research headquarters a channel, along which in one direction flow the problems of life, in the other, their solutions. In the early days at Surul, where the research headquarters were established, we had, between us, to combine the functions

of research worker and extension worker. This had the advantage at the outset of establishing live research work and of educating the extension worker but the ultimate and thorough analysis of village problems depends upon the extension worker, man or woman, living in the village but keeping in close and constant touch with the staff in the laboratory of research. This is vital. It is so easy for the village worker to lose touch with the world outside, to become completely involved in village affairs and to sink quickly to the level of village life. It is easy for the research man, locked in his laboratory, to lose touch with life and its real problems and yet to imagine he is working still at the very heart of existence. Experience shows that the laboratory worker, whether industrialist, economist, historian or scientist, should be encouraged at the call of the village worker to forsake desk, files or bench and go to the spot, and even, on occasions, desert them altogether for a period and become an extension worker himself. There is no experience to compare with the immediate contact with village life for the preservation of a right and healthy spirit in research work.

So, too, it is well for the village worker on occasions to leave his village and refresh himself by concentrating on some research problem of his own choosing, or to further his own education by taking some short course into which the results of a wide variety of research work have been concentrated. Life conceived as growth, a research laboratory for studying the problems of life, an extension service for the sending of problems of the field to the laboratory and of solutions back to the centres of life, — these are the processes and the means out of which society is slowly and painfully evolving its own salvation,—these are the processes through which will come, with no little pain and struggle, the New Education.

What is education, if not the process whereby, in our passage from the cradle to the grave, we learn slowly but surely to meet and face with courage and without fear all the eventualities of life,—a life, too, that grows ever more complex. Then, must it not be a process that is in continuous and intimate touch with life, warmed by the breath of research, inspired by the thrill of discovery and the spirit of adventure. An education that is in direct touch with every problem sent into the laboratory

of research from the frontiers of life can never fade into a dull routine.

In the early days of Sriniketan it was not long before a first-hand study of the village situation produced a demand for many new kinds of education. The idea that the villager could seriously be influenced by occasional lectures and exhibitions was one of the earliest to be exploded. In the first village where we were allowed to come into direct touch with the boys the orthodox training of the scout master on our staff had to be adapted to the immediate situation. Fire brigade organization and drill was a crying need; a survey of all malaria sufferers, of blocked up drains, of unfilled pits and of tanks choked with weed, made possible a direct attack by the boys on the appalling conditions around them; a training in the growing of vegetables opened up new resources in areas where fresh green food had ceased to be an article of diet; games and the singing of songs completed this first attempt to work out an education that grew directly out of the life and needs of the village. In the last six years this programme has been enriched in a number of other directions. In 1924 was held the first training camp for leaders of such troops of boys, and this camp itself has developed into a short training course for village teachers and workers. The step from this stage towards a new kind of boarding school in which a new emphasis and a new balance between practice and theory, handicraft and academic training, has been attempted, was natural and even inevitable.

The use of the phrase research laboratory is probably associated in the minds of many people with desk, sink, and rows of bottles and test tubes. The research side of a rural laboratory is a very different matter. Out of the needs and demands of our investigation into village conditions grew in a perfectly natural sequence a number of enterprises. Some of these were established for research purposes and have kept ever since their research character, even though out of them has come, perhaps, a commercial enterprise that can show real profit, perhaps a new course in education, and, where sufficient progress has been made, a new side to the extension service. The dispensary, for instance, was opened as an emergency measure for dealing with the diseases that threatened at the outset to cripple staff and employees. Extended to the service of the

neighbourhood, it began to give direct evidence of a tragic state of affairs. By a slow process, one side of the dispensary has now become self-supporting and may be called commercially sound. The doctor at its head is at the beck and call of the village worker out in the field. Out of his experience and the careful figures and records that are being kept by the co-operative health societies under the eye of the village worker, is being built up the raw material for a training course in the prevention of disease and in the promotion of health. Apart from the gathering of records this section can hardly be said to have as yet a research aspect and a trained research worker, since time and money are still lacking. As soon as these are available advanced research can be established.

The poultry section, on the other hand, is engaged in pure research. It has neither the plant nor the experience with which, as yet, to set on foot a profitable commercial enterprise. It is, therefore, unable to plan any useful course of education or satisfactory extension service. Can the local breed be improved and lay more and larger eggs? Can improved imported breeds stand up to the climate and give commercial results? Can these, by crossing with the local breed, give permanent improvement, and can the cross-bred offspring retain disease resisting capacity? We do not know. It is this kind of research that is expensive and that must never be expected to show real profit.

The tannery gives an excellent illustration of the principle that industry should always be closely associated with research and with education. In fact, there is much to be said for making every industry partly or wholly responsible for the financing and assistance of such research and technical training as lie behind a constant improvement of technique and a continuous education of worker and apprentice in the use of that technique.

The tanners, or *muchis*, in the neighbourhood of Surul in 1922 were living on the border of starvation. Their methods were out of date and they owned no land of their own. They were, by their trade, barred from other kinds of work and had to be content with flaying dead animals and selling the raw skins to middlemen. With the help of the Provincial Department of Industries a short tanning demonstration was held in which

our students, comprising young men of different castes with one Brahmin among them, took part. As a result we set up a small tannery for a permanent training centre with the idea of its becoming a commercial unit and perhaps the centre for a co-operative organization of *muchis*. Research into the quality of local hides showed that these were of the poorest, and the finished product was not in sufficient demand to pay interest even on our investment in equipment though the new training in method certainly brought the *muchi* a real increase in his earning power.

The tannery, therefore, became a continuous charge on the educational fund, and, since funds were scarce, was actually on the list of sections that might have to be closed down. Here, however, the Art Department from Santiniketan and the lady in charge of the training work with village women came to the rescue. The finished leather was dyed and distributed to the village homes where the women quickly learnt how to sew it into all kinds of useful and well designed articles. These found such a ready market that the tannery itself began to develop as a sound commercial undertaking. This is an excellent example of the close linking up of research and education with the processes of life. Too many centres of education and research, too many schools and colleges are afraid of having any direct connection with business and the business world. A flourishing commercial enterprise, be it bank, farm, factory, tannery or craft, can be the best possible neighbour to a centre of research or education. It would be well if all research in industry was centred at places of learning and if all places of learning and research were supported more directly by the fruits of the commerce and industry around them.

At a certain college in America the commercial farm run and owned by the head of the Department of Agricultural Economics and Farm Management is regarded by the farmers of the district as one of the finest possible demonstrations of profitable and practical farming. Some members of the college may look askance at the danger of too much time being drawn away from the teaching and research work of the professor but no wise student can afford to miss his courses of study in which there is so much evidence of the direct application of his first-hand experience. There is much

real benefit to be reaped from the close association of any number of successful commercial enterprises with a centre of rural research and education.

Each of the many other departments at Sriniketan has one or more of these four aspects,—research, commercial, educational and extension,—the crop farm, the dairy, the lac and metal workshop, the weaving section, the carpentry and engineering shops, the silk rearing shed, the vegetable garden, the boarding school for boys, the day school for girls, the village work department and the co-operative bank. Out of this intimate association of activity should come an education that is truly alive. Such an education will be from its outset in direct contact with all the problems and processes of life. Any young man or woman in the future ought to be able to enter adult life with all the equipment that the best and latest research can provide. At the close of the adolescent period actual research work along the line of some special interest should occupy the first few years after college of every student of any intelligence. Already it is the custom in some universities, by means of research studentships, to make more and more use of these early years of the graduate student of good standing. Unfortunately this is only true in those fields of knowledge and experience where the mind and habit of research have penetrated and where men are no longer afraid of the constant challenge to life that research gives.

In the field of medicine it is possible for the most skilled physician to engage in research, in education, in extension and in general practice at one and the same time. In industry, the stronghold of individualism, true research is still stifled and even where it exists it is too often the monopoly of a group and unrelated to any general social programme. In the field of education, with a few notable exceptions, research has hardly yet been admitted as part of a national programme, and perhaps it is for this reason that education in so many countries has lost much of its direct touch with life.

The United States of America has, in her Land Grant colleges, led the way in an effort to relate the four processes of research, extension, education and industry into one comprehensive union with rural life and culture. It took some years there for the research worker to find real contact with

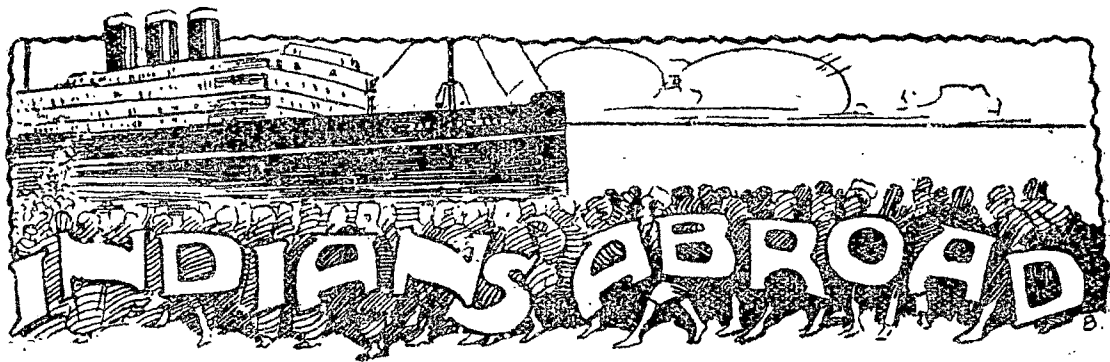
the farmer. It took as long again for his research to bear useful fruit, and as many years to build up a capable extension service. To-day the education system that leads up to these colleges is slowly being related to the rest. In the most advanced states it is becoming more difficult for any law affecting rural life to find its way into the statute book without close scrutiny and some years of patient investigation by the Research Department of the Agricultural College.

The implications of such a co-ordinated scheme, which will arise in the mind of the Indian reader, will be many, in a country where, like the rest of the world, there is so much co-ordinated activity and so little relation between research, extension work, education, government and the life of the people. In a province like Bengal, where in the village, irrigation, health, food production, co-operation and industry are all part of one single problem, neither the Government departments nor the voluntary societies for this or that good purpose seem as yet to have given much serious attention to the need for the co-ordination of activity. There are colleges without departments of research, there is research attached neither to college nor to an extension service; nor therefore to life, there are extension services in the districts which never reach the hearts of the people and have no immediate touch with any centre of research and inspiration to which they can turn for help or sympathy.

It has become the custom to confine the use of the word research to the problems of science and medicine, and this article would give a wholly false impression if it failed to convince the reader of the need to apply research to every aspect of human life. This is a day when catchwords still take the place of honest hard thinking. Phrases like village uplift, social service,

self-sacrifice, the missionary spirit still hedge around the progress of the human mind and lay a false emphasis in a life where the capacity of man ever to be creating a new world for himself is what makes him unique in the animal kingdom. Psychological research will perhaps rescue us from this old evangelism where men set out to save others or to do a good turn in order to acquire merit or future reward. It is men who love freedom because they enjoy an inner freedom of the spirit themselves who inspire others with the wish to be free. When the villager once comes into intimate contact with men or women who believe strongly enough in his and in their own capacity to find freedom and joy in creative work he will learn to free himself. The joy of creating, of building a new world out of new discoveries, the thrill of adventure into new fields of science and thought, and most of all, the risk that comes from attempting new social combinations, new kinds of group enterprise and co-operative adventure,—these are to be the happy privilege of a new age that by research has freed itself from fear and superstition, and that by courage has begun to conquer the world of the human mind.

Research regarded thus, as part of an attitude to life, cannot afford to isolate itself from the vital experience of the past, in art, in literature, in drama, in song, poetry and dance, in philosophy and religion,—nor may it cease from its constant examination of the present nor from just as constant a looking into the future. The village will make ever greater demands upon research. The peasant, too, once alive to his own destiny, will begin to make history, for, armed with the weapons that are now coming to his hand, and stimulated into co-operative activity, he will perhaps establish again his rightful place in a co-ordinated society.



By DR. KALIDAS NAG, M.A., D. LITT., (Paris)

Hony. Secretary, Greater India Society

The Future Greater India

The Far-Eastern tour initiated by our Master-Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore, in which I accompanied him, was, in some respects, the most momentous experience of my life. In Burma and Malaya, in China and Japan, wherever we happened to land, we found our Indian brethern rushing forward to adore the spiritual ambassador of modern India, and the poet, with a prophetic vision, on every occasion, pointed to a horizon of history where Indians, throwing away the tattered garments of a beggar or a slave, will again appear fertilizing the world with their humanity and creative activities just as the pioneer colonizers from India did two thousand years ago. To listen to Rabindranath in that setting, addressing the struggling band of Indians abroad was to be hypnotized by a hope which seems to be contradicted at every point by the cruel fact of Indian emigration during the last century. Yet I think, that the vision of a Rabindranath is of a greater historical value than volumes of these dismal and despairing records. And on my return home in 1924 I was driven by that sublime dream to organize gradually, the Greater India Society, which although concentrating mainly as yet to the problems of Indian colonization in bygone ages, is nevertheless fully alive to the necessity of a parallel and complementary line of study of the modern and the future Greater India.

Moreover, no watchful reader of our national history towards the close of the first quarter of the 20th century could miss the tremendous significance of the life of Mahatma Gandhi, the high priest and martyr in the cause of modern Greater India. Privileged to study intensively the life and career

of this great soldier of non-violence and lover of the down-trodden, while I was invited by M. Romain Rolland to help him in preparing his epoch-making book *Mahatma Gandhi* (1923), I realized the importance of the tragic struggle—nearly always unnoticed by their countrymen, of over twenty-five lakhs of Indians scattered all over the world. Over a century ago our poor country, India, appeared to powerful exploiters as a very cheap field for the gathering of a slave harvest. No doubt by the year 1833 slavery was legally abolished but we know that customs and conventions are rarely rooted out by a sudden jerk of legislation. Slave labour from India came to have a new and somewhat respectable label (indentured labour); but right through the pathetic struggle of the last hundred years we read the degrading history of threats and violences no less than of condescensions and concessions, hardly less inhuman, of the importers of the human cargo from Mother India.

The island of Mauritius imported Indian coolies from as early as 1819 and although many, by virtue of sheer genius and honest labour, rose from the condition of a veritable land-slave to the status of multi-millionaire, their names and achievements were entirely ignored by their brethern of the mother country. Yet that was an event which deserved a centenary celebration; for, in an age when the home-keeping Indians could do nothing more than repeating stupid *mantras* banning the heroic adventures of their compatriots crossing the *Kalapani*, those heroes, snatched away from their homes at first probably against their will, applied their iron will to the reconquest of economic independence, social status and progressive political emancipation through

titanic conflicts with the heartless exploiters in foreign lands. They are real heroes, those builders of the modern and future Greater India, and some day the history and economics faculties of our universities will have to endow special chairs for the study of these pioneering activities in the history of Indian colonization. What to speak of our academic bodies? Even our professional politicians did very little except a few perfunctory references to this momentous struggle and achievement. The expiation of this unpardonable national callousness came for the first time through Mahatma Gandhi who, like a true descendant of our great ancestors of yore, brought a new principle to bear upon the destiny of these unfortunate brethren of ours and elevated their struggles and sacrifices to a plane far above the clash of interests of politics or economics. That is why the great *Rishi* of the Occident, Leo Tolstoy grasped the hands of Gandhi spiritually if not physically. Ever since that noble vindication of the cause of the colonial Indians by an Indian leader, several others, in course of the first quarter of the 20th century, have visited those far off settlements and struggled, each in his own way, to ameliorate their conditions. And may it ever be remembered with gratitude that the sympathy and sacrifices of several non-Indian friends of India,—Doke, Polak, Pearson, and above all C. F. Andrews—were ever on our side as our inalienable assets and our unfaltering inspiration. Like a true Christian and a real lover of India, that he is, Mr. Andrews has staked his health, energy and all for the betterment of the condition of our colonial brethren.

The immediate present seems to be surcharged with doubts and suspicions, darkness and despair and we run the risk of suffering from an obsession of the *immediate*, forgetting the ultimate. Removal of economic disabilities and exaction of equitable legal rights are no doubt urgent and we have every faith that these will be achieved if there is a perfect co-ordination of efforts—of the Indians at home and abroad. But let us not forget that to merit the title of future Greater India we shall have to pay attention to our moral, intellectual and spiritual advancement as well. The ancient Greater India came to be a source of sublime spiritual and cultural creation and, as such, a blessing to humanity as we have demonstrated beyond dispute through several publications of our

Society. So future Greater India must ultimately rest for its stability and justification upon moral and cultural and humanitarian achievements no less than on the political and economic.

Unfortunately such a vital question remains as yet so remote even from our cultured few that we barely get an up-to-date hand-book containing definite information and statistics on the subject. In the whirlwind of political pamphleteering and journalistic campaigns the main issues remain as clouded as ever. There is neither a special national organization of competent persons to collect materials nor to undertake periodic excursions to and from India with a view to develop a more intimate relationship between the mother country and those struggling daughter colonies. The humble resources of the Greater India Society which always aspires to be of some service to our colonial brethren are exhausted in exploring the well-nigh forgotten history of ancient Greater India. And though we appealed to our young university students several times to undertake a systematic survey of the history of modern Greater India, they generally find very little facilities and encouragement. Our public libraries care little to keep regular files of the periodicals and publications relating to these colonies and our universities or other public bodies show little more care to encourage our young men to publish books or monographs on that subject.

Under these circumstances we are under the painful necessity of admitting that however brilliant might be the occasional achievements of a chance fighter in that field, the international significance of India's participation in the political and economic and cultural life of the modern world will never be brought out in its true light unless we Indians at home and abroad conjointly follow a definite line of policy and of action:

(1) In view of the fact that with the solitary exception of an Imperial Citizenship Association in Bombay and an Indian Overseas Association in London, there are no well-organized bureaus of information relating to modern Greater India, we should devise the ways and means of establishing such bureaus at every one of the provincial capitals. Their functions would be to scrutinize the emigration from their respective provinces and also to ventilate the grievances of those provincials settled in different parts of the world.

(2) Some regular and adequately financed periodical (a monthly or a quarterly) should immediately be started to publish interesting articles, studies, statistics, etc. with a view to make the problems as living as possible. Several earnest Indian scholars are ready to devote their whole time and energy to the study of these problems, provided they are allowed a bare sustenance and one of them a devoted worker of the Greater India Society, has already bravely come forward to prepare the first all-round manual "*Indian Emigration—Century of Survey*."

(3) Such publications and other valuable contributions like *The Hindusthani Workers on the Pacific Coast* of Dr. R. K. Das and others should be published, republished and translated in all the important vernaculars of India so that they may reach the larger masses.

(4) Special funds should be raised for mass education along the same line by means of pictures and lantern lectures and cinema shows so that our common people might share in the joys and sorrows of their colonial brethren.

(5) At every big provincial or All-India gathering a special conference on modern Greater India should be arranged and delegates and representatives to and from should sit together to discuss and report.

(6) Public opinion in this way should be brought to bear upon the activities of the authorities of the Emigration Department, of the Agents-General as well as of India's representatives at the League of Nations and at the International Labour Office.

(7) Indian emigration should be made a part of the syllabus of Indian Economics of our Indian Universities.

(8) Special prizes should be offered for a thorough and intensive survey of any aspect of the life of the Indians overseas.

(9) Research scholarships and travelling fellowships should be offered to our brilliant students of history and economics and sociology as well as our social service workers, enabling them to visit the colonies personally and co-operate with their brother-workers in the same field.

(10) To organize occasionally and whenever convenient, special colonial congresses, changing its venue from time to time so that our leaders and tested workers as well as representative men and women of Mother India may gain first-hand knowledge about our brothers and sisters abroad.

Britain and India Just Now

By ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

THERE is a great anti-Indian propaganda raging all over the British isles, and even beyond their borders, at the present time. Most newspapers and periodicals are publishing lies, half-truths and selected facts to convey the impression to their readers that Indian civilization at its best is unpractical and funny and at its worst dangerous to world peace and human progress. Indians have all along been a semi-barbarous medley of different races with diverse culture, language, religion, social system, etc., etc. Peace, industry, good government, freedom from external aggression, famines and epidemics, and a progressive

civilization were things ever unknown to the Indians before the middle of the eighteenth century, when the British, by the dictates of a wise Providence, arrived in India, ostensibly for trade, but really with the mission of Civilization and Progress. Since then a vast change has come over India,—thanks to the wisdom and benevolence of the British,—and the Indians, provided their British guardianship is kept intact, may even become something like equals of white Europeans by the end of the twenty-first century at the earliest. Remove this and metaphors will vainly get mixed to describe what will happen in India.

LIES ESTABLISHED BY "CUSTOM AND USAGE"

One must never think that this anti-Indian propaganda is new-born. It is as old as British exploitation of India, being born of the desire of a national guilty conscience to white-wash and take its thoughts off a multitude of crimes committed against the Indians, in violation of all laws of international and individual morality. If some British have been low in their conduct in India, the Indians must be painted very low indeed to make the former appear superior in comparison. And as many as possible of their misdeeds must be interpreted as acts of benevolence, for self-deception as well as for the deception of people at "home," if they are to retain their self-respect and prestige.

So we find every school book, every historical reference to India, every valuation of things Indian, every story with an Indian setting, every published photograph with an Indian subject, everything having any connection whatever with India, has this spirit of anti-Indian propaganda running right through it. Thus Clive is a great soul and Plassey is a great battle; Indian character and socio-economic system were (and are yet) very bad; Indians, before the British came, passed their time in cutting one another's throat and burning alive their women; if the British have been a bit harsh here and there, it is only because the provocation has been too great; the Black Hole provoked Plassey; the killing of English women and babies led to the atrocities of the Munity; and the widespread conspiracy to murder Englishmen and women precipitated Jalianwalabag; and so on and so forth. The drain of wealth from India is a myth; on the other hand, Britain has invested untold millions in India. The prosperity of India has gone up many hundred per cent. since the establishment of British rule. The poverty of India is due to the laziness, lack of skill and initiative and hoarding habit of her people. India would be scorched by civil war from end to end if British rule were to come to an end. Invasions would swiftly follow one another in India if the protecting arm of Britain were withdrawn.

That such lies could find believers in Britain is mainly due to the fact that many Britishers believe in them on principle, others believe in them because they have

been established by decades of persistent reiteration. They are also not challenged or contradicted ably enough and as often as is necessary for effective counter propaganda in any unproscribed book, pamphlet, or journal. Had this elaborately worked-out scheme of lowering India in the eye of disinterested persons been set to work only in Britain, we might have shown our contempt for it, but it is at present found at work all over the world, and, unless we took immediate steps to counteract its evil effects, we should suffer loss of prestige everywhere for generations to come. The Indian National Congress as well as other public organizations of the nature of the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League, etc., should take immediate steps to effectively uphold before the world the greatness of Indian civilization and culture. This sinister propaganda has been going on for well over a century and has now become dangerous and vitally injurious to India's good name through cheap and widespread journalism and education. The evil done by the Rothermere and Beaverbrook papers is nothing compared to what has already been done by hundreds of textbook writers, novelists, essayists, missionaries, tourists, tradesmen, ex-soldiers, ex-bureaucrats, Press reporters, sensation-mongers, Government apologists, etc. etc.

PARTY POLITICS AND INDIA

It is an accepted doctrine of British party politics that India must never appear in it as a major question. As a result, since 1858, parties have come into and gone out of power, but India, with all her wrongs and her undemocratic, irresponsible and despotic system of government, has never evoked any reforming zeal in the heart of the ruling British political moralists. British statesmen take pride in this proof of their ability to rise above "unreal" issues when engaged in spinning out the destinies of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Great have been the changes that have been effected in Britain's home politics since 1858. From a close capitalistic oligarchy riding roughshod over the miseries of millions of fellow white Britishers, Britain has now evolved a system of government in whose working every adult Britisher of either sex takes a hand. From ignorant tenants and wage slaves the British people have become well-educated dictators of their

own life and social system. British women are now a force in politics as well as in every other walk of life. But India and the Indians have been kept substantially in the same place in the political-economical world as in 1858. All because India has ever been a milch-cow and never of any importance in decent politics.

There are socialists to-day in Britain who dream of keeping India for ever under British domination as an excellent business proposition. Their argument is that, if India were to become independent, the Indian capitalists will exploit the Indian masses; but under the benevolent despotism of a British socialist government no such violation of Marxian economic morals could take place! In spite, however, of this supreme detachment of British party politics from side issues, there are different shades of opinion in Britain regarding India's political future. On the one extreme are the die-hard Rothermere-Sydenham-O'Dwyer school of Conquestwallahs, whose sincere hatred of everything Indian, excepting the Rupee, is perfect in every detail. They are simple people who cannot realize how the British came into power in India by making and breaking treaties and promises, by playing off prince against prince, by bribery and corruption and by the judicious use of Indian soldiers, in whom nationalism was yet unborn, to conquer India. The Conquestwallahs think, all this is fabrication to stimulate mentation in history students. In their opinion the British conquered India in fair fight from the Moghuls and they should also keep it by fighting. The strong hand is what they swear by. Hang a few, flog some, and imprison the rest, and India will once more be peaceful and loyal. To assure a complete renaissance of Indian loyalty all schools and colleges may with profit be abolished, trade unionism made illegal, printing-presses confiscated, an excise duty put on all Indian products and British manufactures invited to India at a bounty. General Dyer is their denominational hero. The whole world to these maniacs is one vast hunting field in which the foreigners are the fox and the British working men or common soldiers are the hounds. They themselves constitute the bulwark of civilization, "the thin red line" upon which barbarism hurls its weight in vain.

The vast majority of British people do not believe in conquest or warfare just now. The memory of the German war is still

fresh in their mind. But they have no objection to keeping India down, if that will increase Britain's exports and help lower the unemployment figures. The misery of India's millions is far away and unreal to them; but the rates, the high prices and the income tax are very near and substantial. These shopkeepers have now-a-days lost confidence in their own superior skill, craftsmanship and organizing ability as opposed to those of the Americans, the Germans, the Japanese or the Italians, and have come to believe in politics as a business force. They desire to keep India down, not because they do not at heart believe in liberty, democracy and self-rule, but because they have a stronger faith in self-enrichment. If they could be convinced that their trade with India will increase if India were independent, they would enthusiastically support freedom's cause. But those whose bank balance depends irrevocably upon drawing inordinate salaries from the revenues of miserable India, carry on a shameless propaganda everywhere to establish the vital connection existing between British trade and British Imperialism. Though it is not at all certain that India's trade with the whole world will not increase manifold, if she got her independence and changed the present disastrous appropriative system of governance for one with a constructive economic bias. It is a choice between high (unearned and undeserved) salaries, wages and profits for a few Anglo-Indians and increased trade and prosperity for millions in India and the rest of the world. So far the Anglo-Indians have succeeded in keeping their end up.

The above two sections of the British public cover almost the whole population of Britain, but there are yet others, though not very many, in whom ignorance and greed have yielded place to an enlightened humanity. They are those who occasionally cry in the wilderness for justice, fair play and similar other features of the now dormant British moral sense.

THE PRESENT ATMOSPHERE

It is nevertheless admitted, in spite of the "Beaver-Mere" propaganda, that some concessions will have to be made to India. The Beaverbrooke-Rothermere papers, with the cautious support of practically all conservative papers and periodicals, are howling for complete suppression of all Indian claims, hoping thereby to retain as much as

possible of the illegitimate rights and privileges of Britishers in India. Not very many days ago the *Daily Mail* in its editorial said:

"At the present moment it almost looks as though Gandhi ruled that great dependency of the British Crown—yet all the time Lord Irwin remains inert—he has done nothing whatever to stem the torrent of sedition."

"Indian policy is now being so directed as to injure the people of this country. The new duties on Lancashire cottons satisfy the spite of the Indian extremists."

"The men who are demanding Dominion status with complete independence, and threatening the repudiation of the Indian debt and confiscation of all British investments in India, ought to be laid by the heels and not be allowed to stir up civil war or to burn the British flag."

"So far as self-government has as yet been tried in India, it must be confessed a complete and dismal failure. It is at once incompetent and infected with corruption."

Lord Rothermere, in a signed article in the same paper, wrote:

"What India needs for the well-being of her 320,000,000 inhabitants is cheap goods. If the Indian market is reserved for British manufactures, we shall be able to give India cheaper goods than she has ever had before, or than she could get by any other means."

The noble lord, after thus fully expressing his elevated philanthropy towards India's 320,000,000 people, goes on to suggest:

The way to make life easier for the people of India is to keep out all the Japanese, Italian, and Czecho-Slovak cotton goods now being poured into that country, and reserve the Indian market for the manufactures of Lancashire."

This will ultimately make India Utopia. The impudence of this man fairly takes one's breath away!

The open arrogance of Rothermere is not liked by others of a similar bent of mind who still hope to bluff and dupe the Indians. They are hoping that the Simon Commission will put forward some subtle piece of trickery which will take the Indians in. The further "dose" of self-rule will be, it is hoped by these crafty souls, a multiple of the initial cipher.

INDIANIZATION AND PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

The most useful cards that the exponents of cunning and craft, parliamentarily known as tact, have up their sleeves are Indianization and Provincial Autonomy. Every attempt will be made to work out long and detailed lists of privileges guaranteed to the sons of the soil in the "new order" of things. It will of course be a positive affirmation of the rights of Indians, most of them already existing or in the process of coming into force, in order

to assure to Britishers the enviable position of a residuary legatee, with a veiled and negative statement of British privileges in a land where the British have established a kind of military dictatorship by means of a superior understanding of native weakness and unscrupulous application of Machiavellian statecraft—a land which has remained at a standstill, or even back-slided, during perhaps the greatest progressive age in the history of material civilization.

The disunity of Hindus and Moslems has long been a source of strength to the British in India. To this a new attempt has been made to add, with partial success, disunity between artificially created provinces. In the new scheme of British domination of India, an attempt will surely be made to combine these two disruptive forces in Indian nationalism by creating so-called Hindu Provinces and Moslem provinces. The representation of the provinces in the Central Government will hardly be in proportion to their population. The smaller provinces are certain of an advantage there. So that the power of the British in the Central Legislature will be made such as would enable it to defeat any effective non-British majority with the help of one or the other group of provincial representatives.

THE PRINCES AND THE DEFENCE OF INDIA

The princes are another source of strength to the British. Many of them having earned their principedom through the good graces of the British naturally place British friendship above everything else. Those who are princes by rights other than British choice, remember the lesson taught by the prince-makers (and -unmakers) of India too well to be anything but voluble in their expression of loyalty. Whatever power and privileges the new constitution may, therefore, award to the nobility of India will be so much more strength for the British. Arrangements for the defence of India will be elaborately made in the new constitution. The princes, or some selected princes, may find their long-lost rights restored to them in the shape of better armies and arms. British munition makers and officers will welcome this arrangement. There has been also some talk of doing justice to the "Native States" by handing over to them their due share of the Sea Customs revenue of India. If such (and similar) "justice" is done to some of the princes it may well solve the problem of

keeping intact the British hold on India. "Sell some of British India to the Native States so that the rest might remain British" is a business idea which is hardly in the sub-conscious stratum of British political psychology.

India may also have to contribute in a definite way towards Imperial defence. By this means Indianization in the army will be counterbalanced by more British troops, if not in India, within easy reach of India, say in Mesopotamia, Malay or Africa. The Indian branch of the Imperial navy will also help.

CONCLUSION

It is not possible at this juncture to make any forecast of what the Simon recommendations will be like. That it will not offer full Dominion status to India, is more or less certain. British power in India will be kept fully intact. The all-powerful veto will probably be present in matters of all vital importance. The right of consent will be kept no doubt in the name of the King-Emperor, although it will be really far more potent than any powers exercised by the King of England.

Will there be a minority note in the

Simon report? It is not unlikely and will come probably from the Tory end of the Commission. The United Empire party, though suffering from infantile liver, has helped to organize die-hard opinion in Britain. "No more surrenders in India" will not be entirely absent from the report, though it will be clothed in more idealistic language.

Will Labour go out on the Indian question? This is hardly likely. The Labour Government will take every care to place only such measures before Parliament as are sure of receiving Liberal support. Labour is not unanimous in their views on the Indian question. Any drastic surrender of British rights in India will probably mean a split in their own ranks. There are, however, chances that the Government will attempt to make the new constitution such as would help the growth of the Labour movement in India. Not communism, however, but the kind of socialism which we find growing in Great Britain of to-day. Organized labour may yet be another force in Indian politics which will stretch its hand of friendship to alien organizations overseas in preference to capitalist nationalists in India.

London. March 14, 1930.

Finance and Insurance

Achievements of the Science of Money

"The development of our monetary machinery, despite its less popular appeal, is just as remarkable as that achieved in physical sciences." These were the concluding remarks of Mr. Reginald McKenna, a former Chancellor of the Exchequer and now Chairman of the Midland Bank, in describing the working of the gold standard in England in the course of his address at the annual meeting of the bank held during the last week of January.

The year 1844 was a turning-point in English monetary history, when the Bank Charter Act was passed, laying down rigid conditions for the issue of notes, *viz.*, that any issue above a certain limit, called the fiduciary limit, was to be backed by an exactly equal amount of bullion, principally gold. This fiduciary limit was then fixed at £14 millions and now stands at £260 millions. Apart from this, no other change has been

made through all these eventful years, although most of the other countries adopted a currency system fundamentally different, called the proportional reserve system, in which a prescribed percentage of gold has to be kept against note issues. For instance, if the percentage laid down is 60, then £100 worth of notes may be issued against gold to the value of £60, whereas in the English system, as soon as the fiduciary limit is exceeded, there must be £100 worth of gold against a note issue of £100. Thus the expansion of currency is easier in the proportional reserve system than in the fixed fiduciary system. English merchants' complaints against this inelasticity of English currency have been loud and insistent, specially in periods of trade depression like the present, when all sorts of nostrums are prescribed by economic quacks for the cure of a most serious malady, involving lack of adjustment between demand and supply,—the katabolism and the anabolism of the economic system. English bankers, on the other hand, have

consistently maintained that the supremacy of London in the world's money markets depends on the ease with which English currency can be converted into gold, and not on its elasticity.

Mr. McKenna has shown in his thoughtful address that the English monetary system is not so rigid as is popularly imagined. English bankers have developed the use of cheques in a remarkable way, which perform the same functions in buying and selling commodities as notes, if they are accepted without any questions. If bank deposits are included, as they should be, the volumes of credit at the end of 1844 and 1929 were respectively £228 millions and £2,360 millions, arrived at as follows, the corresponding amounts of gold being also shown for the purpose of comparison:

	End of 1844	End of 1929
	£ million	£ million
Bank of England notes in circulation	20	360
Other Bank notes	8	—
Bank deposits	200	2,000
Total volume of credit	228	2,360
Total volume of gold	50-60	130-150

In other words, while gold has increased to 2½ times the former amount, credit has expanded more than ten fold, without any serious consequences. Can the same efficiency be claimed by any physical machine? Not only this, the successive imports and exports of gold in considerable quantities during the past few years were not allowed to exercise their unregulated effect on credit, which would have led to feverish inflation with each inflow and drastic deflation with each outflow. On the contrary, credit was kept stable as far as possible in the midst of uncertainties and anxieties. The Governors of the Bank of England acted as governors of the monetary machine with conspicuous success,—a tribute which Mr. McKenna has refrained from openly paying but which is nevertheless due to them.

The Indian currency system has followed the fixed fiduciary reserve principle on the English model, although the principle of proportional reserve has now been accepted. This is more in consonance with her economic condition, for a big agricultural country like India requiring large crop-moving funds during harvesting seasons should have her currency system much more elastic than in a small manufacturing country like England

where there are no such seasonal trade swings. But so long as we have a gold standard only in name but not in fact, and so long as our banking system is not properly developed, it is idle for us to hope to profit by the lessons of monetary achievements elsewhere.

Inter-Imperial Trade.

The present discussion about Imperial preference in India adds interest to the thirteenth report of the Imperial Economic Committee on the trade of the British Empire in 1913 and 1925 to 1928, recently published in London by H. M. Stationery Office. The figures are mostly compiled from the publications of the Economic Section of the League of Nations, but they have been presented in a concise and intelligible form. It has been shown that if allowance is made for variation of prices, the world trade for 1927 was 20 per cent. in excess of that for 1913.

Curiously enough, the distinguished authors do not take into consideration the effect of territorial changes. For instance, the setting up of new states in Central Europe and the political severance of Alsace-Lorraine from the Ruhr coalfields must have added considerably to the apparent volume of international trade, although there is little doubt that they have involved an actual reduction in trade. Even if this factor is left out of account, there is no question that the Empire trade has increased at a much faster rate than the world trade during the period, the percentage increase being as much as 27.5. Apparently, therefore, there is a case made out for economic imperialism.

If, however, the figures are scrutinized a little, the following results are arrived at:

	1913	1925	1926	1927
	(in million £)			
Inter-Imperial trade	421	829.5	772	743.5
Empire's trade with foreign countries	1,292	2,237	2,118	2,312
Total Empire trade	1,713	3,066.5	2,890	3,055.5
Ratio of inter-Imperial to total Empire trade	24.6%	29.7%	26.7%	24.3%

Thus Empire trade has increased at a faster rate than inter-Imperial trade, so much so that the ratio is actually a little lower in 1927 than it was in 1913. It is thus quite clear that in spite of lip service to the Empire, every constituent State is buying in the cheapest market. This tendency can

be seen better from the table below for Empire countries :

	Percentage of Imports from			Percentage of Exports to		
	1913	1925	1927	1913	1925	1927
United kingdom	44.2	39.0	36.1	41.2	38.5	36.8
Other parts of Empire	11.5	13.5	13.1	10.6	9.6	10.7
Foreign countries	44.3	47.5	50.8	48.2	51.9	52.5

The fall in the United Kingdom's share both in the export and in the import trade is very noticeable, contrasted as it is with the rise in the case of foreign countries.

The position of India is not given in detail in the report. But the following figures will show that the same tendency is present in this case also :

	Percentage of Imports from			Percentage of Exports to		
	1913-14	25-26	27	1913-14	25-26	27
United kingdom	64.0	51.4	47.8	23.4	21.0	21.4
Other parts of the Empire	6.0	8.4	6.9	14.4	14.0	17.2
Foreign countries	30.0	40.2	45.3	62.2	65.0	61.4

It is abundantly clear that the United Kingdom is being gradually ousted from India's import trade by foreign countries.

Imperial Preference.

From the above table it is clear that in a scheme of preference to the United Kingdom, we have to concede preference to the extent of about 50 per cent. of our import trade, whereas the United Kingdom can almost grant preference to the extent of 20 per cent. of our export trade. Thus our loss is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times our gain. Even this gain is purely illusory. The chief items of our exports to the United Kingdom are as follows :

Value of exports from India to the United Kingdom in Rs. (lakhs.)

	1926-27	1927-28
Tea	24.69	28.44
Raw jute	6.13	7.68
Jute bags and cloth	2.86	2.64
Hides (raw and tanned)	6.76	8.84
Raw cotton	1.55	2.39
Raw rubber	1.18	1.25
Metallic ores	1.29	1.98
Lac	1.09	1.88

Thus the exports are mainly foodstuffs and raw materials. So far as Indian tea is concerned, the preference has been done away with, although admittedly Java tea has now entered into very serious competition with Indian tea. This has been necessary to

secure the widest possible supply of food-stuffs in the interests of British consumers.

So long as we have a monopoly of jute, that trade will be unaffected by the presence or absence of British preference. With regard to other commodities, preference may be shown either by granting subsidies to the supplies from India or by imposing duties on the supplies from foreign countries. Both courses are beyond practical politics, for the first will entail an addition to the already heavy load of British taxation, and the second an increased burden on British industries, which are passing through a period of depression at the present time. From the above analysis it is apparent that India cannot derive any advantage from Imperial preference, all tall talks to that effect notwithstanding.

H. C. SINHA

Insurance Notes

To save Indian insurance from unequal foreign competition the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, passed a resolution recently at their meeting in Delhi. The resolution is very significant and we draw the attention of our readers to it.

It is the opinion of the Federation that, in order to protect and safeguard the rights of the policy-holders and creditors of this country, immediate legislation is necessary for regulating insurance business transacted in this country, and the Federation recommends that for such purpose : A board of control be created to supervise all classes of insurance business transacted in the country, it be made obligatory on foreign insurance companies to obtain licence from such a board of control before commencing business, file their annual balance sheets in regard to Indian business revenue accounts of all departments according to the Indian Companies Act and make a deposit before commencing business in this country and also agree to invest a certain percentage of their premium income as reserve in India, and only such companies as issue their own separate annual balance-sheets be entitled to apply for licence and transact business in India.

Group insurance has not yet made any progress in India, but in America the total business of group insurance in force in 1929 was \$8,000,000,000. The following notes from the *Post Magazine and Insurance Monitor* of January, 1930, will give an idea of the progress of the business in Great Britain :

Although group life assurance and group pensions on a widespread scale have only come into use in Great Britain within the past two years, they are already an important economic force. The importance of this movement is shown by the fact that the Metropolitan Insurance Company of New York in 1929 paid £34,069 in claims in this country. These claims and pensions were scattered over a wide variety of business enterprises and include 139 death claims. There were also 15 claims accepted by the assurance company for total and permanent disability. In these cases the amount of the assurance is paid directly to the assured in monthly instalments.

As we have observed before, Life Insurance in India has made phenomenal progress during the last decade. The following table taken from *Commerce* discloses the position at the end of the past year of some of the indigenous Life Insurance Companies in India.

	Total Ins. in force Rs.	New Business Rs.	Total Income Rs.	Total Funds Rs.
Asian	10048310	3129750	586469	1250112
Bharat	51572387	15018542	2773574	9691566
Bombay Mutual	6191887	1859000	368680	1153848
Bombay Life	15896029	4262000	738529	2152432
Co-op. Assce.	3122553	419500	186073	743025
East & West	2836833	1040000	167032	295549
Empire	94172753	12700000	5959842	32841279
General	16966444	6000000	929449	2011115
H. Co-op.	30000000	10111000	1478000	7500000
H. Mutual	2140457	356250	120170	400962
Indian Life	16052004	915500	849641	5394626
I. & Pruden.	11554738	3619000	706026	1905702
India Equit.	5431752	1233500	312276	1151004
Lakshmi	16618620	6627350	825166	932879
National	51805027	10034400	3169000	13500000
N. Indian	12596554	2371500	889029	2987493
Oriental	316759456	58552201	18443177	87325747
Peoples	2757750	1738500	98477	793
United India	12461679	3365500	782901	2942961
W. India	10083474	2231750	617118	1857639
Zenith	3714539	2546500	312180	566091





The Ideals of the Khalsa

Sir Jogendra Singh writes in *The Khalsa Review* on the mission of the Khalsa. According to him

The mission of the Khalsa is proclaimed in every episode of Sikh history. The Sikh ideal is difficult of attainment. It implies on the spiritual side, complete self-surrender to God, transfigured in loving behaviour towards all; on the temporal side, it calls for resistance to human tyrannies without fear and without hate, so that this world may be a better place for mankind. It is not content with passive acceptances but requires subjugation of selfish impulses, disciplined into aggressive conquest of surrounding evil, to protect the weak and the humble in the sanctity of their homes. The Khalsa must continuously fight the evil forces, transmuting even the element of war to the service of peace, inspiring men to be true to each other, humble, helpful and strong, wise, valiant and happy; and of real worth. The Khalsa is expected to rise to these high altitudes by continuous self-examination and discipline. There is no other way. This is the ideal and we may look inward and in the searchlight of truth examine how far we are animated by "Manmat," the dictates of self and how far we follow the "Gur Mat," or dictates of Guru. The Khalsa to be true must valiantly stand for truth, as a true tempered sword-arm of the country, and at the same time serve as a centre of reconciliation for all true believers. To reconcile war as a means of securing peace, to fight all tyranny, whether of individuals or organized majorities, and to serve as a centre of unity is not easy of realization, only the pure in spirit and selfless in action can work towards that goal.

An Impression of the All-India Women's Conference

Dr. B. C. Oliver gives his impressions of the All-India Women's Conference in *The National Christian Council Review*.

After twenty-eight years in India one does not expect many more thrills at new sights, but I can neither describe nor analyse the deep emotion I experienced at the sight of the hundreds of women, from all over India, drawn together by the one purpose of service for their fellow country-women. These are days of communal strife, especially between Hindus and Muhammadans; of resentments and clashes between low caste and high caste; of strongly developed nationalism and political aspiration; of misunderstanding and bitterness between races. Yet here were women transcending all this spirit of strife—Hindu, Muhammadan, Parsee, Christian, Jew, low caste and high caste.

rich and poor, national and foreigners—grasping the fact of the need of education and social uplift for the women of this country, united in a voluntary service, determined to achieve results, and enjoying as a by-product an enrichment of human fellowship.

How was it brought about? What started it? These questions I asked of one well-acquainted with the movement. She told me that it was the result of a speech on a public occasion when a man had asked how long were the women of India going to let the men go on planning for women's education before they took a share in it themselves. Mrs. Cousins, hearing of this, began the movement to organize the women of India, and the idea has caught on. There are now 32 constituent branches, there were about 260 regular delegates, besides numerous members of the Bombay Reception Committee, and visitors. This was the fourth Annual Conference.

The Nalanda University and its Decline

The Indian State Railways Magazine for March, 1930 has an interesting article on the ancient Buddhist university of Nalanda, in which, among other things, the causes of the decline of the Nalanda university is discussed.

The University was in a prosperous condition when I-Tsing studied here for ten long years. Its name and fame continued, and we learn in 750 A. D. that the Tibetan king sent emissaries to Nalanda to invite the High Priest, *Kamalasila*, who was born in 728 and died in 776 A. D., to confute heresies in his domain and to bring about a renaissance of Buddhism. After this its decadence seems to have set in, owing very likely to the rise of the royal university of Vikramsila, which became the premier educational establishment in Northern India. There was, however, intercourse between the two universities and the Tibetan monk, sent by the king of Tibet to take *Asita* to Tibet from Vikramsila stayed on his way at Nalanda. In spite of the legend mentioned by Hieun-Tsiang that Nalanda was to flourish for a thousand years it did not retain its fame and influence for so long.

Some opinions aver that Nalanda was a powerful rival to Vikramsila even during the 10th and 11th centuries, and not only flourished, but maintained its high position. In support is mentioned a manuscript copied at Nalanda in the 6th year of Mahipal's reign, which is to be found in the library of the Asiatic Society.

Dr. Kielhorn states that Nalanda's glories vanished from the latter half of the 9th century by his calculations on palaeographic grounds from

the *Ghosrawan*, inscription discovered by Captain Kitter in 1848 in the village of *Ghosrawan*, seven miles south-east of Bihar. This manuscript was inscribed in the reign of *Devapala* and refers to the installation of a priest named *Biradeva* as the superior priest of *Nalanda*.

Two causes are on record as contributing to the decay of this famous university and monastery. Its buildings must have been old and ruinous owing to the course of ages, and secondly, it must have been overshadowed by the rise of *Vikramsila* to fame to which the attention of the kings was directed, and which in consequence, led to the withdrawal of royal patronage. The result was that the most remarkable *Sangharāma* languished and it did not continue to exist long after the invasion of the Muhammadans by whom it was destroyed along with other universities. The *Pagsam Jang* tells us that after the Muhammadan invasion the temples and *chaityas* were repaired by a sage named *Mudita Bhadra* and soon after a minister of some king of *Magadha* built a temple at *Nalanda*, and while a service was being conducted, two indigent *Thithika* mendicants appeared. Some novices in disdain threw washing water on them, which made the two very angry. After propitiating the sun for twelve years, they performed a fire sacrifice and threw living embers and ash from the sacrificial pit into the Buddhist temple. This not only destroyed the fine library but the buildings also. This is verified by the *Baladitya* inscription.

The Growth of Hindu Law

In *The Hindu Law Quarterly*, we welcome a new contemporary of ours. Its aim is to make a special study of Hindu Law in all its aspects. In the prefatory remarks by the editor occurs the following observations on the development and reform of Hindu Law :

The development of Hindu Law and its reform cannot proceed merely by judicial interpretation. As observed by Sir Henry Maine in his lectures on the early history of Institutions, legislation which is the direct issue of the commands of the Sovereign State tends more and more to become the exclusive source of law. What discussing the important distinction between Bentham, a writer on legislation, and Austin, a writer on jurisprudence, Sir Henry Maine observes : "Jurisprudence, the science of positive law, is sometimes spoken of now-a-days as if it would bring the substance of the law into a state of indefinite perfection. It would doubtless, if it were carried far, lead indirectly to great legal reforms by dispelling obscurities and dissipating delusions, but the investigation of the principles on which the direct improvement of substantive legal rules should be conducted belongs nevertheless not to the theorist on jurisprudence but to the theorist on legislation." Public opinion has exercised a direct and immediate control over legislation in England, but in India admiration of old institutions and a general satisfaction with existing conditions of things have contributed to the prevalence of legal conservatism. With the expansion of the legislative assemblies

and the intense desire to ameliorate social evils, even opponents of legislative interference have been turned into advocates of Hindu Law reform. There seems to be a growing tendency in the legislatures to advocate fresh measures of Hindu Law reform.

The Duty of Banks

Sir Daniel Hamilton's name is well-known in this country as a promoter of co-operation. He writes in *The Mysore Economic Journal* on the part that can be played by banks in building up the credit of the country :

'A Bank,' as Dunning Macleod, the standard authority on banking, says, 'is not an institution for borrowing and lending money : it is a manufactory of credit,' or rather it is a manufactory of the instruments of credit. The term credit means belief or trust. When a cultivator wants a loan of Rs. 100 to buy a pair of bullocks or to pay off an old debt, the question which the bank has to consider is, can the would-be borrower be trusted, to make the money good and to return it? If the man cannot be trusted, the bank cannot issue the instruments of credit, say the Rs. 100 of notes wanted to buy the bullocks. Credit is a spiritual quality residing in the man who borrows. The banker does not create the credit as is commonly supposed. All he does is to monetize it. But he cannot do this if the credit or trustworthiness is non-existent in the would-be borrower.

The productive capital or power of the world is not money, whether gold or silver or paper, but labour : and the extent that India's labour can be trusted by co-operative organization, or otherwise, to make the cash credit good in solid assets and to return it, the Government of India, which holds the monopoly of the manufacture of all money whether paper or silver, and which has so much silver lying idle can manufacture and issue, at a handsome profit to itself, all the credit required by the people or by itself, without borrowing a pice from anyone. Mortgage banks would, therefore, be a fifth wheel to the coach of State, and an unnecessary tax on the labour of the poor. Any mortgage business can be done by the co-operative department without borrowing outside capital.

While the people can neither read nor write, the issue of the cash credit must be in the form of notes. The Government currency notes are backed not only by the silver in the currency reserve, but by the entire wealth of India.

The greater the volume of productive credit issued by the Government, the greater will be the inflow of gold and silver in payment of India's increased exports ; in other words, the gold and silver reserves of the Government will increase automatically with its increased issues of productive credit. And, with the development of deposit banking, the hoarding of gold and silver will tend to decrease and the Government's holding of gold and silver to increase correspondingly. While for every additional rupee that thus comes into the Treasury, three additional rupees of credit can go out to develop the country still further.

Lord Birkenhead as Debater

We have had occasion in the past to notice the extremely interesting series of articles on Lord Birkenhead that an anonymous writer is contributing to *The Hindustan Review*. Not the least interesting of them is the following account of Lord Birkenhead as parliamentary debater :

Not long back, the British newspapers devoted a good deal of attention to the methods of controversy adopted by Lord Birkenhead, in the House of Lords, where he said that Lord Arnold had adopted an air of arrogant superiority which he found "intolerably offensive," and contemptuously added that he (Lord Arnold) had never established any ascendancy in the business community and had never produced evidence that he was capable of making ten dollars on Wall Street ! He proceeded to castigate Lord Arnold's "muddy process of thought" ! A speech by the late Lord Oxford was criticized by him as not likely to have any more influence than if it had been delivered at the Oxford Union ! The late Lord Haldane was described by this very gentlemanly controversialist as a "black-leg to an honourable profession," because he (Lord Haldane) suggested that in certain cases barristers need not always be employed, and solicitors could often appear in court to better advantage. A few days earlier Lord Birkenhead had charged Lord Danesfort with "maundering imbecilities !" The only reply in kind to these attacks came from the late Lord Haldane himself, who described the then Secretary of State for India as "like one of those strange animals in the Zoological Gardens which display a power and violence which is quite foreign to the place where they sit." He went on to say that "Lord Birkenhead's weapon had always been a bludgeon—a very formidable weapon, but one which only had the effect of irritating, when used against people like Lord Oxford and Lord Arnold." Lord Birkenhead's "pleasantries" were not reported in the *Times*, and the *Morning Post* suggested that the omission was either out of a strange reverence for the Secretary of State for India, or out of an excessive solicitude for the feelings of readers. The *Daily News* thought that Lord Birkenhead was trying to regain the position in the country that he had lost by a reversion to the manner of his irresponsible salad days. It added that, if so, "all who value the House of Lords for the fact that its chief protagonists do combine dignity with statesmanship, cannot but re-echo the words of Mr. Chesterton and say firmly to Lord Birkenhead 'Chuck it, Smith !'"

Educational Swaraj

Official authorities have often warned us about the futility of sending so many of our young men abroad for education. Recently Mahamahopadhyaya Ganganath Jha also sounded the same note of objection from the point of view of national self-

respect. The same topic is dealt with by Principal P. Seshadri of S. P. College, Cawnpore in caouse of an article in *The Educational Review* :

It is not always realized that in the sphere of University education in India there is as much need for the attainment of *Swaraj* as there is in the sphere of politics. The Universities in India can never rise to their full stature untill they cease to be treated with the badge of inferiority with which they are treated at present in comparison with foreign Universities. It will not be denied that there are branches of study in which some of the foreign Universities have facilities superior to those available here, but to imagine that every product of a foreign University is necessarily superior to the best *alumni* of the Universities in India is to prevent the latter most effectively from realizing the best of which they are capable. This theory of foreign superiority was naturally found to be very advantageous to be set up by the Britisher in India, as it ensured better and higher conditions of pay and service to him than to the brightest intellects trained in this country. It is only in recent years that the Indian has shaken off his slave-mentality in the political sphere and is beginning to realize that the Indian is not necessarily inferior to the European. It is time the same consciousness of pride and self-respect prevailed the atmosphere of our Universities also and there was an end to this meaningless apotheosis of foreign degrees. Browning has an effective simile somewhere of an image spouting water from its mouth—the pipe, it is true, is connected with the sea, but the volume of the fountain depends only on the size of the passage and not on the immensity of the ocean ! The necessary expenditure of money will always enable the aspirant to lucrative office to go to England but he can only absorb such knowledge and culture as his intellectual faculties will make it possible.

Moscow as a Cultural Centre

The following account of the romantic capital of Soviet Russia occurs in an article published in *The Oriental Travellers' Gazette* :

Moscow is probably the only capital which continues to develop according to laws unknown to other world cities. In it is combined a feverish modernity and the calm of cultural philosophy. A visit to Moscow to-day is like a peep at New York at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the new was springing up rapidly above the old. At the same time reasonable care is being taken to preserve those remnants of the old which are likely to help future students of the history of Russia.

Moscow's most valuable mementoes are concentrated in a comparatively small area in the centre of the city on the picturesque banks of the Moskva. In buildings which until a few short years ago were palaces of the Tsars, the affairs of the most modern State in the world are now settled, and from the narrow, ancient gates, past the great church (the builder of which had his eyes put

out in order to prevent him from erecting another like it), there hurry at American speed motors, cyclists and streams of all manner of traffic.

In the centre of the city, in Red Square, is the grandiose Historical Museum, storehouse of the material monuments of Russian history. Its innumerable exhibits range from early Scythian treasures and Greek coins, and the primitive products of early centuries, to personal relics of the Tsars, pictures of the monasteries, and collections of Masonic ornaments. Fortunately, many private collections survived the Revolution and have been safely housed in the museum, where they are displayed for the edification of present and future historians.

New Russia has been brought together in the "Museum of the Revolution," the name of which explains its scope and character. These two great cultural-historical museums, reorganized and directed by men of European renown, are augmented by a whole network of collections of lesser political interest but of greater artistic significance.

Politics and Insurance

A writer in *The Indian Insurance* draws our attention to the political aspect of insurance, and incidentally points out the drawbacks, from this point of view, of insuring with foreign companies.

If Insurance is properly and fully developed as part of the national organism, the Government can be disburdened of some of its departments. If the masses are made well-nigh self-sufficient by being insured at least proportionately to their means and needs, the necessity for poor houses and similar institutions will cease. Every one will have substance of his own for the exigencies and the evening of his life. And the Government will be relieved of the responsibility of protecting the disabled and superannuated members of the nation. The public health and medical institutions now conducted by the Government may be conveniently handed over to insurance institutions. The institutions also will be interested in taking charge of the departments. The health of the nation will be well attended to by those who in many ways seek and depend upon it for their life and fortune. Better results also will ensue if the medical department is left in the hands of insurance institutions. Some educational institutions may also be handed over to Insurance corporations according to their status and development. The corporations will be much interested in the bringing up of the children of their *clientele*.

Be it noted here that foreign insurance companies cannot serve our purpose. They cannot satisfy our needs; nay, their work is against our political interests. The interests of a foreign company is opposed to that of a nation. Such a company only tries to make her own nation strong at the cost of other. Dependence can never be a substitute for alliance. No one can be an ally unless one is self contained and independent. Insurance with a foreign concern whose fountain head is far away from the insured only makes the

insured dependent on the foreigner. It also denies the insured all the political and economic facilities of Insurance, shuts us out even from looking close into the soundness of the concern, and totally deprives us of the benefits of insurance. Insurance with a foreign concern is only courting national dependency, distress and degeneracy. It destroys our confidence in ourselves. In short it is fatal to national strength and independence, wealth and welfare.

Theory and Practice in Social Reform

Critics of the people of India say that with us, it is words which matter and not the reality behind them. It cannot be denied that in some respects our own conduct gives them at least a semblance of justification. A writer in *A Government College Miscellany*, the organ of the Government College of Mangalore, draws our attention to a familiar instance of this aspect of our philosophy of life and its application.

Take again the domain of Social reform, or our standards of moral conduct. The average Hindu would tell you that late marriage is forbidden by the Shastras, and that education of the pattern now imparted in schools is injurious to women; and yet, you will find ninety-five per cent. of them going against their professions. An increasing number of girls are being sent by this very reactionary set of men to schools, because they are inwardly convinced that education is good and that they cannot combat the spirit of the times. Then again, the same hypocritical and perverse conduct is noticeable in every other walk of life. You will be told, for instance, that animal diet is tabooed by the Shastras; and yet your friend himself would cleverly connive at the young men of his family ignoring this sacred principle of Ahimsa. And again he would seriously tell you that the mad practices relating to the intermingling of castes, obtaining in educated circles, all point to the coming of *varnasankara* (confusion of castes) in the near future; and yet, the youngsters in his family are foremost in flinging to the winds all rules of caste in practice. Nay, he would move heaven and hell to devise ways and means to send his intelligent young son to England for the I. C. S. Above all, he would give such an England-returned young man a place of honour in his home and society, knowing that he is thereby going against his professed principles.

Nor can it be said that this danger to society is confined to the Hindu fold only. For, as regards the treatment of women in Moslem households, and the inroads of caste considerations in Christian and Moslem families there is similar waywardness and hypocrisy. Such is the sad pass to which we in India have come.

Surely the times are out of joint in which such things can go on unchecked. Indeed there seems to be a conspiracy of silence all round. Unless the catastrophe staring society in the face is avoided betimes, a terrible moral crash appears to be in store. The situation is full of its tragic and comic features. But for the danger ahead, one could

contemplate at leisure the humorous side of it. Oh, ye denizens of this wayward world! Will ye not mend these perverse and cruel ways before it is too late?

Rural Reconstruction and Urban uplift

People who advocate the urgency of the task of village reconstruction are no longer voices crying in the wilderness. There is, writes Mr. K. T. Paul in *The Youngmen of India, Burma and Ceylon*, a corresponding urban aspect of the problem which requires equally careful attention :

It is a matter of much gratification that "Rural Reconstruction" has after all secured a place in the conscience and imagination of the people of India. Seventeen years ago, in 1913, when some of us were organizing the first rural centres in India, ours was a cry in the wilderness. The very term 'Rural Reconstruction' was our coinage: to-day it is a slogan across our vast country. Scarcely a morning arrives when the newspaper which one opens has not something to say about rural reconstruction. We rejoice at this. For India is really there, in the villages,—the foundations of our body-politic and of all its problems, and seven-eighths of the superstructure too. Progress in any field,—economic, political or cultural,—can only be reckoned in the measure in which it is secured in rural India.

While this is all true, we cannot forget that there is also a great urban problem in India. If we have thrown ourselves with such extra momentum into the rural problem it is because there was at that time no realization of the utter urgency and importance of that problem, and even now there has not yet been secured a really adequate voluntary leadership to carry out rural reconstruction work in a businesslike and creative manner. But we have never really forgotten that the town is also there and has its own special problems, and has also special resources for the advancement of the whole country.

Urban Research

In course of the same article Mr. Paul puts forward the plea for a programme of research in urban problems and outlines the scheme of studies as follows :

The time to plan for it is very opportune just now. The district bank for the city which we are to establish now cannot signalize the beginning of its life with more worthily or more scientifically than to lead off in such a survey. The other important co-operative organizations in the city, the social service organizations such as the Servants of India, the Ramkrishna Mission, the Theosophical Society and the Y. M. C. A., and also the Municipal Corporation and the Provincial Government should all be invited to join hands.

The purpose of the study should be definite and practical.

(1) It should secure a definite knowledge of the real economic problems of the peoples inhabiting the city. That is, it should eschew other problems such as social and educational.

(2) It should lead to a discovery of the co-operative and other economic solutions for those problems. That is, it should provide the programme of service which the district bank is to finance.

(3) It should be effective in releasing an increasing number of voluntary workers.

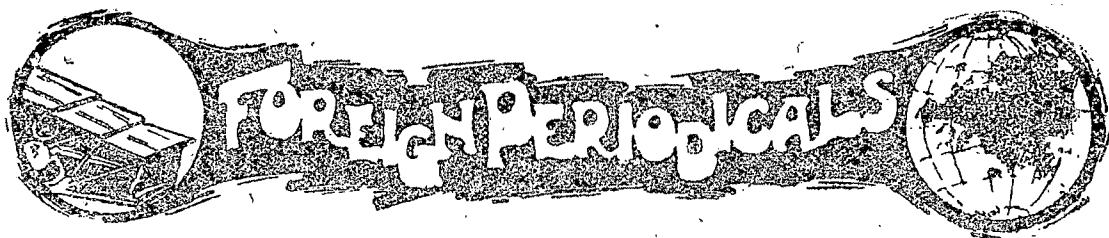
(4) It should be useful in the training of workers, voluntary and others.

I respectfully submit this practical suggestion to the district bank which is imminent and to all other agencies interested in the uplift of this city. I submit that without some such survey there will be much wastage of power, overlapping of work and amateurishness of action. When such a survey is available our programme could be clear cut, the open doors of opportunity will draw volunteers, and there could be scientific specialization and training, the two things which alone can make the amateur into an expert.

Hindus and Muhammadans in Bengal

There is a very interesting article on the relations of the Hindus and Muhammadans in Bengal in the 18th century by Mr. Kalikiunkar. Datt, in *the Journal of Indian History*. Mr. Datt writes :

Living side by side for centuries together, the Hindu and the Muhammadan communities had borrowed each other's ideas and customs. Whenever two types of civilization come into contact with each other, it is quite natural that one must exercise its influence on the other. Hinduism had stood patiently before the onrush of the militant forces of Islam without losing its assimilative power in the least, and as soon as the storm had subsided, it embraced with its fold the followers of Islam and cast its influence over them. Similarly the influence of Islam also affected the Hindu society to some extent. With the gradual increase in the number of Hindu converts and with the disappearance of the feeling of bigotry from the minds of the masses, this process of assimilation and interchange of customs and thought, drew the two communities closer and closer. It is worthy of notice that we find illustrations of this mutual assimilation of customs and thought in the age of the great orthodox emperor Aurangzeb himself. Alwal, a Muhammadan poet, translated the Hindi poem *Padmaravati* into Bengali and wrote several poems on Radha and Krishna in the seventeenth century. In Kshemanandas's *Manasamangala* written towards the latter part of the seventeenth century, there is a passage which tells us that in the steel-chamber prepared for Laksmindra, a copy of the Koran was kept along with other sacred charms to remove Manasa Devi's wrath,



The Question of Extra-Territoriality in China

The enjoyment of extra-territorial rights by foreigners resident in China, is one of the most serious infringements of Chinese sovereignty. In this case, as formerly in the case of Turkey, foreigners enjoy privileges which are never accorded them by any other civilized State of the world. So long, however, the European nations could point to the chaotic and archaic character of Chinese law as a justification for their claim to special rights. In fact, the two conditions set by the Powers, upon which they could give up their claims to extra-territoriality, were that China should modernize her legal system and that the Chinese judiciary should be protected from undue interference by the Executive. Of these, the first has been fulfilled by China's carrying through the gigantic task of codifying and reforming her laws. The codification was finished towards the close of 1929 after a labour of more than twenty years, and China felt herself justified in asking for the recognition of her rights which had so long been denied her. The powers, however, have declined to surrender their territorial rights until the state of Chinese laws and the arrangement for their administration warranted them in doing so. This has provoked China to abolish extra-territorial rights by her own act without waiting for the consent of the Powers. The history of the whole question and the *impasse* that has resulted from China's action is discussed in *Current History* by Professor James T. Shotwell, the well-known American authority on international question. Professor Shotwell says :

China's disappointment at this reply was expressed with the utmost frankness both in formal diplomatic notes and in the writings of its publicists. The first impulse and a most natural one, at least on the part of private Chinese citizens, was to doubt the good faith of Great Britain and the United States and to cast about for some means for asserting the rights which they have established according to the very terms laid down by the Western powers. The reference to Turkey in the diplomatic notes is one that is commonly heard in China in unofficial circles, and indicates a new and somewhat disquieting way of thinking on the part of

the leaders of Chinese opinion whose disappointment is at the same time disillusionment. For Turkey took matters in its own hands, denounced the rights of foreigners and went ahead as far as possible to establish its full sovereignty over all in Turkey. The Powers yielded before its vigorous initiative; and not only China but all Asia has held this defiance of Turkey to the European Powers as indicating a better way to rid themselves of subservency to the West than by peaceful negotiation.

While the impatience of China is easily understood, nevertheless the foreign powers cannot be charged with having receded from their promises in insisting, as they do, upon adequate provision for the administration of justice, as well as for the codification of the laws. This matter of administration is, after all, more important than the possession of a code. The mere assurance of codes by China, however excellent they may be, does not constitute a full and satisfactory fulfilment of the conditions laid down by the British and the American Governments. The law must be administered as well as found.

We, therefore, still have what seems an absolute *impasse*. On the one hand, China insists upon the relinquishment of foreign guarantees in the administration of justice. On the other hand, the foreigners insist that the administration, even if it be in Chinese hands, must be safeguarded from government interference and not be overrun by militarism or the civil authorities. The foreigners feel that it is not enough to set up a judiciary system, for it may be turned from its purposes by the Chinese authorities themselves and, if they have lost their extra-territoriality, they would have no redress. But the Chinese, on their part, have reached the point where they can no longer admit delay. This is the crisis which confronts China and the outside world at the opening of 1930.

Humanizing Warfare

Traditions, however much we may proclaim their bankruptcy, die hard, and we have a good example of the tenacity of the medieval traditions of chivalry, in all these suggestions and counter-suggestions which seek to retain war, yet take away its sting by humanizing it. The submarine is a deadly and treacherous weapon. Could it be abolished? Yes, say the great naval powers who have a score or so of formidable battle-ships. No, no, shout the smaller powers who cannot afford these expensive luxuries. But you can restrict their use, they say as an

afterthought. So this futile game goes on. One of the most important proposals for humanizing naval warfare was contained in President Hoover's Armistice day speech in which he suggested that food-ships be made immune from attacks in times of war. The comment of *The Century* on this proposal is interesting:

When President Hoover suggested that food-ships be made free of interference in time of war, the almost unanimous denunciation of the proposal in the French, Italian and British press was not in itself evidence of its unsoundness. The reception in Europe was hardly disinterested. The French, Italians and the British opposed the idea because they remembered that it had been largely through starvation that Germany was forced to capitulate; the Germans indorsed it because of the same memory.

What interests this department is the remarkable inconsistency in our foreign policy, the curious attitude toward war itself, which Mr. Hoover's suggestion reveals. It rests on the familiar assumption that warfare can be conducted in a humane and seemly manner. It looks upon war as essentially a game, like football, thoroughly legitimate if played according to the rules. Thus if you riddle your opponent with lead, run a bayonet through his bowels, choke him with gas, torpedo his ships and let him drown like a rat, drop bombs on his cities that destroy every one within range, blow his body into unrecognizable fragments with high explosive shells, that is all fair enough. That is recognized; that is legal; that is civilized warfare. But if you keep foreign food supplies away from him, that is dirty work, and the penalty is . . . well probably that the neutral nations of the world will shake their heads reprovingly and say "Tut, tut!"

Marcel Proust's World

There is today a cult and a legend of Proust, just as twenty or thirty years ago, there was in England a cult and a legend of George Meredith. Yet there is, one should think, a difference. While in the case of Meredith, in spite of his pre-occupation with Society and with Psychology, there is his passionate love for mother earth and his chastened optimism that give his novels a permanent value for mankind, has not Proust strayed into a blind alley and lost himself in a labyrinth of his own creation and paid the price of his snobbishness? This is the note upon which ends an estimate of him by Mr. Edmund Wilson in *The New Republic*:

I have suggested that the form of Proust's book perhaps represents a decadence of the novel of social observation; and when the enchantment of reading it has worn off, we begin to wonder whether

the prime source of this decadence may not lie in the society with which he is dealing. There are indications that Proust felt this himself—the bombing of Paris during the air-raids in the last volumes, when Charlus is seen in the last stages of his decline, seems to be represented as something in the nature of a Biblical judgment upon a society which had earned the fate of being menaced, if not destroyed, and, in reading Proust, we are continually feeling that we are being told about the end of something. It may be that Proust is the last great historian of the Heartbreak House of the educated classes of the civilization of the nineteenth century, their society; their intelligence, their diplomacy, their literature and their art—a writer more powerfully effective than even Thackeray or Chekhov or Edith Wharton because he has become more desperate. Proust had never had to earn a living; he had never had to deal with men on equal terms; he had never been pressed into a situation which made him feel the necessity of relating his art and ideas to the problems of society in general. Penetrating as his sympathies were, magnificent as was his imagination, he could protect himself against all contacts which disturbed him by retreating to his darkened cork-lined room. Some of the "Principles" of which Proust is always talking and by which he produces some of the most moving of his effects turn out, when we come to think about them, to be assumptions which do not universally hold—the assumption, for example, that everybody has enough money to be neurotic in peace and comfort. Yet in that limited world in which he lives, the world of the dispossessed nobility and the fashionable and cultivated bourgeoisie, with their artists and their doctors, their servants and their parasites, he does succeed in disengaging truths which operate far beyond that world and which relate it to the rest of humanity. The processes of social change which he shows us are exemplified by the whole of human history; and, through its theory of the impossibility of ideal romantic love, "A la Recherche du Temps Perdu" subsumes "The Great Gatsby," "The Sun Also Rises," "The Bridge of San Luis Rey," and how many contemporary European novels. Proust's treatment of this theme, which is always wavering between the tragic and the slightly maudlin, announces, perhaps by this very falling into absurdity, the breaking up of an ideal and its analysis and ultimate re-adjustment from a point of view toward which Proust's own researches have been among the first to indicate the way.

At any rate, the little man with the great eyes, the Saracen's beak and the ill-fitting dress-shirt, still dominates his and our own special contemporary world: he has supplied symbols in terms of which we see it and in the light of which we may better understand it. Let us not wonder, and let us not complain, if he suffered from its most insidious diseases.

The Pope on Sex-Instruction

The Pope's recent Encyclical on education, published in full in *Current History*, is one of the most thoughtful and weighty pronouncements on this subject. While the theological conception underlying the whole

document has no special appeal for us, it is impossible not to recognize in it that wide experience of men and things and the wisdom that springs from it, which is one of the strongest features of the Roman Catholic Church. The Pope's remarks on sex-education is particularly illuminating, and might be taken to heart by those who under the influence of a passing fashion are tampering with things which are better left alone.

Another very grave danger is that naturalism which nowadays invades the field of education in that most delicate matter of purity of morals. Far too common is the error of those who with dangerous assurance and under an ugly term propagate a so-called sex-education, falsely imagining they can forearm youths against the dangers of sensuality by means purely natural, such as a foolhardy initiation and precautionary instruction for all indiscriminately, even in public; and, worse still, by exposing them at an early age to the occasions, in order to accustom them, so it is argued, and as it were to harden them against such dangers.

Such persons grievously err in refusing to recognize the inborn weakness of human nature, and the law of which the Apostle speaks, fighting against the law of the mind; and also in ignoring the experience of facts, from which it is clear, that, particularly in young people, evil practices are the effect not so much of ignorance of intellect as of weakness of a will exposed to dangerous occasions, and unsupported by the means of grace.

In this extremely delicate matter, if all things considered, some private instruction is found necessary and opportune, from those who hold from God the commission to teach and who have the grace of state, every precaution must be taken. Such precautions are well-known in traditional Christian education, and are adequately described by Antoniano cited above, when he says:

"Such is our misery and inclination to sin, that often in the very things considered to be remedies against sin, we find occasions for and inducements to sin itself. Hence it is of the highest importance that a good father, while discussing with his son a matter so delicate, should be well on his guard and not descend to details, nor refer to the various ways in which this infernal hydra destroys with its poison so large a portion of the world; otherwise it may happen that instead of extinguishing this fire, he unwittingly stirs or kindles it in the simple and tender heart of the child. Speaking generally, during the period of childhood it suffices to employ those remedies which produce the double effect of opening the door to the virtue of purity and closing the door upon vice."

Fascist Economics and Fascist Finance

In spite of frequent boasts, the economic situation in present-day Italy is not so rosy

as Fascist authorities would have us believe. One of the severest critics of Fascist economics was Don Luigi Sturzo, and here comes Signor Nitti with an indictment of Fascist finance in the *Manchester Guardian*.

It is very difficult to procure exact information as to the financial condition of countries under dictatorships. There is no check; Parliamentary documents are valueless; the censored press inspires no confidence. This, much, however, can be said; dictatorship finance is always bad.

In Spain Primo de Rivera has succeeded in increasing expenditure from 3,000,000,000 pesetas in 1923 to 4,414,000,000 in 1928. But he has done another thing that is much worse; he found the public debt at 9,339,000,000 pesetas and has brought it up to 19,286,000,000—in short, has more than doubled it, piled up more debts in five years than his predecessors did in centuries.

Italian Fascism is the most vigorous and the most tyrannical of all dictatorships. The entire abolition of liberty has produced a profound economic depression, a diminution in almost all revenues, a fall in wages and the greatest of difficulties in production.

It is given out abroad that Fascism found big deficits in the state budget and got rid of them. But all the time a false comparison is being made. The expenditure on the liquidation of the War is not separated from ordinary expenditure. In actual fact the arrival of Fascism in power took place at a time when Italy was on the road to financial recovery, and her economic situation was, on the whole, very good. Fascism has merely made the financial situation worse and the economic situation extremely serious.

Very alarming symptoms exist in Italy. The real conditions of credit and industry are evidenced by the bills of exchange protested and the drafts not honoured at due date; the number was 306,703 in 1922, just before the arrival of Fascism, and 743,972 in 1928. Declarations of bankruptcy are avoided as far as possible, the courts being very tolerant. But the number of bankruptcies has increased in the same period from 3,828 to 12,103. A large number of banks have failed, and the most important industries are in difficulties. According to *Bulletin Statistique* of the League of Nations, last August Italy had 1,04 bankruptcies, Germany 842, France 811, the United Kingdom 357 and 286 windings-up of companies, and so on. Bearing in mind that Italian industry is only a small fraction of the industry of Britain, Germany, or France, the extreme gravity of the situation which has been produced through the suppression of all economic liberty is clear.

Sir Reginald Craddock on India

Mr. Wilfred Wellock reviews Sir Reginald Craddock's recent book on India in *Unity* and characterises it as an imperialist view of India. Mr. Wellock says:

One may read through this book without discovering one trace of evidence that its author

attaches any importance to the upheavals that have been taking place across the world during recent years. I fear Sir Reginald would have Britain play the role of King Canute, and bid the waves of progress, or shall we say, fundamental change, roll back, and thus leave India in peace. Those waves were allowed to roll forward in Russia and they produced an inferno; they are being allowed to roll forward in China, and perpetual chaos is the outcome; hence they must be held back in India or a like fate will befall. In Sir Reginald's view the Government has given way too much and too often already. This constant yielding to the clamant demand of irresponsible politicians promises to prove disastrous. It is still a mystery to Sir Reginald how Mr. Montagu got away with his Reform scheme, carried with him the Cabinet of the day, and Lords Chelmsford and Curzon.

What men of the type of Sir Reginald do not seem able to understand is that the impact of Western civilization upon the East, with all the financial power of that civilization, has not only awakened the East but taught it that unless it wakes up quickly and puts its house in order it will have fastened upon it a slavery more crippling and complete than any it now knows or has known; has taught it also that India possesses such resources as, properly utilized and worked, would make her one of the most prosperous countries in the world. As things are, India can only develop very slowly, and even then only as it suits British interests. India desires that her latent energies and her great resources shall be put to greater advantage, that they shall be freed. We must face the cold if unpalatable fact that we are neither freeing nor utilizing those latent energies as the occasion demands.

It may well be the case, as Sir Reginald says, that if India gets Home Rule certain castes, like the Brahmins, say, will capture political power and use it for their own ends. But if this proves to be the case, they will only bring about their own downfall. Nor will they be the first privileged class to use political power in order to strengthen their own financial and social position. The rise and growth of the Labor and Socialist parties all over the world is an abundant proof of that fact. But surely, once you free a nation, allow it to shape its own destiny, it will adopt its own methods of getting rid of obstacles. Whereas to regard a freed India, as Sir Reginald does, as a volcano which can only be prevented from deluging the country with ruin by a foreign power sitting on it, is to preach a doctrine of despair.

Thus to lament, as Sir Reginald does, the introduction of such disturbing elements as the political agitation of the Home Rulers because it threatens the tranquility of the villager, with his little field and his cow, his religious ceremonies, and his secure if narrow niche in the caste system, is to lament the fact of change and growth.

Sir Reginald is up against the Life-Force itself, and indeed of all the creative movements operating in the world to-day. He fails to realize that India is in the grip of forces which she and we together are powerless to destroy.

The Originator of the Kellog Pact

Whatever the effectiveness of the Kellog Pact at the present moment, no one in touch with the atmosphere of international affairs will attempt to deny that it is one of the most significant movements undertaken to substitute peace for war. The idea subsequently taken up by M. Briand and Mr. Kellog originated with Mr. Salmon O. Levinson, an American lawyer. He realized from the outset that war was made possible because in international law and public opinion it was recognized as legal. He wanted to convince the world that it was illegal and coined the phrase "Outlawry of War." His method of work and achievement is described of an article in *The Christian Register*.

Mr. Levinson went to work as one man, without political influence of any kind, without knowledge or experience of international diplomacy. Consider for a moment the situation. An individual, in no official capacity, conceived an idea which he hoped might end wars. But the only way to end war was to secure national and international legislation. He must influence public opinion. He must influence congresses, parliaments, diplomats. He must persuade the high powers that determined the enactment of international laws.

No sooner was the idea firmly lodged in his mind than he went to work. One of the first steps he took was to interview Dr. Charles W. Eliot. It was at the time when influential persons in the United States had made up their minds that the slaughter in Europe had continued quite long enough. Jacob Schiff, the well-known international banker, had proposed to Dr. Eliot that he takes definite steps looking toward peace. Dr. Eliot, at that time, through his writings on the war, was considered one of the most influential men among noncombatants. Dr. Eliot, however, with characteristic wisdom, concluded that the time was not ripe. However, Mr. Levinson called on him, remained with him an hour, and practically convinced him of the soundness of his opinion. The sympathetic hearing given to Mr. Levinson by the great educator encouraged him to continue his efforts. He approached Senator Knox and Senator Borah, and through the warmth of his convictions and the logic of his arguments won their support. The result of those conferences was the introduction in 1923 of the Borah resolution looking to the outlawry of war.

Then, in 1925, came a coalition agreement between a number of peace organizations in which these organizations agreed to urge the United States to commit itself to the World Court in case the nations should outlaw war within five years. The motive power to that commitment came from Mr. Levinson.

Mr. Levinson knew that the pulpit and the religious press would be important allies. In consequence, he secured the co-operation of Rev. John Haynes Holmes, influential preacher of New York City, and of Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison, editor of *The Christian Century*, which goes to

ministers of influence of all Protestant persuasions. Dr. Morrison devoted the Christmas, 1926, number entirely to a description of the movement "Outlawry of War," and the tremendous influence it would exert in the interests of peace. Mr. Levinson also won over to his position the philosopher John Dewey, and the orator, Colonel Raymond Robins. Through these influences, President Harding became attached to the cause, and then President Coolidge.

These achievements were all accomplished by one individual, actuated by a burning conviction and an indomitable purpose. The forces now were marshalled for the attack: the clergy, the religious press, the legislative and executive branches of the nation. The time was at hand. Then came the grand opportunity. If ever Providence opened a door, it opened it in this case. Mr. Levinson read in a New York paper on a day in April, 1927, a statement by Briand expressing a desire to prevent any future war between France and the United States. Briand in his famous utterance had rightly said, "Outlawry, to use an American term." Mr. Levinson went to Europe at once, opened an office in London, and began to work on the Foreign Offices. He interviewed journalists, statesmen, publicists. He toiled without ceasing. When Levinson met Briand, Briand said, "I am glad to meet the father of the plan for the outlawry of war," and Levinson replied, "But for you, the father would have died childless." This exemplifies Levinson's willingness to give credit where credit is due.

United States of Europe and of the World

Elsewhere on these pages one of our contributors discusses the subject of the United States of Europe. How European and American thinkers feel on this point is well illustrated by the following remarks of Mr. John Hermann Randall, the well-known American historical writer, in an article of his in the *World Unity Magazine*:

In view of the iron grasp of tradition on peoples, the very idea of a United States of Europe may seem utterly chimerical, and a United States of the World the ravings of an abnormal mind. Nevertheless, there are not a few of the most thoughtful minds in Europe who are visualizing such a goal as the only ultimate solution of both the political and economic problems of that continent. They realize the tremendous difficulties in the way, and they know that it will not come in any immediate future; but they also see that the whole trend of events, as exemplified in the international cartels already cutting across all national boundaries, is in the direction of an ever closer inter-dependence and unity in the economic life of Europe, regardless of political nationalisms.

Bertrand Russell has recently suggested that the present course of economic life points to the formation first, of some sort of Federation of the States of Europe, then of some kind of Federation of the States of the two Americas, already forecast by the Pan-American Union, and also of some sort of Federation of the peoples of the Orient. When the various states have come together in

these three natural geographical groups, he continues, it will be but another step to the merging of these three groups into a United States of the World, provided, of course, the generations then alive have become sufficiently emancipated from the dead hand of the past to organize their life on a sane, rational and sensible basis.

Such a consummation will not come in our lifetime or in that of our children's children, but there is something thrilling in the thought that we who are alive today may have some real part in furthering the movement toward that great end,

The Question of Philippine Independence

The World To-morrow has the following editorial note on the question of Philippine independence:

The question of Philippine independence will once more engage the interest of Congress in this session, and an influential delegation of Filipinos is coming to Washington to argue for the redemption of pledges which our nation made to their people. With a Republican administration in power, all this might seem useless and futile. However, several prominent Republicans confess that they have recently had a change of heart on the question of giving the Island independence. We are not able to analyze the motives of all the Republican gentlemen who say they are going to change their traditional policy on this question but we have a strong suspicion that the battle will really become a fight between the sugar and the rubber interests. The latter, with plans for a great expansion of their holdings in the Philippine Islands, are anxious to preserve the *status quo*. On the other hand, the sugar interests are not sure but that it would be a good thing to get Philippine sugar on the outside rather than the inside of the tariff wall. The Filipinos will therefore have allies in their fight which they never had before. Although this fact does not insure the granting of independence in the present session, the new complicating factor will undoubtedly affect the course of the political argument in years to come. There is a strong probability in the present contest that the Senate will favour and the House will be unfavourable to the independence resolution. This does not mean that the House is committed to the rubber interests and the Senate to those of the sugar barons. New economic factors do not change traditional political attitudes as rapidly as that. But unquestionably new factors are there and will have to be reckoned with.

Germany and America in Commercial Competition

There is a growing competition in the field of commerce between America and Germany. Germany, suspicious and resentful of American activities, is not yet, according to some German writers quoted in *The Literary Digest*, afraid of America. It is stated that:

As the heavyweight trade contender for the world's championship, Uncle Sam does not frighten German editors, who do not concede a knock-out even to a competitor like the United States.

"Is Germany downhearted?"

This question is put in one form or another in many German newspapers. And they all firmly answer: "No!"

At the same time the *Vossische Zeitung* points out that in the impending trade conflict between America and Germany, America possesses a tremendous asset in President Hoover, who "knows the world market and knows how to capture it." To return to the *Berliner Tageblatt*, which says:

"The industries of the United States during the years of unprecedented development in home-purchasing power have given but slight heed to the commerce afforded by exports to foreign lands. Immense as may be their capacity to compete in the world market, through their increasing administrative efficiency and their ability to lower prices, because of mass production, the great American industrial plants have until now found it more convenient and more profitable to stick mainly to the home market.

"If now the capacity of the American home market to absorb goods should be reduced even for the time being only, the world market must become to the business men of the United States a reserve to fall back upon."

Nevertheless, the *Tageblatt* goes on to say, the Germans must be on their guard against surprise attacks of the Americans. So they are urged to make ready proper means of trade defence. Of course, the *Tageblatt* continues consolingly, American competition can not touch the vital nerve of German export trade, because Germany has many resources to reinforce her own capacity to compete, and it adds:

"Perhaps they are means which, in the absence of powerful pressure of American competition, we would not exploit either adequately or in season. Financial reform is one of the most efficient of these means.

For it is a question for the moment of something in the shape of a battle for the existence of Germany. It is a problem forced upon us more than ever before in our history.

"Among the nations against which we had to force our economic way the United States hitherto has remained partly neutral or partly an ally in guise of a bestower of funds borrowed by ourselves. Now that the unexampled development of American prosperity has led to a turn of its trend toward the outside world, forcing the vast productive plants in the United States to exploit the foreign market as never before, it may be that we shall find the United States our most dangerous economic foe."

Pro and Anti Einsteins

Professor Dayton C. Miller, the American physicist, has for several years been engaged in re-performing the Michelson-Morley experiment on which to a certain extent the theories of Einstein rest. This, according to the *Scientific American*, has roused fresh

interest in the theories of Einstein among the newspaper reading public:

Quite a large section of the public has apparently become somewhat "steamed up" about these things, and the Einstein—anti-Einstein battle has again taken on new life. We can think of no corner of science which seems to stir up as much high-pitched emotion as the Einstein theory. People for the most part are all for it or all against; there is no middle course. It would seem that the most redoubtable defenders of the Einstein concepts come not from the ranks of the professional scientists but from the lay public; and likewise its most bitter and tenacious opponents.

One who goes habitually among professional scientists will not, however, meet with a comparable temper. There, instead of taking the matter in high gear, there is a marked disposition to take it in low. Perhaps scientists, or at least physicists and astronomers, the scientists most closely involved, realize a little more fully than others that the Einstein theory will not be settled finally one way or the other either by the reasearch of any one man or two men, or even ten; or in one year, or two years, or ten years. Instead, a long slowpull is ahead, and these men propose to take it in low gear. Animus, prejudice, personal feeling and, in short, any kind of emotion whatever is wholly contrary to the method of science. Let the layman if he wishes become overwrought about the reasonableness or unreasonableness, the demonstrability or sheer ridiculousness of bent space and similarly bizarre Einsteinian concepts; a good scientist will divest himself as completely as a Supreme Court Justice of every shred of such impediment.

Of all scientists there are two who give perhaps more clearly than any others the impression of living up to the scientific ideal—the search for truth unprejudiced—and these are Einstein and Miller. Let a world of blind admirers and enraged detestors of a theory beat the air with superheated syllables, Einstein serenely smokes his pipe and says, "If Professor Miller's research is confirmed, my theory falls, that's all." And Miller, standing before his assembled peers in science, is almost apologetic about his findings but indicates that there they are. He has followed the lead of experiment, the only lead worth following. No wonder he receives a hearty hand-clasp from all men of science.

For misleading the public about the Einstein theory, first with regard to its alleged full acceptance by scientists and then with its alleged disproof by Miller, the popular writer is mainly to blame, for he too frequently presents snap judgments and half truths. Science itself takes neither course; it awaits. That is why this journal has published so little about the Einstein theory in recent years.

Decline of Drinking in British Towns

The International Student is a magazine devoted to the promotion of the cause of temperance. In its latest issue it publishes an article on the decline of drinking in British towns:

It is not surprising that the Press should call attention to the remarkable decrease in the consumption of alcoholic liquors. Taking the last complete year prior to the war—1913—as the basis, and comparing it with 1927, the available figures for England show that the beer consumption has decreased approximately 21 per cent, while the consumption of spirits in the same period has decreased 52 per cent. This remarkable decrease is reflected in the figures that give some indication of social habits. The convictions for drunkenness, for instance, have decreased to approximately one-third of what they were in 1913, and social students can point to many indications of general improvement in the habits of the community in this regard.

Various explanations can be adduced for these remarkable facts. Certainly the reduction in the facilities for obtaining alcoholic liquors has had a great deal to do with the situation. Full licences have been reduced in number since 1913 by nearly 11 per cent, and the permitted hours during which licensed premises are open for the sale of intoxicating beverages are now less than one-half of what they were in 1913. It is almost as certain that the growth of popular amusements such as the cinema, the development of interest in "wireless", and the extraordinary increase in the possession and use of motor cars, have all played some part in this social change. There are other causes which, unfortunately, the Press do not often take into view. Temperance teaching has had a growing influence, particularly the educational work which has served to spread the knowledge of scientific and economic truth. Then, too, the demonstration during the war of the social and economic danger of the liquor trade, created an abiding effect. High taxation and unemployment have also had a considerable influence.

The Faith of the Future

Sir Francis Younghusband writes in *The Hibbert Journal* on the faith of the future.

The faith of the future, like the faith of the present and the faith of the past, will in its essence be simple. It will be faith in the goodness of things—faith that the world is governed for good. Not all hold this faith now. Not all have held it in the past. And not all will hold it in the future. Always there have been, and always there will be, men who doubt the essential goodness of things—who doubt whether it really is true that the world is governed for good. Many in the future—as they do in the present and did in the past—will concentrate their attention on the palpable pain and evil in the world, and will argue that if there is so much suffering and so much wickedness it is impossible to believe that the world is governed for good: the ultimate power must be indifferent to either good or evil. And others, concentrating their attention on the physical world and its mechanism, will similarly argue that neither goodness nor badness has anything to do with the matter. They will conclude that the universe grinds on, a vast machine, wholly indifferent to good or evil, throwing up good and throwing up evil but utterly unmindful of which it turns out, and in the end

spinning on without either good or evil, and without even a mind to know or care that goodness ever existed. There will always be those who take a delight in cherishing to themselves this gloomy view of things.

To me, as a traveller, the ground for faith in the goodness of things is so sure that it is incomprehensible to me how anyone, once he has been shown it, can possibly doubt that the world is governed for good. I well understand men doubting certain ecclesiastical doctrines in which they, whether they be Christians, Hindus or Moslems, are brought up. Many a doctrine gets outworn. But what I cannot understand is how anyone who looks out on the world as a whole, in time and in space, and sees all the beauties of nature about him and the marvels of goodness and beauty men have already achieved, can doubt for an instant that a power of incalculable goodness must be at work in the heart of the universe to have produced such results.

The Negro in American Society

In spite of the emancipation, the position of the Negro in American society is still far from satisfactory. Dr. Scott Nearing has studied the problem in his recent book on the Negro problem in America. His conclusions are thus summarized in *The Political Science Quarterly*.

Every Negro in the United States—every member of the race irrespective of his qualities or talents—because he is black is swept ruthlessly into the category of racial inferiority and held there with all of the power of the superior, exploiting white race. Negroes in the United States are exploited and suppressed because they are Negroes. They are on the wrong side of the colour line. Socially and economically they are forced to pay the penalty of belonging to a subject race.

It is Dr. Nearing's thesis that this system of discrimination is maintained by the white ruling class not only to keep the Negro docile, but as part of the American capitalist technique of keeping labour in its place. The white workman, taught to regard himself as "superior", refuse to treat the Negro as a "brother worker". Frequently he refuses to work alongside of him, thus keeping him out of a job. Even more frequently he keeps him out of his trade union, again keeping him out of a job, denying him the protection of union conditions and forcing him to accept lower standards in non-union shops. When the white worker strikes, the white employer uses the Negro as a strike-breaker. The latter then gets work which was formerly denied him by the antagonism of white organized labour. Sometimes the Negro gets a real foothold in industry in this manner but usually he loses his job when the white striker returns to work. In short, says Dr. Nearing, the white ruling class employs blacks to crush the aspirations of the whites and then uses whites to drive the blacks into a position of inferiority. American labour white and black, cannot free itself.

from capitalist domination until it ceases to permit white capital to keep it divided along race lines. "White workers must make every effort to bring the Negro workers into trade unions, into co-operatives, into a working class political organization. There is no more vital task before the American workers to-day than that of establishing working class solidarity across race lines."

The Position in Palestine

The position in Palestine is not easy to define, because both the Jew and the Arab is right from his own point of view. The situation is discussed very ably by Mr. William Martin in the *Journal de Geneve* (translated in *The Living Age*), who says:

Profoundly divided as the Arabs and Jews are on every score, they agree on just one point, which is that England is to blame for everything that has happened. The Arabs reproach the British, not only for having invented Zionism, but also for having failed to apply the mandate in its proper spirit. They claim that the administration favours the Jews unduly in the public works it undertakes and in the concessions it grants. The Arabs also assert that the Jews have caused three official languages to be used and that when land is distributed only the Jews benefit while when trouble breaks out only the Arabs are blamed.

The Jews, for their part, reproach the British administration with being prejudiced against the Zionists in the first place, with favouring the Arabs, with limiting immigration to strictly, with failing to give the Jews land to which they are entitled, with spending too much of the money received in taxes on the Arabs, and with failing to safeguard the Jews from the menace of Arab fanaticism.

Unquestionably these conflicting complaints prove that the British officials are honestly trying

to treat the two communities impartially and that they are even succeeding to a certain extent. They do not, however, prove that the British administration is excellent and praiseworthy in every respect. The difficulty is that the British are bound to the contradictory promises of the mandate and of the Balfour Declaration, with the result that each group can accuse the British authorities of failing to apply one or the other of its two promises.

But England is bound by self-interest as well as by her promises. As mistress of a formidable empire containing multitudes of Mohammedans, she cannot alienate the Arabs without gravely endangering her general political position. At the present moment, her concern with preserving her other Arab possessions in a state of tranquillity has checked the arm of justice in repressing the outbreaks of last August. On the other hand, the Israelites represent such a rich and influential element in the world that England cannot well afford to antagonize them.

Hence the obvious embarrassment that stares over the faces of British officials in Palestine when one discusses the future with them. They say that things cannot go on as they are but that they do not know what direction a change will take or how it will be effected. What the British administration in Palestine has chiefly lacked until now is the means of executing its policies—not judicial means, for the representatives of England find themselves able to wield all legislative and executive power, but military support...

The result of this policy is apparent. Nobody feels sure of British protection. Violence is increasing, both political violence and acts of pure brigandage. Within the past few weeks not less than sixty attacks were made by armed men on various roads,

Private citizens are anxiously buying guns to protect themselves and Palestine is becoming an armed camp in which everyone calmly contemplates the possibility of slaying his neighbour—an inevitable state where public authority is lacking.

They and We

(From *Rabindranath Tagore*)

TRANSLATED BY NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

1

Forward and onward we march,
Who will hold us in bonds ?
Those that stay, lured by what is behind,
Will weep, surely they will weep !
We'll break the bonds with bleeding feet,
We'll race through light and shade,
They'll wrap themselves in their own bonds,
They'll be entangled in their own net
They'll weep, ay, they will weep !

2

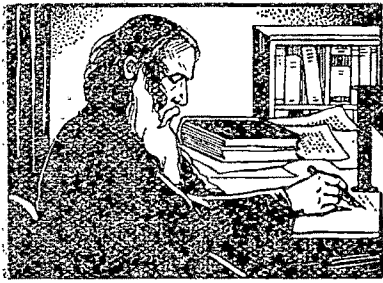
The Terrible has called us on his trumpet blast,
Overhead calls us the midday sun ;
Our mind has spread and filled the sky,
We are intoxicated by drinking the light ;
They stay behind barred doors,
Their eyes will be dazzled and they will weep.
Ay, they will weep !

3

We will conquer the hill and the sea,
Over and across them we shall pass ;
The lone road we fear not,
For with us moveth our Companion.
Drunk with their own notions, they wander
In the maze of their own circle ;
From the house to the yard they cannot pass,
They'll weep, ay, they will weep !

4

The Lord will awaken, the trumpet will blow,
Burnt will be all bonds ;
The flag of victory will flutter in the breeze,
All doubts and wranglings shall cease.
Churning the sea of death, we shall plunder
The flowing wine of immortality.
They'll cling to life and pass to death,
They'll weep, ay, they will weep !



NOTES

Ambition to Convert the British People.

Mahatma Gandhi has declared in his letter to the Viceroy that his "ambition is no less than to convert the British people through non-violence, and thus make them see the wrong they have done to India." He says that he has always served the British people and that when he conceived non-co-operation, the object was still to serve them.

"I employed the same weapon that I have in all humility successfully used against the dearest members of my family. If I have equal love for your people with mine, it will not long remain hidden. It will be acknowledged by them even as the members of my family acknowledged it after they had tried me for several years. If the people join me as I expect they will, the sufferings they will undergo, unless the British nation sooner retraces its steps, will be enough to melt the stoniest hearts."

We have great respect for the Mahatma's faith in human nature, which makes him believe in the feasibility of converting the British people. But we cannot truthfully say that we are as sanguine or optimistic as he. Our people may undergo such sufferings as may be enough "to melt the stoniest hearts." But in the world's history, including India's history during the last two hundred years, people have undergone such sufferings without melting the hearts of those for whose greed and lust of power they had to suffer. But we wish with all our heart that Gandhiji's hope may be fulfilled and our apprehensions may be falsified.

Mahatmaji hopes that he expects Englishmen to acknowledge that he loves them as the members of his family acknowledged his love for them. May his hope be fulfilled. But we may be allowed to point out that the members of his family acknowledged his love for them after trying him for several years, because they originally had love for him and probably it persisted sub-consciously in the background of their hearts even when

consciously there was dislike in their minds. This cannot be said to be the attitude of the British people in general to Mahatmaji.

It is claimed that civil disobedience, as a part of non-co-operation, is a measure of self-help, as opposed to the mendicancy involved in protests and petitions and passing of resolutions, etc., constituting constitutional agitation as it is generally understood. But the advocates of the latter may say that, if civil resisters are to have the redress of wrongs done to India by melting the hearts of Englishmen, they depend on the latter's good graces as much as the constitutional agitators. We do not know what Gandhiji will say to this argument. But as we understand the matter, if there be a change of heart among Englishmen owing to the sufferings of our people and if in consequence they agree to the righting of wrongs, such undoing of wrongs would be the work of converted Englishmen, who would be, inwardly or morally or spiritually, not the same as their unconverted selves of to-day. And as their conversion and spiritual rebirth would be due to the sufferings of self-dedicated Indians, the righting of wrongs would really be the work of the sufferers.

"I Do Not Seek to Harm Your People"

That is what Mahatmaji says in his letter to Lord Irwin.

Apparently the obvious results of Indian independence, which Mr. Gandhi seeks to win, would in effect contradict such a disclaimer. For in an independent India there would not be any, or at least so many, Britishers drawing salaries from the Indian treasury. This pecuniary loss to them may be considered an injury done to them. Again, in an independent India there would not be such large sales as at present of British cotton and other manufactures. That would mean a blow to many British capitalists and wage-earners.

But the British Government employees in India hold their offices and draw their salaries by depriving Indians of the same. Similarly, the profits made by British manufacturers and others from Britain's trade with India in yarns, textiles, etc., which could be made in India by Indians, represent large sums which ought really to belong to Indians in the natural course of things. Hence what the British people get from India under present circumstance is, for the most part, not legitimate gain. To deprive a people of any unrighteous advantage is not doing harm to them, but, on the contrary, it is to render them the highest service.

Civil Resisters' Sufferings not the only Weapon

If the civil disobedience movement succeeds in its object, it would not perhaps be right to conclude that the British people had been converted solely or mainly by the sufferings of the civil resisters and of the people of India in general. For the movement includes non-payment of taxes, which would cripple the Government, and the resignation of Government servants, which is intended to paralyze the administration. Their boycott, which is being made a part of non-co-operation, may bring such pressure to bear on them as to compel them to resign.

We are not sure whether social and commercial boycott can under all circumstances be called an act of non-violence or *ahimsa*, in the strict sense of the term. We are inclined to think that there is use of force in it, though of the non-material kind. This is not, however, equivalent to saying that such boycott is not a legitimate weapon. Its legitimacy or otherwise may be considered without reference to its being violent or non-violent. It may be sometimes legitimate, sometimes not.

Reason and Force

From the fact that Mr. Gandhi has said that "It is not a matter of carrying conviction by argument. The matter resolves itself into one of matching forces," a Christian weekly has come to the conclusion that he has given up reason in favour of force. But the force is not physical force. And reason is also a force. This is clear

from such expressions as, "a forcible argument," "weak reasoning," etc. If the use of all kinds of force and force under all circumstances were considered wrong, why was force created and why does it exist?

Civil Disobedience and Ordinary War

Ordinary war is violent and involves bloodshed; civil disobedience is not and does not. There is bound to be hatred at some stage or other in ordinary warfare, if not throughout; but in civil disobedience, as started and conducted by Gandhiji, there must not be. These differences are obvious. There are others which are not so obvious.

In ordinary wars, keeping one's plans secret, ambushes, taking the enemy by surprise, camouflage and other falsehoods and and trickery of various kinds, are not only permissible but are taught and recommended. In Gandhiji's 'civil fight' every thing is open and above board. His objective and plan have been made known to all the world. He has placed all his cards before his antagonists, has nothing up his sleeve.

Another point to be noticed is that he sent his appeal to the Viceroy by a young Englishman, Mr. Reginalds Reynolds. This indicates that there is no racialism in this war. An Englishman *qua* Englishman, far from being hated, is not even distrusted. Nay more, he is entrusted with a duty which any Indian co-worker of Mr. Gandhi would have considered a great honour to perform.

Two Unconscious British Confessions

The London *Times* India Number of February 18, 1930 contains an article on Hinduism and Islam by the late Sir Valentine Chirol, and another on the Peoples of India by Sir William Marris. The former contains the following sentence :

"Never, perhaps, has the profound difference between the Hindu and Mohamedan mentality been so strikingly illustrated as during the period when India was definitely passing under British rule."

Sir William Marris observes in the course of his article :

"That the two communities, *viz.*, Hindus and Moslems, have fallen much farther apart in feeling during the past ten years is the conclusion formed by most competent observers, and is, indeed, generally admitted by far-seeing men on either side."

Read between the lines, these two sentences show that the tension of feeling between the two communities has been greater during the British period of Indian History than before. This does not show that the British Government has taken any step to bridge the gulf between them.

During the Hindu *cum* Moslem rule which prevailed in India before the British occupation of the country, was there any communal problem here identical with or similar to what exists at present? Torrens in his *Empire in Asia* bears witness to the existence of a kind of common patriotism among the two communities. Says he :

"...except when the fanaticism of foolish men, or the craft of worthless men, rekindled now and then old jealousies, the Hindu and the Mohamedan lived happily together, and, at the approach of an enemy, went forth cheerfully to fight side by side for one another's homes,

"...in the duty they owed their country and their children, they found many points of common obligation: for Mahomet and Brahma had alike ordained that no behest is more imperative upon faithful votaries than that of guarding intact the family hearth, of seeing justice done among neighbours, and of faithfully defending the head of the state as the fountain of order and law. *No exception was specified in their holy books wherein they should be justified in compromising the integrity of their native soil, or in bartering their material rights and immunities for foreign gifts or favours.*" (Italics ours. Ed., *M.R.*)—Pp. 92-93.

The last sentence quoted above is specially commended to the attention of all votaries of communalism.

Regarding religious tolerance Torrens writes :

"During the reigns of the earlier Emperors of Delhi, to the middle of the seventeenth century, complete tolerance was shown to all religions. Shall they who build the tombs of those who, at that very time, were busily employed in making Europe one mighty charnel-house of persecution and in colonizing America with fugitives for conscience' sake, rise up in judgment against India, or load the breath of history with the insolent pretence of having then enjoyed a truer civilization?"

"Neither Moslem nor Hindu was incapacitated for public employment on account of the belief in which he had been brought up. Mohammedan princes gladly confided to learned and astute Brahmins civil trusts of importance; and many a Musalman rose to honour and won fortune in a Maharaja's camp." *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

Even during the early days of the East India Company's rule the two communities lived on friendly terms. For instance, we

read in Dr. Taylor's *Topography of Dacca* (1839) :

Religious quarrels between the Hindus and Mahomedans are of rare occurrence. These two classes live in perfect peace and concord, ..

In Walter Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer* it is stated of Rungpoor that "the two religions are on the most friendly terms."

This state of things has gradually come to an end, because sometimes the one, sometimes the other community has been treated with partiality or discriminated against.

When the East India Company was just beginning to acquire political power, its British servants seemed to favour the Musalmans. Torrens writes :

"While our growing power was weak we affected the utmost deference for the Mogul, and the utmost regard for his authority. Even when we bought, beguiled or bullied our way into the position of his Lieutenants, we affected to acknowledge the superiority of believers in the one true God above the worshippers of Siva and Vishnu. When all political disguise had been thrown off, and our claim to ascendancy was concealed no longer, we still continued to re-iterate incessantly the pledge, that no man should have cause to fear disfavour or molestation on account of his religion and that under the suzerainty of England, all races should be made to feel themselves equal." *Empire in Asia*, Allahabad edition, p. 385.

The attitude towards the Moslems subsequently underwent a change. On January 18, 1843, Lord Ellenborough wrote to the Duke of Wellington :

"I cannot close my eyes to the belief that that race (Muhammadans) is fundamentally hostile to us and therefore our true policy is to conciliate the Hindus."

During and after the Sepoy rebellion there was so much prejudice against the Moslems that a cry was raised that "the Muhammadan religion must be suppressed" (*The Calcutta Review*, vol. xxx, pp. 22-23). The Moslems remained under the suspicion of the British authorities for more than a quarter of a century. Torrens writes in 1872 :

"Of late years a different policy has been systematically adopted. The descendants of the once dominant minority find themselves the objects of peculiar and differential distrust... Throughout India grievances of more recent date furnish the fanatical Wahabees with never-failing themes of taunt and adjection to aid their plots and preparations for a Holy War." *Ibid.*, p. 385.

The wheel of fortune has again brought the Moslems into favour. For Government service, for obtaining the vote, etc., a

Muhammadan need not be as highly qualified as a non-Muhammadan. In Moslem minority provinces, that community enjoys representation in excess of their numerical proportion, because of their 'political importance.' Moslems are favoured in other ways also. What will be the result of the next turning of the wheel?

Highest Government Salaries in India and Abroad

In his letter to the Viceroy Mr. Gandhi has compared the salary of the former with that of the British Prime Minister and pointed out how much larger these were than the average *per capita* income of Indians and Englishmen. We will compare some salaries here with those in the United States of America and Japan.

The British Viceroy in India gets a salary of Rs. 2,50,000 per annum, not taking his allowances into account. The highest estimate of the average *per capita* annual income in India is that of Professor Findlay Shirras, *viz.*, Rs. 116. Though this estimate is considered too high by all competent Indian authorities, we will assume it to be correct. The Viceroy's income, then, from salary alone is 2,155 times the average Indian income. In India village watchmen in some places get Rs. 5 or 6 as their monthly pay. But we will not compare the Viceroy's salary with these low wages. Let us take the pay of *paharawalas* or constables in towns. Their average annual salary would not exceed Rs. 250—it is much less in many cases. The Viceroy gets a thousand times as much as a constable.

In the United States of America the President gets a salary of 75,000 dollars per annum, which is equal to Rs. 2,07,750 at the present rate of exchange. The average annual *per capita* income in the U. S. A. is Rs. 1,716—the highest in the world. But the head of its Government gets a lower salary than the head of the Government in India, who is, moreover, not the supreme head but a subordinate. The American President's income from salary is only 121 times the average American income, but the salary of the Viceroy in India is 2,155 times the average Indian income *according to the highest estimate of the latter*. The January number of the *Monthly Labor Review*, published by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, contains statistics

of salaries in the police departments of principal cities in that country. The lowest grade of policemen there are the patrolmen. Their highest annual salary given in the tables is 2,500 dollars. So, the American President's salary is only thirty times the salary of these patrolmen, whereas the Viceroy's salary in India is a thousand times as much as the salary of constables here, taking a high figure for the latter.

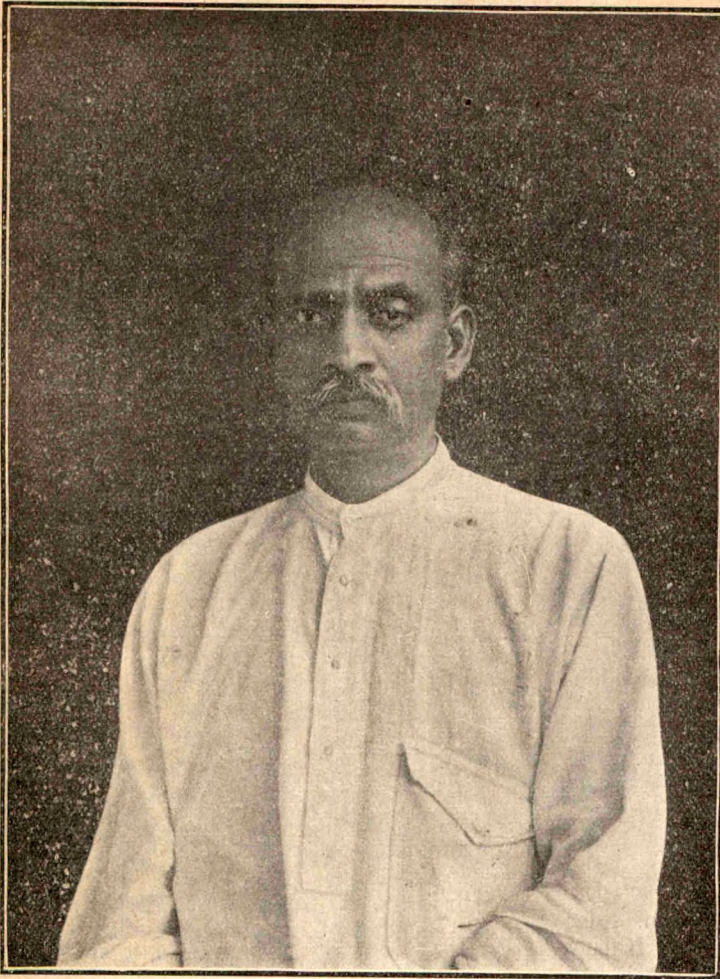
In Japan the Prime Minister gets a salary of 12,000 yen per annum. This, according to the current rate of exchange, is equal to Rs. 16,200. The average *per capita* annual income in Japan is Rs. 351. So, the Japanese Prime Minister's salary is only 46 times the average Japanese income, whereas the Viceroy's salary in India is 2,155 times the average Indian income *at its highest estimate*. In Japan the public (civil) service is divided into four classes, the lowest being *Han-nin*. These last are again divided into eleven classes. The salary of the eleventh class of *Han-nin* is 480 yen per annum. So the Japanese Prime Minister gets a salary which is only 25 times as high as that of these men of the eleventh class, whereas the Viceroy in India gets at least a thousand times as large a salary as our constables.

It is to be borne in mind that Indians are much poorer than Japanese and Americans, and that Japan and America are first class independent powers and India is a subject country. The President of the United States is the supreme head of the Government of a country which is at present the most prosperous and powerful in the world. The Prime Minister of Japan is the head of the Government of the most powerful and prosperous country in Asia.

Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel's Imprisonment

Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel—himself a distinguished lawyer, has said that his arrest and imprisonment were illegal. The following observations of *The Indian Daily Mail* of March 12, then edited by Mr. K. Natarajan, on the Bombay Home Member's account of the incident proves the correctness of Mr. Patel's opinion:

The Bombay Home Member's account of how the arrest came to be made is a curious specimen of official logic. Notices had been issued stating Mr. Vallabhbhai was going to address a certain



Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel

number of meetings at certain places. The next sentence is: "It was not originally intended that he was going to make a speech, but a crowd collected and he did make a speech." Originally intended, by whom? By Mr. Vallabhbhai or by the crowd or by the Police? Why did the crowd collect there and for what purpose, if it was not intended that he was to make a speech? Mr. Hotson said, "he did make a speech", but immediately added, "while he was preparing to make a speech a notice was served upon him." Which of the two statements is correct? Did Mr. Patel make a speech or only prepare to make a speech? Did he clear his throat or make notes or send for a shorthand writer to take down his speech? "He defied the notice and began to speak. The Police officers called him to desist from making a speech. Mr. Patel resisted the order and thereupon he was arrested." Then, Mr. Patel did *not* speak after all. Because as soon as he began to speak, he was told not to, and when refused to be shut up, he was arrested. Then what did Mr. Hotson mean by

telling the Council that Mr. Patel did make a speech? The whole statement is so self-contradictory that it is not easy to make anything out of it. Mr. Vallabhbhai himself says that there was no question of his being asked to desist from making a speech, as he had not even commenced speaking. Mr. Hotson's account taken as a whole bears out Mr. Vallabhbhai's statement rather than that of the Police. The matter is of importance, because if it is the case that a Police officer can order any one who is about to make a speech, to desist and on his declining to obey, arrest and prosecute him and have him sent to prison, then freedom of speech is a fiction. If this power exists under the Police Act, the sooner the Act is amended the better would it be for public speakers.

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta's Imprisonment

Before and after his arrest and throughout his trial at Rangoon, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, Mayor of Calcutta and Congress leader in Bengal, bore himself with exemplary dignity. He refused to sign any bail bond, and at the Rangoon sessions court did not take any part in the trial, refusing to plead and to answer any questions. He only said

that he did not mean to be rude. As one who was a party at Lahore to the declaration of Independence being India's goal and who supports the civil disobedience movement, his attitude has been the only correct and consistent one.

The Burma Government called some Burman, European and Indian witnesses to prove *their* case, but none of them said anything which could lead to Mr. Sen Gupta's conviction. Nevertheless he was convicted and sentenced to ten days' simple imprisonment. Such an anti-climax goes to show that he had not committed any offence but was sent to jail to save the face of the Burma Government.



Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta

"An Insult to Indian Journalism"

Mr. Bajpai having been promoted to succeed Mr. Coatman in the post of Director of Public Information, one Mr. I. M. Stephens has been appointed Assistant Director of Public Information to fill the vacancy caused by Mr. Bajpai's promotion. This has led "Scrutator" (is he Mr. F. W. Wilson?) to write in *The Indian Daily Mail*, edited by Mr. Wilson, "that such an appointment should never have been made, that it is an insult to Indian journalism to suggest that there is no Indian journalist fit for the post";—Indianization being in the opinion of "Scrutator" "a test of the genuineness of the Government of India's intentions towards this country." Evidently Mr. Wilson's appointment to the editorship of an Indian-owned paper is an honour to Indian journalism and is a proof of the genuine patriotic intentions of some Bombay Liberals "towards this country." And evidently, too, there was "no Indian journalist fit for the post" of editor of *The Indian Daily Mail*.

First Indian to Fly to England

Mr. Chawla, the Karachi airman, is still in his teens. Had he been a full-grown man,

his feat of flying to England (with only Mr. Engineer, a Parsi lad, as his companion) would have been quite remarkable. Considering his age, it is still more remarkable. No wonder he has received warm congratulations from officials and non-officials alike, and handsome money prizes, too.

Extension of Civil Disobedience Movement

Some hostile critics of Mr. Gandhi have in effect accused him of practically throwing to the winds the principle of non-violence and departing from his original intention, by calling upon the people of India in general to engage in civil disobedience. It must be admitted that there is greater chance of civil disobedience sometimes losing its non-violent character in some places by this suggested extension of the movement than by keeping it confined to those who would remain under the immediate leadership of Mr. Gandhi and, after him, of some lieutenant of his trained by him. But it is not true to say or insinuate that he never intended this extension. In his letter to the Viceroy he distinctly says,

"This non-violence will be expressed through civil disobedience, for the moment confined to the inmates of the Satyagraha Ashram, but ultimately designed to cover all those who choose to join the movement *with its obvious limitations*."

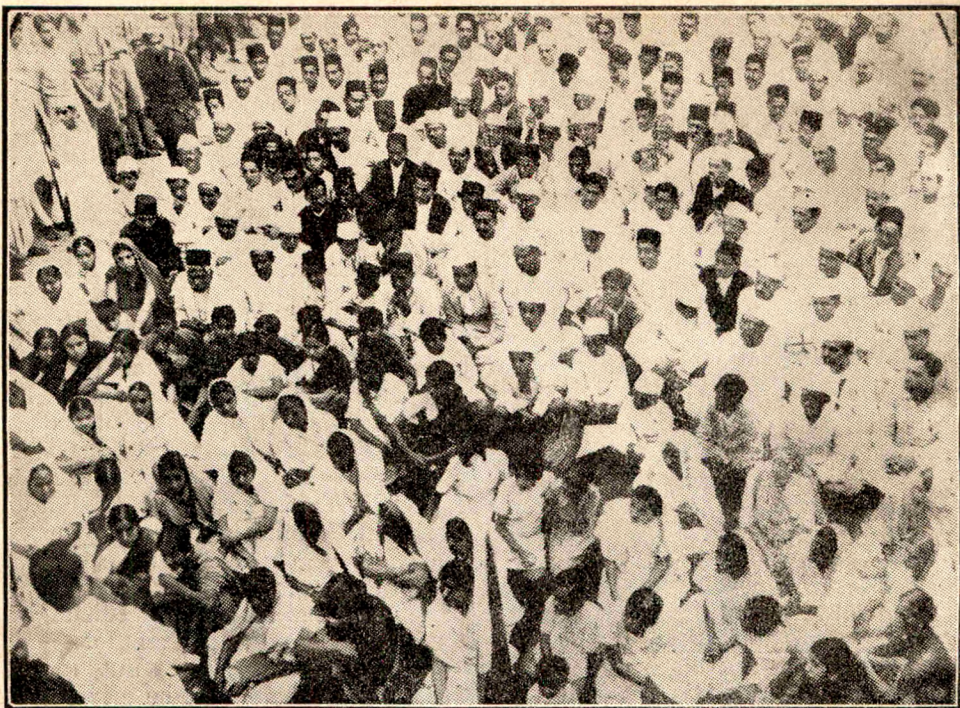
The words italicized by us refer to the fact that all who join the movement must observe non-violence. Another passage in the letter also gives an indication of the intended extension of the movement, *viz.*,

"If the people join me as I expect they will, the sufferings they will undergo, unless the British nation sooner retraces its steps, will be enough to melt the stoniest hearts."

Mahatma Gandhi's Historic March

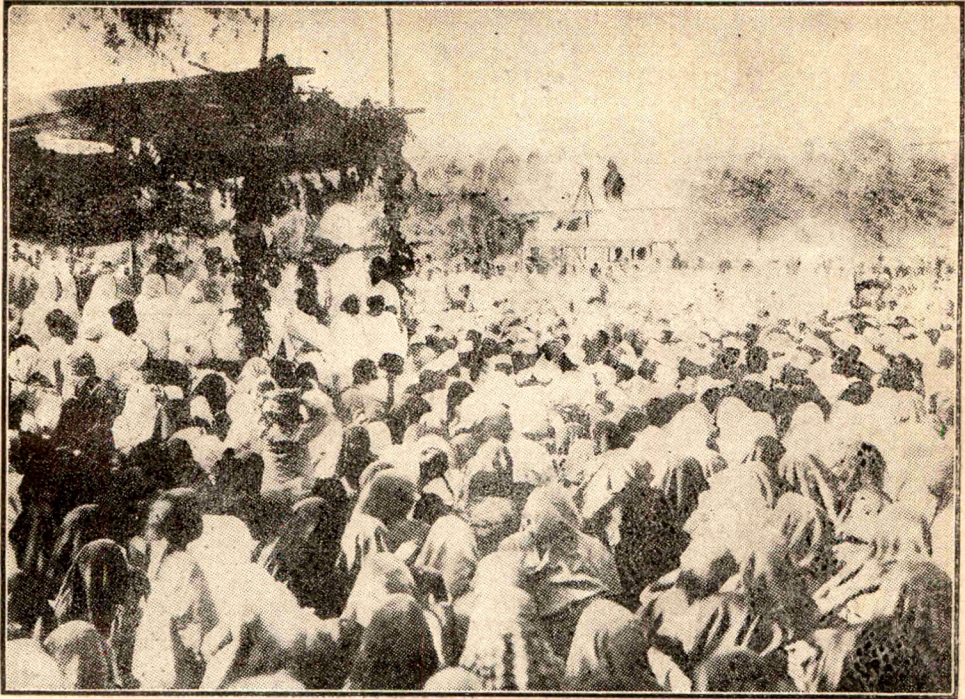
Large armies marching to the front with big guns, poison gas, tanks, reconnoitring and bombing aeroplanes, and clash of arms and rivers of blood, hamlets, villages and cities reduced to ashes—these and things like these impress the minds of the many and the few alike. But it requires some insight and imagination, some spiritual awakening, to understand, appreciate and be impressed by the march of an old unarmed man at the head of a few dozens

Hundreds of men, women and children flocked outside the Sabarmati Ashram to listen to the message which Mahatma Gandhi delivered to the people on the eve of his historic march.



Amidst shouts of "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai" (Victory to Mahatma Gandhi) the volunteers marched across the Sabarmati river. The crowds followed them enthusiastically.

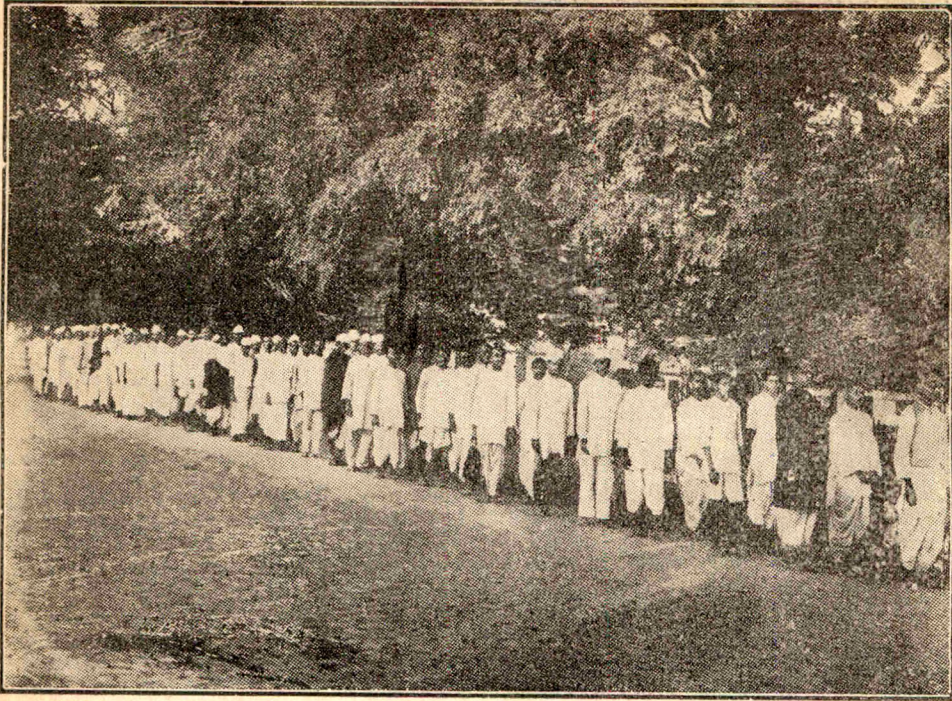




A crowd of villagers greeted Mahatma Gandhi on his arrival at the first halting place—Aslali. Clad in khaddar from head to foot, they presented an imposing and inspiring sight.



With the auspicious *tilak* of *kumkum* (saffron forehead mark) painted by the ladies of the Ashram on his forehead, Gandhi, the "Generalissimo", led the army of Satyagrahis. The picture shows Mr. Manilal Kohari, the President of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee, standing left, accompanying Mahatma Gandhi.



The seventy-nine Ashramites who form the vanguard of the "Independence Army" led by Mahatma Gandhi hail from the remotest corners of India.

of unarmed followers to break the iniquitous laws of the mightiest empire in the world in order to gain freedom for his people. However the enemy may pretend to laugh, the stages and incidents of this historic march are being eagerly scanned by an expectant world, and the cables of the British Empire itself have to convey its news to London and perhaps to all corners of the earth. It has already produced its moral effect in various directions. The march was filmed, but the films have been banned. Why? Let Mahatma Gandhi's opponents and critics give the *true* reply. The Mahatma has not yet been arrested, prosecuted or sentenced for publishing his letter to the Viceroy, which contains the quintessence of all the sedition for which men have been punished and persecuted in various ways and books and other publications have been suppressed. He has not been arrested and imprisoned for repeatedly doing on his march the very things for which Sardar Patel has been sent to jail. And, again, why has Sir George Schuster, the Finance Member, made the statement

in the Assembly that the Government intended to provide the masses with the best eatable salt at as low a price as though the salt tax had been abolished? The carrying out of that intention will depend on the increase or at least the maintenance of the pressure which has extorted the statement. Why again these consultations between Viceroy and Governors? And why are big officers going home on leave?

The Ramayan and the Mahabharat have so impressed the imagination of India, Further India, Indo-China and Island India, that not only do people in many parts of India through which Ram or the Pandavas could not have passed claim many places to have been connected with their stories, but even at present the people of Java and other regions believe that the events narrated in these epics took place in these regions. These are sacred story or sacred history. The *Meghaduta* or "Cloud-Messenger" of Kalidas is not a sacred poem. But it has so caught the imagination of the people that even serious antiquarians have racked their brains

to identify Rama-giri and the other places over which the Yaksha in the poem made the cloud-messenger fly in its march to his home where his beloved lived.

Mr. Gandhi's march is contemporary history. It is taking place before our very eyes. But if in some distant future it takes the shape of a mythical memory in the race consciousness, villages and towns may then vie with one another in claiming that the great-souled and pure-hearted meek liberator of his people passed through their byways and highways in his sacred pilgrimage and made their very dust holy.

Re-enactment of a Criminal Law

The Bengal Governor has recently told his Legislative Council that on All Fools Day this year his Government will introduce a Bill for the re-enactment for five years more of the law which originally authorized imprisonment without trial and also trials by special tribunals—only this time the provision regarding imprisonment without trial will be omitted. But trial by special tribunals according to other than ordinary processes of law are also objectionable, and, therefore, members of the Bengal Council ought not to agree to the passing of such a law.

Laws, Proclamations, Verdicts of Courts

The British people have more experience of things political than the Indian people as they are at present. And the former, being free, can truthfully and unreservedly give expression to opinions born of experience. We are living in times when special laws are or may be enacted; many announcements, dicta, declarations, *ipse dixit* find their way to print; and almost daily and hourly one reads of wonderful verdicts of courts. Being inexperienced in political matters, we cannot make out their meaning. Here a British historian of the eminence of Freeman comes to our aid. In *The Methods of Historical Study* (Macmillans, 1886) he tells us about laws:

"...Though English history cannot be studied in the statute-book, yet it must be studied with the statute-book. The statute-book often needs an interpreter in the circumstances of the time; but granting that interpreter, it does itself interpret the circumstances back again." P. 258.

Applying this observation to one class of laws in the Indian statute-book, the student of Indian history would conclude that the much-vaunted *Pax Britannica* had not brought peace to India, but that the country was full of discontent and was the breeding ground of terrorists, anarchists, revolutionaries, conspirators, seditionists, etc.

Freeman is constrained by truth to be very hard upon announcements, manifestos, and the like. Says he:

"But when we come to manifestos, proclamations, diplomatic documents which have not yet reached the stage of treaties, the case is wholly different. Here we are in the very chosen region of lies; everybody is, by the nature of the case, trying to overreach everybody else. Yet they are instructive lies; they are lies told by people who know the truth; truth may even, by various processes, be got out of the lies; but it will not be got out of them by the process of believing them." *Ibid.*, pp. 258-259.

Freeman's words of caution require to be borne in mind by Indian public men when they have to form their opinion of official pronouncements.

The next sentence in the British historian's book tells the reader his opinion of some verdicts and sentences of some courts.

"He is of childlike simplicity indeed who believes every royal proclamation or the preamble of every act of Parliament, as telling us, not only what certain august persons did, but the motives which led them to do it; so is he who believes that the verdict and sentence of every court was necessarily perfect righteousness, even in times where orders were sent beforehand for the trial and execution of such a man."—*Ibid.*, p. 259.

No Penalizing of Expression of Opinion?

We do not know, if Freeman had been alive, what he would have thought of Mr. Secretary of State Wedgwood Benn's words that in India mere expression of opinion is not or should not be penalized, seeing that such penalizing has been almost of daily occurrence for a long time past. Here is a case commented upon in *The People of Lahore*:

The Amritsar Sessions Court has awarded a remarkable sentence in a newspaper case. The Editor of *Babar Sher* was tried for two articles under two different counts,—for one under 124A (sedition), and for the other under 121A (waging war against the King). For the former the Court awarded the editor one year rigorous, and for the latter *transportation for life*. We have not seen the articles that form the basis of this conviction, but however wild they might have been, they were after all only expressions of opinion—maybe wild

expressions of strong opinion. The only instrument of war the editor could have wielded was the pen. We cannot imagine the article could be as wild as this judicial award.

That the Panjab Governor-in-Council has reduced the latter sentence to one year's rigorous imprisonment to run concurrently with the other sentence only proves the judge's unfitness the more clearly.

"The Choice Before Students"

In his article in *Young India* with the above heading Mr. Gandhi writes :

It has been often said that the money spent on national education in general and the Gujarat Vidyapith in particular has been so much waste. In my opinion the Gujarat Vidyapith by its supreme sacrifice has more than justified its existence, the hopes entertained by its authors and the grants made to it by donors. For the Vidyapith has suspended its literary activities save for boys under 16 who are already under training there. The teachers and students of over 15 years of age have offered their services as volunteers and nearly forty students with the teachers are already in the field. I may state that twenty of these are with me on the march. They are divided into two parties, both preceding the 80 pilgrims to make preparations in advance and assisting the villagers. They are under orders not to offer civil resistance till the 80 are arrested and immediately to replace them as soon as they are arrested.

Mr. Gandhi hopes that every national educational institution and the Government and aided institutions will copy the example of the Gujarat Vidyapith.

The motto of the Gujarat Vidyapith is **सा विद्या या विमुक्तये**. It means : That is knowledge which is designed for salvation. On the principle that the greater includes the less, national independence or material freedom is included in the spiritual. The knowledge gained in educational institutions must therefore at least teach the way and lead to such freedom.

The most superficial observer will not fail to notice that the daily routine of the Satyagrahi pilgrims constitutes by itself a perfect education. It is not a company of violent rebels who are moving about creating ravages and letting loose every passion ; it is a band of self-restrained men who have declared non-violent rebellion against organized tyranny and who seek to secure freedom from it by severe self-suffering, spreading on their march the message of freedom through non-violence and truth. No father need feel the slightest anxiety about dedicating his son or daughter to what is after all the truest education that can be conceived in the existing circumstances of the country.

Gandhiji distinguishes between the call of 1920 and the present call.

"The call of 1920 was for emptying Government institutions and bringing into being national ones. It was a call for preparation. Today the call is for engaging in the final conflict, i. e., for mass civil disobedience. This may or may not come. It will not come if those who have been hitherto the loudest in their cry for liberty have no action in them."

The students, like all young people, like sensation and excitement. But Gandhiji tells them not to join the movement for the sake of gratifying that craving.

The students are expected to precipitate a crisis not by empty meaningless cries but by mute dignified, unchallengeable action worthy of students. It may again be that the students have no faith in self-sacrifice, and less in non-violence. Then naturally they will not and need not come out. They may, then, like the revolutionaries, whose letter is reproduced in another column, wait and see what non-violence in action can do. It will be sportsmanlike for them either to give themselves wholeheartedly to this non-violent revolt or to remain neutral, and (if they like) critical, observers of the developing events. They will disturb and harm the movement, if they will act as they choose and without fitting in with the plan of the authors or even in defiance of them. This I know, that if civil disobedience is not developed to the fullest extent possible now, it may not be for another generation. The choice before the students is clear. Let them make it. The awakening of the past ten years has not left them unmoved. Let them take the final plunge.

When the call for emptying Government and Government recognized institutions came, we expressed ourselves as being opposed to merely emptying them without making adequate provision for the education of the students leaving them. We have found no reason to alter that opinion. On the present occasion, our attitude is similar, and we think it is in substantial harmony with what Mahatmaji has told the students. In our opinion only those students should leave college or university who can and will actually and earnestly take part in the non-violent movement in a spirit of devotion to the cause of truth and freedom and will cheerfully submit to the discipline of satyagraha. Such students should at once "take the final plunge." School-boys, being minors, should continue to go on with their usual work.

Though according to the Sanskrit saying, when a son reaches the sixteenth year of his age, he should behave and be treated as a friend, for non-violent civil disobedience it is better to have young men and women of a somewhat maturer age. In war eighteen is, we believe, the minimum age of recruitment.

The times are big with momentous issues whose full significance we, being too near them, may not all quite understand. But old men like the present writer, will recall Wordsworth's lines,

"Bliss it was in that dawn to live,
But to be young was very heaven."

Some of them, however, will not congratulate themselves on their advanced years and the other circumstances which keep them chained to their desks.

Gokhale on Civil Disobedience

In Mr. K. Natarajan's fine address at the last Gokhale anniversary at Poona there is a passage dealing with Gokhale's view of constitutional agitation.

He laid down two essential conditions of constitutional agitation—the methods adopted should be legitimate and the changes desired should be obtained only through the action of constituted authorities by bringing to bear on them the pressure of public opinion. Three things were excluded—namely, rebellion, aiding or abetting a foreign invasion, and resort to crime. He went on to say :

"Roughly speaking, barring these three things, all else was constitutional. No doubt everything that was constitutional was not necessarily wise or expedient but that was a different matter. Prayers and appeals to justice lay at one end. Passive resistance, including even its extreme form of non-payment of taxes till redress was obtained, lay at the other end."

This is how Gokhale conceived constitutional agitation and I like to lay special emphasis on it, as I fear that Liberal leaders now-a-days are not always in touch with the first principles of the constitutional creed.

Gokhale's Religious Views

The following passages from the same address will be found instructive and interesting :

The professors of the Ferguson College had the reputation of being agnostics and Gokhale being one of them shared in it and Sir Valentine Chirol in his book "Indian Unrest" has thought fit to note it. I do not know whether the professors of that College still profess that creed. If they do so, they must be really very tenacious of their views, as agnosticism has disappeared from the rest of the world. Anyhow Gokhale's religious views were undergoing change. I find that in a letter dated 20th July 1902, Gokhale wrote :

"I wanted to write and tell you some time ago that I read your article on Vivekananda with great pleasure. During my stay in Calcutta, I came to understand his aims and aspirations much better than before and you exactly expressed my feelings in your article."

Some years later, when I happened to be in Calcutta, Gokhale, who was also there attending the Imperial Legislative Council, took me into his study one day where I found on his table a glass paper-weight with an inscription in bold letters "God is Love." I could not help making some remark expressive of my surprise, whereupon Gokhale quietly said that was what he had come to believe. A few days after Gokhale's death, meeting Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar at the Bombay University, I mentioned this incident to him. Sir Ramkrishna observed that he had heard from Mr. Justice Ranade that Gokhale's religious views were undergoing change and that a public declaration might be shortly expected. "But," he added regretfully, "that declaration never came."

"Pounds, Shillings and Pence"

The New Statesman of London observes :

"The situation in India remains, for the time being, by far the most interesting and important of all the subjects with which the British Government is called upon to deal, and with which, therefore, it is the duty of the conscientious British elector to concern and acquaint himself. The Naval Conference is a trivial matter by comparison, for it is a matter, after all, merely of pounds, shillings, and pence ; whereas the Indian problem relates to the whole future of British rule in India and to the immediate welfare of over three hundred million people.

Does not the Indian problem also relate to pounds, shillings and pence? As for the welfare of Indians, Sir William Joynson-Hicks, when he was known by that name and was Home Secretary in Mr. Baldwin's Government, declared :

"We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know it is said at missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of Indians. That is cant. We conquered India as an outlet for the goods of Great Britain... We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general and for Lancashire goods in particular."

Even the *New Statesman* itself, of November 7, 1919, published the sentence, "We went to India to exploit her wealth."

Fully Qualified Trustees !

The people of Great Britain claim to be our "trustees" for our good. Assuming that they are, let us see how well qualified they are to promote our welfare.

Mr. J. L. Garvin writes in *The Observer* of London :

"Among the many millions of our new electorate, hardly one in a thousand has the vaguest knowledge of India."

Surely such men are the best fitted to be

our trustees. And hence, it is axiomatic, as the same Mr. Garvin writes in the same British paper, that "India cannot be saved except by Britain and by the great Pax Britannica."

"The Temper of Conciliation" Indeed !

Mr. Garvin writes in the same journal :

"But two truths are certain. One is that the Indian problem is about to test our wisdom and courage to the marrow ; the other, that upon what we do, or refuse to do, in the next twelve months the existence of our Asiatic empire may depend. From the temper of conciliation neither the bombing outrage against the Viceroy's train nor anything else will induce us to swerve : but cool firmness will be equally required."

"The temper of conciliation" is in evidence throughout India from the increasing number of conspiracy and sedition trials.

The Zeiss Scholarship for Indian Students

India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie informs us that the world-famous Zeiss optical factory of Jena has offered a scholarship of RM 200 (two hundred Marks) per month, tenable for one year, to a deserving Indian student of physics. The Donors were kind enough to put the money at the disposal of the Deutsche Akademie and also to entrust it with the task of selecting the proper candidate. Among the numerous applicants for the stipends of the Deutsche Akademie, the choice has fallen on Mr. Rames Chandra Majumdar, a student of Prof. Meghnad Saha of Allahabad.

Response of the Poor to Call for Civil Disobedience

When Non-co-operation was first started, many lawyers, including some of the most distinguished, gave up their practice, many or most of whom have since resumed it. Few Government servants occupying any very high position gave up their post. But a few able men among them, not drawing very high salaries, but having good prospects, gave up their posts. Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji (formerly Captain, R.M.S.) and Dr. Praphulla Chandra Ghosh (late of the Calcutta Mint) are in Bengal the best known among them. None of them have recanted or sought to go back to their offices.

To the present call for civil disobedience practising lawyers have not in general responded. Among Government servants only the village officials in Gujarat appear to be responding. This is not discouraging, but significant.

It need not cause any surprise if the comparatively small number of men who are prosperous under British rule do not see any sense in a struggle for getting rid of British domination. Mahatma Gandhi is out for a revolution, though a bloodless one. In all countries and ages, most of the men who have taken part in democratic revolutions have belonged to the class of Have-nots. Sacrifice, the bearing of hardships and facing risks are easier to them than to those who have been nursed in the lap of comfort and luxury. They can appreciate and revere a man who could have lived like a prince but has chosen to be penniless and quarter-clad for their sake. To the well-to-do the price of even taxed salt is not much, but to the poor it is exorbitant and oppressive. The response of the poor would have been greater if publicity among them had been made easier by making them literate.

The Power of Non-Co operation

Indians may not have hitherto perceived the power of the weapon of non-co-operation and made use of it, but men of European stock had recognized it long ago. Meredith Townshend said in the last century that if the brown man downed his tools, the domination of the white man would collapse in a moment. Half a century ago Sir John Seeley observed in one of his lectures at Cambridge University, afterwards published in book form as "The Expansion of England,"

"I showed you that of the army which won our victories four-fifths consisted of native troops. That we were able to hire these native troops for service in India was due to the fact that the feeling of nationality had no existence there. Now, if the feeling of a common nationality began to exist there only feebly,—if without inspiring any active desire to drive out the foreigner, it only created a notion that it was shameful to assist him in maintaining his dominion,—from that day almost our Empire would cease to exist ; for of the army by which it is garrisoned two-thirds consist of native soldiers. Imagine what an easy task the Italian patriots would have had before them, if the Austrian Government which they desired to expel had

depended not upon Austrian but upon Italian soldiers! Let us suppose not even that the native army mutinied but simply that a native army could not any longer be levied. In a moment the impossibility of holding India would become manifest to us; for it is a condition of our Indian Empire that it should be held without any great effort. As it was acquired without much effort on the part of the English state, it must be retained in the same way. We are not prepared to bury millions upon millions or army upon army in defending our acquisition. The moment India began really to show herself what we so idly imagine her to be, a conquered nation, that moment we should recognize perforce the impossibility of retaining her."

The reason why non-co-operation has not yet succeeded is that we are not united. We think of the so-called interest of the individual or the part, but not of the whole which comprises them. Province is pitted against province, creed against creed, language against language, party against party, class against class, caste against caste, 'leader' against 'leader', and the princes of Indian India against the people of nationalist British-dominated India.

There is also the hypnotism of fear. But imprisonment is only the substitution of a small jail for the big prison which is India. Moreover, prisoners have to be housed, clothed and fed. Prison-houses cannot be built even for sending a whole town to jail—not to speak of imprisoning the whole population of the country: there would be no money for it. And 'if the brown man downs his tools,' where would the jailors, warders, etc., come from?

As for shooting and hanging, that cannot be prescribed for whole populations by any modern nation—there are not many murderous maniacs like Dyer even in Imperialist England. Moreover, world opinion has been ranging itself against frightfulness and terrorism in increasing measure, and Britain dare not defy world opinion.—Already an inferiority complex and defeatism have cast their pallid shadows over her soul. And it should be remembered that we are a nation famous for dying wholesale: more Indians have died of famines, malaria, plague, influenza, etc., than all the men ever executed for political offences in all the world and all casualties in wars of independence and the like.

"Urgent Reasons of Health"

India is the favourite haunt of epidemics. Just now there is an epidemic of leave-taking

by high British officers 'for urgent reasons of health.' Is it equivalent to 'for urgent reasons of state'?

First Lady Fellow of Calcutta University.

Mrs. P. K. Ray is to be congratulated on being the first lady member of the Senate of the Calcutta University. She has long taken great and enlightened interest in the education of girls, and the Gokhale Memorial School, which recently removed to its own spacious building, owes its foundation and maintenance most to her. Her sister, Lady Abala Bose, is distinguished for what she has been doing for the cause of the education of women and girls. Dr. P. K. Ray's record as an educationist was a notable one. In his academic career he had the distinction of standing first in his year at Edinburgh University with the late Lord Haldane coming next to him.

The cause of the education of girls in Bengal has never received its rightful support either from the people or the Government. If Mrs. Ray wants to promote it, as no doubt she does, she will have an uphill fight. She herself would not be lacking in zeal, but others must back her.

Sir Pramada Charan Banerji

Sir Pramada Charan Banerji has passed to his rest at the ripe old age of 82. He was a class-mate of the late Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose at the Calcutta Presidency College. He began life as a Vakil in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. He next entered the provincial judicial service. From that service he was promoted to the Allahabad High Court Bench, which he adorned for decades by his great judicial powers and knowledge of the law. It was, if we remember aright, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who once wrote that Lord Haldane had told him that Sir Pramada Charan Banerji was the ablest judge in India of his generation.

He led a blameless life of purity and was noted for his courtesy and affability. He had become a widower long ago and led a lonely life ever since. Lady Banerji was known in Allahabad as the Lady Bountiful. No needy man or woman went away from her doors with empty hands. Sir Pramada Charan had other bereavements also, and bore them with patience and resignation.

Kinchinjinga Expedition

A German expedition to climb the heights of Kinchinjinga or Kanchanjangha (28,176 feet) has already begun its work. There is no reason why the scaling of the highest peaks in India should always be left for foreigners to attempt and achieve. They do it with the help of Indian hill porters who, though ill clad and ill fed and burdened with loads, prove themselves as hardy as the foreign climbers who come here. A few months ago Srijut Ashoke Chatterjee suggested in *Welfare* that a few Indian young men should be sent to Switzerland to learn mountain-climbing. The suggestion deserves to be taken up by some of our athletic and sports associations. If Indians have excelled in foreign games like football, hockey and cricket, there is no reason why they should not excel in the home sport of mountain-climbing. From time immemorial, pilgrims, traders and travellers have crossed the Himalayas to visit Manassarovar and Mount Kailas and to buy and sell goods.

Ramkrishna Mission Vidyapith at Deoghar

"The Ramkrishna Mission Vidyapith at Deoghar is a high school for Hindu boys run on residential lines. Its object is to provide the boys with ample facilities for the manifestation of the perfection already in man," physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual. It is located in healthy and beautiful surroundings and is conducted by self-sacrificing teachers. It depends on the public for support and deserves it.

Abduction Crime in Bengal.

During the debate on the police budget in the Bengal Legislative Council Mr. B. C. Chatterjee drew attention to the prevalence of the crime of abduction of women in Bengal and to the inefficiency of the police in preventing and detecting such crime. Mr. S. M. Bose also spoke strongly on the subject,

The Hon. Mr. A. N. Moberly, replying to Mr. Chatterjee, regretted that the number of cases of abduction of women was considerable, although, when it was remembered how large the province was, the number of reported cases did not indicate that these offences were of frequent occurrence in any particular locality. For some time

past the attention of the Government had been drawn to the matter. It was much more easy to call attention to the evil than to provide a remedy.

Quite a characteristic reply. The money and the men are in the hands of Government, but it seems it is the people alone who are to provide a remedy. Mr. Moberly speaks of the number of reported cases not being large. But for the sake of comparison he should not turn to smaller provinces in *British-ruled India* but to his own native country. How many cases of abduction are there in Britain annually? And what of the unreported cases in Bengal? Very many cases are not reported because of fear of social obloquy, of terrorism by bad characters unchecked by the police, and of the indifference and inefficiency of the police in many places.

The Inspector-General of Police was trying to devise special measures for dealing with this form of crime. It had been impressed on him, the superintendents and on the police under them, that the Government regarded this form of crime as a very serious evil and that they must do their best to detect the cases that occurred and bring the offenders to justice.

It had been proposed that the district police should be stiffened by a special force.

More might perhaps be done if they had a special detective force to deal with this form of crime. He was doubtful about it, but he would consult the Inspector-General of Police, and if he considered it desirable and necessary, and if the speaker could get the Government to agree that this expenditure was unavoidable, then he would come up to the Council for a supplementary grant for the purpose.

The indifference or inefficiency of the police in some places does not, of course, absolve the people from doing their duty.

This kind of crime is not confined to timid Bengal. There must be some other causes, in addition to timidity, for the prevalence of abduction of women elsewhere. It appears to be prevalent in the U. P., judging from some observations of the Allahabad High Court. The Panjab police report bears witness to its existence there. The weekly *Hyderabad Gazette* (Sindh) contains reports of numerous cases in Kachh, Kathiawar, Gujarat, Rajputana and Sindh. In the House of Commons on February 3 last, replying to Major Graham Pole, who alleged the existence in Sindh of traffic in girls kidnapped from Kachh, Kathiawar, Gujarat and Marwar, Mr. Benn promised to call the Government of India's attention to the question and inquire what steps had been taken or were contemplated. One would like to know the result.

Indian Doctors Urge Retaliation

Indian doctors, and lay men and the Indian press, too, have entered strong protests against the decision of the British Medical Council to withhold recognition of Indian medical degrees. It has been suggested, and we think correctly, that the Council's action had been prompted by self-interest and not by a desire to ensure the efficiency of medical instruction in India.

At the Calcutta Albert Hall meeting, Dr. Sir Nil Ratan Sircar said :

"For the last 95 years, the Indians have been receiving medical education. For the first 75 years, they were very good, very efficient and very well-informed. This was because there was then no clash of interests. We were only assistant surgeons, whereas the superior posts were reserved for British graduates. Clashing of interests began when, with the inauguration of the competitive examinations, about 40 to 50 per cent of the posts were being snatched away by the Indians. Then suddenly, it was discovered that there was no proper facility for medical education in India !

"It is reciprocity that we want. If our deficiency in midwifery is to be the reason for our disenfranchisement, the deficiency of knowledge of British graduates about *kala-azar*, dysentery, cholera, etc., should be a sufficient reason for banning them from the higher medical posts in this country."

The President, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, maintained that :

The British Medical Council had no legal right to inspect the standards and quality of medical education outside the British Isles. He quoted from a Court order issued from Windsor in 1886 to show that the recognition granted to Indian medical degrees by the British Medical Council was based on the principle of reciprocity only and that the claim to inspect and judge that standard of medical education in this country was not put forward then.

One of the resolutions passed by the meeting ran as follows :

This meeting calls upon the Government and members of the Provincial Legislatures to amend the Medical Acts of their respective provinces so as to delete that section which entitles persons holding qualifications registerable under the British Medical Act to be automatically registered in India and to include a new section requiring special training in tropical diseases from such persons before they are allowed to be registered or be eligible for Government service.

Another resolution was passed advocating a boycott of British drugs and medical appliances. The easiest way to do this would, of course, be to buy German and American goods instead. But India ought to be self-reliant. Medicines and medical appliances should be manufactured in India, as some are already being done.

And not only those medicines which are at present manufactured in Europe and America but also others by scientifically testing Indian drugs. A rich ruler like the Nizam of Hyderabad can do much by founding and maintaining a laboratory for the purpose. Himalayan drugs and medicinal plants may be tested in Kashmir if the Maharaja turns his attention to the subject. Progressive states like Mysore, Travancore, etc., ought also to do their bit. Big drug-sellers like B. K. Paul & Co., and firms like the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works have their duty in the matter. For such purposes *Indian Medicinal Plants* by Col. Kirtikar and Major Basu would be found helpful. We have heard that Sir J. C. Bose uses this work.

Resolutions were also passed requesting students not to go to England for their medical education but to medical institutions in other countries ; another requesting that the competitive examination for the Indian Medical Service should be open to all Indian medical graduates and that examinations be held in suitable centres in India only ; and expressing the opinion that the proposed All-India Medical Council should have a non-official majority in its governing body.

Arthur James Balfour

Arthur James, Earl of Balfour (1922), whose death at the age of about 82 took place last month, was at the beginning of this century considered by far the foremost of British Conservative leaders, noted for sagacity, caution and debating power, an eminent philosophical thinker and an exceptionally cultured person in music and otherwise. After successively filling various high offices he became prime minister of Britain in 1902 and continued in that office till 1905. He wrote *A Defence of Philosophic Doubt, Essays and Addresses, The Foundations of Belief, Theism and Humanism, Essays Speculative and Political*, etc.

Subject peoples will remember him as having said : "We are convinced that there is only one form of government, whatever it may be called, namely, where the ultimate control is in the hands of the people."

India's 'Fiscal Autonomy'

Mr. Wedgwood Benn's famous description of India's 'Dominion status in action' must be still in the memory of newspaper readers.

India's 'fiscal autonomy' figured prominently in that description. The nature of that autonomy will be understood from the following passages from the Legislative Assembly debate on March 25 :

Mr. Kidwai: Has fiscal autonomy been given to Government benches or to us? (Laughter)

The Commerce Member said that the Government could not accept a drastic change in the scheme and that if either Pt. Malaviya's or Mr. Ishwar Saran's amendments were carried, it would be impossible for the Government to proceed with the bill.

President: That position of the Government of India is entirely inconsistent with the statement of the Finance Member that fiscal autonomy is a reality and that it is an integral part of the constitution and also the statement of the Secretary of State in the House of Commons in a recent debate that India enjoys the same liberty in the matter of fiscal tariff as Great Britain (Opposition cheers).

Unless the Government were prepared, he added, to assimilate themselves to the position of ministers and act as such in this matter, fiscal autonomy has no meaning. (Opposition cheers.)

Who Speak for "the preponderance of the People of India?"

In our last issue we pointed out that the Viceroy was not correct in stating that "the preponderance of the people of India" approved of the proposed Round Table Conference to be held in London, nobody knows when. It is not to be expected that our contradiction would convince Lord Irwin. But the opinion of an English admirer of his, expressed independently in a different connection, may be cited as supporting our view. We refer to Mr. C. F. Andrews, who writes in the course of his article, "What Next in India?" in *The New Republic* of New York of February 26 :

As a practical issue, we can place little stress at such a crisis as this on the Moderates, who recently met in Madras and passed resolutions along the old constitutional lines, with petitions to the British Parliament. The chief leaders in this small intellectual group are among my close personal friends, and mentally I have a strong sympathy with their own temperamental attitude of caution in a period of rapid change. Yet they themselves, perhaps, would be the foremost to acknowledge that *their exhortation carries very little weight outside the quiet circle of a few like-minded individuals. It does not reach the masses. There is no corporate public opinion behind it.* They have never once attempted to ride the storm as Mahatma Gandhi has so often done. Their intellectual outlook, together with their power of seeing the other side as clearly as their own, has made them hesitate too long.

Therefore, in its present hurricane temper, the

vast illiterate population of India, now articulate for the first time, pays them little attention. The crowd passes them by and sweeps along to Chowpati Beach in Bombay, or to the open sands in Madras, or to the burning *ghat* at Calcutta, where Jatindranath Das's body was burned in the presence of a multitude that no one could number. His self-imposed martyrdom, after a hunger-strike which ended in death on the sixty-third day, has done more to drive the masses of India forward into a cyclone of whirling revolution than all the work which the Moderates have done through years of patient constitutional reform to prevent it. (*Italics ours. Ed., M. R.*)

Mr. Andrews adds :

"To say all this is not at all to depreciate the ultimate steadying value of the Moderates or to underestimate their moral courage. But the pace at which things are moving in India is too strong for them and they are left behind bewildered."

"If the British Leave India—"

Mr. C. F. Andrews writes in the same article :

The vital question to be considered is not what will happen if the British leave India, but rather what will happen if the British remain in their present irresponsible position. There is no thought in my mind that they should be required to evacuate the country at a moment's notice, but rather that responsibility should be put in Indian hands while the civil servants from England, who are now holding office, are gradually replaced by Indians themselves. The position of the British who remain needs to be changed from one of domination to one of service.

"Tagore on Child Marriage"

A certain Mr. Henry A. Field has written a book, in support of Miss Katherine Mayo's notorious book, professing to refute all her critics. It appears that Mr. C. F. Andrews had an interview with that authoress in the presence of Mr. Field. The latter wrote as follows, in part, about that interview in *The New Republic* of February 5 :

Mr. Andrews said Miss Mayo misrepresented Mr. Tagore's views on child marriage. Miss Mayo replied that the statement in "Mother India" was plainly and specifically concerned with the particular essay there in question, which essay, she maintained, justified her remark concerning it. But she added that if Mr. Andrews would point out to her from the printed works of Tagore any clear condemnation of the great Hindu evil, she would gladly make it public and would express her satisfaction in so doing.

Mr. Andrews, however, was unable from memory to comply, and expressed the idea that such expressions by Tagore might indeed never have been translated into English. Miss Mayo said

that if Mr. Andrews would give her the name of the book itself, in whatever vernacular it exists, she would have the passage translated and printed here.

This occurred some nine months ago. In the interval Mr. Andrews has failed to supply the needed information or in any way to reopen the subject. But he has not hesitated publicly to accuse Miss Mayo of breaking a pledge made to him in the presence of witnesses.

If the Bible or the works of Emerson do not contain any condemnation of child marriage or Negro lynching, that could not be construed as approval of those practices by the authors of those works. But as Mahatma Gandhi and the poet Tagore are still being maliciously pursued by hirelings in America, we had thought of sending a reply to *The New Republic* for publication, as Mr. Andrews does not read Bengali and is not likely to have all Tagore's works with him. But when we were about to write our reply, we found one in that paper (February 26) by Mr. Edward Thompson, author of "Rabindranath Tagore" and many other works. Mr. Thompson writes from Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N Y. :

Have not Miss Mayo and Mr. Field lost their sense of proportion? Tagore is a person of some eminence, but they regard him as set *in statu pupillari* under them, they reject his own denial that he supports child marriage, they cross-examine him severely for "proof." Let them turn to "Manasi," a book of poems published in 1890. In "Deserted" are these words (I translate them for her):

"Playing our flutes, let us bring home a bride of eight years! Let us snatch and tear open the bud of childhood, let us force out the sweet of youth! Pressing a weight of Scriptures on the young, expanding life, let us make it one with the dust of wrinkled age!"

Another poem, a long one, is "Loving Conversation of a Newly Wedded Bengali Couple." The couple are an old man and a girl who is still dreaming of dolls and her toys. It is too long to summarize here. . . . Mr. Field and Miss Mayo may be willing to look up my "Rabindranath Tagore," pp. 89-90. Jump nearly 30 years, to 1918, when he published "Palataka"; it contains "Freedom," a pitying picture of a girl married at nine and worn to death at thirty-one. In 1887, he published a tractate, "Hindu Marriage," which aroused wild anger. In 1917, he had the orthodox again buzzing with "A Woman's Letter." Does Mr. Field know Tagore's short stories? Does he not feel that they are a deeply felt protest against woman's place in Hinduism, and the ignoring of her rights as a person? Has he read "Subha," for instance?

An elementary knowledge of Indian thought includes awareness of the Brahma Samaj, the Reformed Church, which has been associated with three generations of Tagore's family. It is so notorious that the Brahma Samaj forbids child

marriage, that every one in India would take Tagore's opposition to it for granted.

Last of all, as to the sneer that Tagore's protest against child marriage is "buried in Bengali" (Mr. Field, "After Mother India," p. 208) where else should it be—not buried, but very obvious and very much alive? Tagore is a Bengali, Bengali is the language he speaks and writes, he has been a Bengali author for sixty years, an English one for about a dozen. I take it, his job is to show courage against his own people and to talk to *them* about their social crimes. . . . Miss Mayo's book was right in its main theme, that Hinduism has given women "a rotten show." But it abounds in ignorance, and she wrote of one of India's bravest sons without bothering to find out what his record is, or what he has consistently thought.

Very many other passages in Tagore's works can be referred to in proof of his disapproval of child marriage of course, for those who do not know him.

Our estimates of Miss Mayo's book and of Hinduism are different from Mr. Thompson's.

We have written this note, because we find a Bombay Indian bookseller has been advertising Mr. Field's book, and therefore think that non-Bengali readers, if any, of that book ought to know Tagore's views on child marriage.

Is Sarda Act to be Scrapped?

A rumour has been published in the papers that Government would lend its support to a Bill amending the child Marriage Restraint Act if the amendment were to the effect that the sacramental portion of the marriage ceremony will be allowed to be performed before the girl is fourteen years of age but not before she is twelve and that the consummation of the marriage must not take place before the age of consent fixed for the married state. We neither believe nor disbelieve the rumour. It is not very easy to believe that the Government would change its mind so soon. But, in order to obtain the adherence of 'orthodox' people to the Round Table Conference plan and to wean them away from the civil disobedience movement, official politicians may turn a somersault.

There is no other reason why there should be a *volte face* on the part of the Government. The agitation against the Sarda Bill and Act has been very mild compared with similar agitations in the past of which we have personal knowledge. Of course the agitators

have succeeded in stampeding many panicky and credulous Hindu and Moslem orthodox persons into getting their baby daughters married, in some cases even of the ridiculously tender age of a few days. But that these blind superstitious people and their blind leaders are men of no courage and worth is clear from one fact. At the All-India Sanatan Dharma Conference a resolution was carried that no Sanatanist should hasten the marriage of girls in his family before April 1, when the Sarda Act comes into force, to evade the Act, but must wait till it becomes operative and disobey the law thereafter. Some persons prominently connected with the agitation threatened *satyagraha* (!) and civil disobedience. But marriages of babies have taken place before April 1 by the thousand, and nobody would seem to be left to disobey the Sarda Act openly for conscience' sake.

Before the Bill became law, we had it from the lips of some opponents of social (they called it religio-social) legislation that even without the aid of law child marriages have largely decreased in number and had almost disappeared from the class of educated persons. Child marriage is, no doubt, slowly disappearing, partly owing to the preaching and example of social reformers and partly to economic causes. But that it still has large numbers of adherents is proved by the fact of the numerous baby marriages performed up to March 31 to evade the Act. And that it has not disappeared from the educated section of the community is also proved by some gentlemen with brilliant academic careers and some occupying high position in society having given away their baby daughters and minor sons in marriage before March 31, 1930.

Those who have personal knowledge of social conditions in the country know that, unfortunately, fixing by law the marriageable age of girls sufficiently high is in many cases the only sure way to prevent premature and pre-puberty consummation and premature maternity. Doubters should read the *Report of the Age of Consent Committee*, from which we subjoin a few extracts below. Regarding pre-puberty consummation the Committee say :

"Where early marriage prevails, there are instances of pre-puberty consummation. From the evidence before us, we are led to the conclusion that *this practice*, though neither general nor characteristic of any class or community, *exists to a far greater extent than may be ordinarily*

supposed and requires a drastic remedy. Even among Muslims, although marriages are considered as contracts and are generally entered into at or after puberty, such pre-puberty consummations are not infrequent, notably in Bengal and Malabar. The evil thus exists both among Hindus and Muslims, though to a lesser degree among the latter." Pages 96-97. (Italics ours. Ed., M. R.)

As regards the reasons for such early and pre-puberty consummation, the Report observes :

"Amongst certain classes, and in provinces where there is pre-puberty marriage, early union takes place, owing to gross ignorance of the physiological aspect of sex relations or a desire to imitate the higher classes. In the case of elderly widowers, the practice of cohabitation soon after marriage prevails; this is largely due to impatience on their part. The disparity in the age of the husband and wife in such cases is due to the custom which precludes the possibility of girls beyond a certain age being available for marriage in certain castes. In some cases, where a young husband is going wrong, the girl is sent to the husband, though she had not attained puberty, as a steadying influence on the young man. There are cases where the parents of the girl are too poor or are unable to look after the girl and would like to see the responsibility of the girl's maintenance and good conduct shifted to the husband's side... *But there is no conscious realization of the fact that full physiological development of the girl is necessary or desirable for ensuring a healthy mother and a healthy child. The restraints, that once operated on a member of a Joint Family regarding pre-puberty or early consummation, are disappearing with the gradual disintegration of Joint Families, and thus a check which was formerly operative has disappeared.* It will be thus apparent that the present practice of early consummation is more a matter of custom than religion, the transgression whereof involves no serious penalty." (Italics ours. Ed., M. R.) Page 98

As regards arguments from the shastras relating to any social or religio-social matter, it has to be observed that every day large numbers of men openly violate salutary shastric injunctions with impunity ; and it is generally when an injurious custom has to be upheld that the shastras are invoked. Plenty of older shastric texts can be cited in favour of post-puberty marriage. But even if that could not be done, our guide in social matters should be science and reason. If any so-called shastra goes against the teachings of biology, physiology, psychology and pedagogy, it should be disregarded.

The numerous baby marriages performed before the first of April points the moral that social reformers should not have rested on their oars after the passing of the child marriage restraint law ;—they should have

continued and should still continue their beneficial propaganda against this pernicious custom.

An abridged translation of the Report of the Age of Consent Committee into the leading vernaculars should be undertaken immediately by social reform organizations, if it has not been taken in hand already.

Muslims and Hindu Scriptures

The reader will remember that some time ago we called attention to Mr. F. K. Durrani's remarks on the Bhagavad Gita. With reference to that note of ours, *The Islamic World* observes :

"The instance in question is not worth consideration, as Mr. Durrani is not the best specimen of Muslim publicists and does not represent any section of Muslims. But we wonder what will our contemporary think of Swami Dayananda whose *Satyarth Prakash* contains most offensive and aggressive passages regarding the sacred personages of Islam and Christianity."

We have not read the *Satyarth Prakash* and are not likely to read it hereafter. And so we cannot pronounce any opinion on it, one way or the other.

In this connection *The Islamic World* quotes its views on the Gita and the Hindu Gods from its last November issue as follows :

Again, Rama and Krishna have made greater sacrifices for truth than Jesus, because they belonged to a Royal House, while Jesus was a poor man and was not in a position to make any sacrifice, so far as worldly possessions go. The teachings and the precepts of these Indian Gods are, also, loftier and sublimer than the sermon on the mount. The "Gita" is a beautiful book in Hindu religion and lays stress on the unity of God ; but the conception of God presented in it is perhaps more majestic and more awe-inspiring than that presented in the Gospels

Without in any way identifying ourselves with or criticizing our contemporary's views, we may say that we fully appreciate its friendly attitude towards Hinduism. It concludes by saying :

In the face of these observations, we hope, our esteemed contemporary the *Modern Review* will not ascribe the views of Mr. Durrani to all Muslim community ; and will advise his Hindu Brethren to hold the Holy Quran and the Prophet of Islam in the same esteem in which the Muslims hold the "Gita" and Krishna and Rama. Here lies the secret of true patriotism, for which our contemporary gives the whole credit to Hindus.

We never ascribed Mr. Durrani's views to the entire Muslim community. We called his

view of the Gita a Moslem view, not the Moslem view. We do not stand in the position of adviser, mentor or preceptor in matters religious to any community, Hindu or non-Hindu. So, while unable to give any spiritual advice to anybody, we may say that we ourselves try to cultivate a reverent and receptive attitude to truth wherever found.

Our contemporary is mistaken in thinking that we have ever given the whole credit for true patriotism to Hindus.

A Labour Organ on the Indian Situation

In the opinion of *The Daily Herald*, official organ of the British Labour Party,

"The campaign of Civil Disobedience in India confronts the Labour Government with a supreme test of statesmanship. Whatever policy the Government decide to follow, at least it can never go the Birkenhead Rothermere way. The official terrorism is as wrong-headed as it is wicked."

That is true. But it is also true that it would be a great mistake on the part of British statesmen to think that all Indian patriots can be hoodwinked, circumvented, outwitted, cajoled or frightened into accepting something which is not freedom.

The British paper quotes Burke's saying, "I do not know how to draw up an indictment against a whole people" and observes :

"Popular discontent is an index of popular grievance. To a wise statesman it will serve as a proof that the Government is not meeting the fundamental needs of those whom it is supposed to serve. Wanton rebellion is unknown to historians. Every popular revolt has been born in popular misery. Sympathy with India, an insight into the character of its people, friendship with its leaders—these alone can provide a sure basis for the policy that will satisfy the Indians. People have no interest in disorder. Any attempt to represent Indian restlessness as the result of fictitious grievances and malignant agitation is unworthy of statesmen. It is the old Tory habit to explain the popular uprisings in terms of popular folly and the hidden hand. And what is the use of any policy for India that will not satisfy the the people of India ? But men do not need to be convinced that civil peace is good. If they forsake peace as the English people forsook peace in 1642, it is because conditions of that peace have become intolerable."

The Labour paper advises friendship with the leaders of the Indian people. But if Mr. MacDonald's cabinet accepts Lord Irwin's opinion that "the preponderance of the people of India" is at the back of any movements other than the Congress and seeks for "the

leaders of the Indian people" exclusively outside the Congress, it will miss its mark. We say this without any hesitation, as we do not belong to any party.

Hindus and the Coming Census

In a letter to the Press Pandit Deva Ratna Sharma, Secretary, Hindu Mahasabha, draws attention to the fact that "efforts have been made in the past to minimize the numerical strength of the Hindus," though the fissiparous tendencies of the Hindus themselves are responsible for it to a considerable extent.

It is well known that there are various sects and sub-sects among the Musalmans and Christians also which are and have been for centuries at war with each other. But while the Musalmans and Christians are shown collectively under one heading, namely, Musalmans and Christians, as the case may be, persistent efforts have been made to show the Hindus under various headings such as:—Brahmanic, Arya, Brahmo, Sikh, Jain, Buddhist, Animist, etc. and their total numerical strength has in this way been split up under different headings and a wrong impression has thus been created of their total strength in the country. As a result of this adverse manipulation of their figures an impression is produced that there were 216,774,586 Hindus only as compared with 66,775,233 Musalmans and 4,754,064 Christians in India in 1921, while as a matter of fact if Hindus were also grouped under one heading, like the Musalmans and the Christians, their total number would come to 242,515,594. Not only this, but where people retain several articles of Hindu faith and follow many Hindu customs, and subject themselves only to one or two Mohamedan or Christian rituals they have been returned as Musalmans or Christians and not Hindus and thus even those who do not intermarry with other Mohamedans or Christians and resort to Hindu places of pilgrimage and call in a Hindu priest on the occasion of their marriage and death ceremonies are not shown as Hindus. Again the hill and forest tribes such as Bhils and Gonds who worship Hindu gods and goddesses are shown as Non-Hindus. To add to these it is feared that an effort will be made in the coming Census operation to separate the so-called untouchable or depressed classes from the rest of the Hindus, although it is a fact that backward or depressed classes exist among the Musalmans and Christians also.

He adds, what is common knowledge, that the numerical strength of the various communities is being exploited for political purposes. He, therefore, suggests that

It should be the duty of every Hindu organization and Hindu worker in the country to see that in the coming Census operations no injustice is allowed to be done to the Hindu community in the matter of counting their numbers. Earnest

efforts should be made in the first instance to remove untouchability during this year so that no one who is a Hindu may be looked upon or treated as untouchable. We should then see that none is returned in the Census as an untouchable who is not treated as such in practice. Our second effort should be that all branches of Hinduism are shown under one heading, although their sectional number may also be shown separately. Thirdly, all hill and forest tribes like the Bhils, Gonds and Khasias, etc., who worship Hindu gods and follow Hindu customs should be entered as Hindus. Fourthly, all those Malkanas and other Rajputs, Gujars, and Jats, etc. who have, in spite of adverse circumstances, clung to Hindu customs and rites should be returned as Hindus, even if they have not had an occasion to undergo formally the Shuddhi ceremony, provided they sincerely believe that they are Hindus by faith.

A British Indologist's Knowledge of Sanskrit

In *The Hindustan Review* for February Mr. K. P. Jayaswal subjects Dr. Berriedale Keith's "A History of Sanskrit Literature" to well-informed and fair, though somewhat severe criticism. Leaving the reader to peruse Mr. Jayaswal's review in that journal, we quote the following passage from it as only one example of Dr. Keith's knowledge of Sanskrit, according to the reviewer:

In his criticisms of the Classical Sanskrit poetry, the author bestows warm praise on Bhartrihari (declaring that his "poetry exhibits Sanskrit poetry to the best advantage"): yet he translates (p. 180) Bhartrihari's expression "taschandrābimbānanah" as "*those maidens with faces like the moon or the bimba.*" It is not necessary to point out in this country that *chandrābimba* means "the disc of the moon," and not *chandra* and *bimba* (*kundru* fruit). What would the spirit of Bhartrihari, if allowed a chance, say on the professor's criticism that Bhartrihari's Sanskrit is at its best? He would say: "Thank you, I do not want your appreciation of my poetry and my language." "*Those maidens with faces like the kundru fruit!*" It is certainly not the ideal of beauty of Bhartrihari and his country. Poor Bhartrihari never negotiated for this valuation. When I showed this interpretation of Bhartrihari's Sanskrit to two of the Pandits of Patna, they said that they would not have allowed a candidate to pass his 'B.A.' or Kavyatirtha if he had so translated it in his answer book. Similar exhibition of Sanskrit to its advantage, may be picked up with ease from other translations attempted by the learned author.

The Patna Pandits consulted by Mr. Jayaswal are probably rather tender-hearted men. To understand the compound word "Chandrābimbānanā" as indicating a comparison of the human face with the moon or the *bimba* fruit, would be rather grotesque even for a would-be matriculate.

Persons afflicted with melancholia would, in any case, feel grateful to Dr. Keith for having added a new one to the long list of school-boy howlers.

"The Economic Condition of Indian workers"

Mr. P. O. Philip has sent us from Poona a letter contradicting the statement in Dr. Taraknath Das's letter in our last issue that Miss Matheson was sent to India by the League of Nations to prepare a confidential report on economic conditions here. The contradiction reaches us too late to be published in *extenso* in its proper place. Its substance is given below.

It is true that Miss Matheson was in India carrying on an enquiry into labour conditions, but she was not sent by the League of Nations "at the request of the United Christian Council of India," as your correspondent says. She was appointed by the National Christian Council of India. This enquiry is an independent one having no official connection whatever with the League of Nations. Miss Matheson's report is not a confidential one, as your correspondent says. The report will soon be published.

What Journals to read

People generally read journals giving expression to views to their liking. That is but natural. We like to hear the echo of our voices as it were and to be supplied with reasons for the faith or fancy that is in us. But in order to get rid of bigotry, narrowness and partiality and acquire breadth of mind we ought also to read journals propagating views contrary to ours.

"India's Political Crisis"

Events in India are marching with such long and rapid strides that no monthly can be quite up-to-date, nay even morning dailies are often found to be back numbers on the evening of the same day. Such being the case, it cannot be expected that a book on *India's Political Crisis* would be up-to-date, particularly when it comes from so distant a country as America. But Mr. William I. Hull, Ph. D., Professor of International Relations in Swarthmore College, has tried to be as up-to-date as practicable. His book*

bears on its title page the date 1930 and his preface ends by referring in a foot-note to the plan of holding a round table conference in London in 1930 and stating:

"The Indian leaders announced that they would not enter the conference without a guarantee that it would set a definite and speedy date for dominion status. Since this guarantee was not forthcoming before the end of 1929, Mr. Gandhi agreed to strive for complete independence, on condition that it should be procured, not by violence, but by non-violent non-co-operation, and that it should be declared, not immediately, but at the discretion of the National Congress Committee. This programme has just been accepted by the Congress at Lahore by an overwhelming (reported) vote of 1994 to 6. It makes possible further peaceful negotiation with the British Government; but the imminence of violence on a large scale is pressing."

Since the above was written, peaceful negotiation having failed, a campaign of civil disobedience has been launched as part of non-violent non-co-operation. But before it was done, Mr. Gandhi gave the British Government another opportunity of peaceful negotiation, but the latter did not take it.

It is a pleasure to read Professor Hall's clearly printed and neatly got-up volume. It has the merit of presenting a detached historical account of the events leading up to India's political crisis of 1929 and of interpreting in an unbiassed, non-partisan manner the aspirations of the various political parties as to India's future. "To do full justice to these aspirations and the reasons for them, the words of their leading exponents have been accurately quoted and given all the space requisite to an adequate presentation of their respective views." For this purpose most of the space of the book has been devoted to the proceedings of the All Parties Convention of 1928 and of the National Congress and its committees in 1928 and January 1 and 2, 1929. The sketch of the All Parties Conference, and the Nehru Committee, 1927-28 and the cursory view of the National Congress from 1885 to 1927 are serviceable. But the historical introduction is brief, meagre, and somewhat inaccurate and misleading (it may be unintentionally) as regards the pre-British period. The preliminary summary and "balancing" of the various plans and their party-sponsors attempted in the preface is useful.

* *India's Political Crisis*. By William I. Hull, Ph. D. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore. Price 2 dollars or 9 shillings.

"India : Peace or War ?"

We have received a copy of Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer's "*India : Peace or War ?*"* Its preface bears the date January, 1930, but there is no mention of the Lahore Congress Independence resolution. The following extract from the Foreword is characteristic :

Young India has no use for a connexion which denies the pride of power. Without hesitation she sounds the trumpets and waves the standard. The combat thickens.

The Viceroy hurries to England to consult his Majesty's Government. His Excellency knows the limitations of the leaders. The pusillanimous *pundits* and *patels* are not made of the stuff of which heroes are made. The spirit of "either victory, or else, a grave" does not animate them.

Which *pundits* and *patels* does he mean ? Does the spirit of "either victory or else a grave" animate the author ?

He proceeds :

The Viceroy decided to tempt the leaders as Clive tempted Mir Jaffir, who won Bengal for the British *Raj*. Afraid of the rank and file, *pundit* and *patel* hummed and hawed. The Moderates who started the fight swallowed the bait :

He who fights and runs away
May live to fight another Day !

The bait was but a conference in Whitehall of Princes and politicians with the King's Ministers.

Politicians are a conceited tribe. They enjoy the music of their voices. A conference is a cheerful prospect. Resolutions will have to be moved ; orations will have to be made. They bury the war-clubs and war-drums, and sing with the joy of children *Rule Britannia*.

All the *pundits* and *patels* don't do it, nor all the other politicians ; but Mr. Ranga Iyer appears to do so, as his book "presents a serious and well-documented study of the Indian question from the point of view of those Nationalists who are working for Dominion status for India within the Empire."

Protection for India's Cotton Industry ?

If India's cotton manufactures require protection, they do so equally against imports from Britain and all other countries. But the Tariff Bill seeks to impose five per cent. higher duty on non-British imports than on those from Britain, as if Lancashire has done and is likely to do in future no injury to Indian cotton yarn and cloth. The Tariff Bill is clearly the thin end of the wedge of

Imperial preference, whatever the Finance Member and the Commerce Member may say to the contrary. Such preference would be highly detrimental to India's economic and political interests. It would tell on India's friendly relations with all other foreign people in the attempt to promote the pecuniary interests of Britain and her colonies.

An Indian Air Force

The Secretary of State for India, in a written reply to Major Graham Pole, recently wrote :

The creation of an Indian Air Force forms part of the accepted policy of Indianization, and is already under consideration. Matters have not yet advanced far enough to enable me to give any details as to the constitution or future functions of such a force.

So long as British domination lasts, will the stage of "consideration" ever be passed ? And even if it be over, we hope not more than one Indian will be admitted to the air force annually ; for India's 319 millions cannot possibly produce more than one fit candidate per annum. We speak from our knowledge of what has been done to man the so-called Indian navy.

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Manager, *The Modern Review*

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JAG DANCE OF GUJERAT
By Kanu Desai

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.



VOL. XLVII
NO. 5

MAY, 1930

WHOLE NO.
281

Industrial Reconstruction and Industrial Efficiency

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.A., M.SC., Ph.D.

I
THE most important method of achieving industrial efficiency is the reconstruction of industrial organization. The ability to apply the most up-to-date industrial technique, including both scientific discovery and mechanical invention, to productive processes is the greatest achievement of modern society, and it is the capacity of re-adjusting old industrial systems to modern conditions in which lies the secret of industrial success among advanced nations.* While improved health, regenerated society and benevolent government might form a solid background and create a favourable atmosphere, the industrial success of India depends entirely upon the reconstruction of her industrial systems in the light of modern science and art.

1. INDUSTRIALIZATION OF PRODUCTION

The fundamental principle of modern industrial organization is industrialization, of which the most conspicuous aspect is the factory system. The principal features of

industrialization are the application of machinery and mechanical power to productive processes, industrial undertaking on a large scale and on a corporate basis, and production for a distant market and much ahead of consumption. There are many advantages of industrialization, such as minute division of labour and its consequent specialization, full utilization of raw material and of the by-products, efficient organization and full employment of capital including machinery and industrial plants, economy in the purchase of raw material and in the distribution of finished products. In short, the efficiency of modern industrialism lies in its economy of land, labour and capital for productive purposes.

Modern industrialism is not without its disadvantages. The most obvious effect is the rise of industrial towns with its overcrowded slums and the consequent vice, crime and infant mortality. But these defects are not inherent in the factory system. The death-rate and infant mortality is much higher in rural India than in industrial England or Germany. In fact, it has been found that due to better sanitary arrangement, the condition of health is much better in smaller cities than in rural districts. Another defect of industrialism is the rise

* The organization of industrial institutions has developed to such an extent in Western Europe and America that the whole society has assumed an industrial outlook. It is for this reason that modern society and civilization are often called "industrial".

of capitalism and its consequent concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a comparatively small minority. But the relation between industrialism and capitalism is historic and accidental, rather than essential and intrinsic. When modern industrialism first appeared in England, the dominant philosophy of the time was *laissez faire*, individualism and private enterprise rather than State control, which had fallen into disfavour under Mercantilism. Had industrialism appeared a century before, instead of private capitalism, there might have been State socialism which is being attempted by Russia to-day. Moreover, the distribution of wealth under the feudal system was not less objectionable on that ground than under capitalism. The greatest defect of modern industrialism is perhaps unemployment. The problem has, however, received the attention of modern society and sooner or later there must develop a scheme of combating the evil. In spite of these defects the factory system is the most efficient system of production which has been achieved through man's gradual conquest of nature for centuries.

How to industrialize productive processes is one of the greatest problems before India to-day. Except the question of self-government and universal education, no question is more important to India than that of industrialization. In fact, from the view-point of national welfare, the solution of the poverty problem is the supreme need in India, both national emancipation and mass education being largely means to that end. Nothing would help her more in the solution of that problem than industrialization. India must concentrate all her energy for the industrialization of her productive processes.

From the view-point of industrial progress, industrialization for India is not only economical, but it is also inevitable. This is an age of world economy. The facilities for communication have brought all the regions of the world into one common market. No geographical distance or tariff barrier can keep a nation away from this international market. Both for industrial success and economic independence, India must prepare herself to withstand the world competition. Every day her home markets are being flooded with foreign goods and the products of her arts and crafts are being replaced by those of the industrially advanced countries. India must equip her workers engaged in any kind of productive processes, including household

duties, with the latest industrial technique, including machinery and mechanical power. In fact, India owes modern industrialism to her people. If it is a crime for a nation to send its untrained and unequipped citizens to modern warfare, which is more or less a temporary affair, it is a still greater crime for a nation to leave its industrial workers unequipped and untrained in international industrial struggle.

Not only mass-production should be resorted to in the case of all standard goods, but even specialized commodities must be produced with the help of modern science and art. The age of cottage and small-scale industries is not over, but their revival and success depend mostly upon industrialization. Modern tools and implements and even small machinery must be advantageously utilized and modern industrial technique must be introduced. The economy of the large-scale industries in the purchase of raw material and in the sale of finished products can also be taken advantage of by the formation of co-operative organizations. Moreover, with the generation of electric power from the abundant supply of water resources, there is a possibility of utilizing mechanical power even in cottages and workshops and thus reviving many arts and crafts in which India once occupied a world market.

In reviving arts and crafts in cottages and workshops, it must, however, be remembered that a nation, like an individual, has to find out how it can produce things of the greatest value with the least expenditure of land, labour and capital. Owing to the sub-tropical climate intensive physical labour is not possible in India to the same extent as in the countries of the colder climate. It will, therefore, be more economical for India to devote her time to those industries which require more of mental labour than of the physical. Moreover, the natural resources being comparatively limited in proportion to her vast population, India should also put more labour per unit of the resources, that is, specialize in highly manufactured commodities for foreign markets as in the olden days. In this connection industrial tradition must also be taken advantage of. High class workmanship has become the social heritage of Indian artisans, and although it has lost its past glory, it still remains in national tradition and can be revived. In short, cottage and other small-scale industries must be revived for

the production of works of art and highly finished products such as shawls, jewellery, embroidery work and ivory carving.

As to the revival of the *khaddar*, or hand-woven cloth from hand-spun yarn, as a cottage industry, it might be said to be only a palliative measure for solving India's under-employment. As long as the peasant or the artisan remains without work for about half the year, and as long as he is given no other chance of utilizing his enforced idleness more profitably, whatever he can earn so much the better for him. At best, it is only a "sweated" industry and its success has been brought about largely by patriotism. But patriotism based on uneconomic production cannot last long. From the economic view-point, it incurs a great economic loss, and time devoted to the production of the *khaddar* might be utilized for the production of goods of much higher value.

Even agriculture needs industrialization. Like a factory a farm is a business undertaking and production must be undertaken with reference to market valuation. Hitherto the cultivator has produced mainly for home consumption and sold the surplus, if there were any. This very fact has kept agriculture in a static condition. It is only the stimulation of market value and of industrial competition that keeps farm operation, as in fact any other industrial process, on the move. It is not to be denied that certain crops should be produced for home consumption, but every cultivator must devote himself to the production of certain money crops, which keep the farmer in touch with the outside world.

The importance of industrialization has been fully realized not only by the capitalistic farmer of America, but even by the small farmers of Holland, Denmark and other countries. While scientific methods are directly resorted to in production, the marketing of products is generally taken care of on the co-operative basis, thus realizing the economy of large scale production. Co-operative marketing will similarly be of immense help to India in making agricultural industries more profitable.

The most difficult problem of Indian agriculture is the introduction of modern industrial technique into farm operations. Conservation of soil fertility, selection of seeds and plants, scientific breeding and feeding of live-stock, control of pests and

diseases, consolidation and enlargement of farms, communication and marketing, and similar other aspects of scientific agriculture have received the attention of the recent Royal Commission on Agriculture, and there is very little to add for the present to its various suggestions and recommendations.

One of the most important problems of Indian agriculture is, however, the land system, which was left outside the scope of the Royal Commission. All land directly or indirectly belongs to the state, and every landholder has to pay rent to the extent often of half the economic value of the land produce in the case of the farm land. It has proved not only a veritable hardship to the poor peasantry, but also a great obstacle to agricultural progress in general. After the payment of rent and often of the high rate of interest, there is scarcely anything left for the family expenses, not to speak of agricultural capital. The solution of the problem lies in the substitution of the present rent system by a general and graduated income tax. While that will be a great innovation accompanied by some revenue loss in the beginning, it will be more than compensated by general agricultural prosperity which will in the course of time follow. A prosperous agricultural community will be able to pay more income tax than the rent of a poverty-stricken peasantry as at present.

The last and not the least important of the economic institutions is the household, which needs as much industrialism as any industry, such as arts, crafts and agriculture. There was a time when the household was not only a home but also a place of occupation or vocation. All the necessities of life were produced in the household. With the progress of industry, specialization of occupation and division of labour, as well as the facilities for transportation, the old household is breaking down and many of the occupations have been taken from the household to the factory, such as canning, baking and laundering. But there is still left a good deal of productive processes, especially in India, which are still to be done in the household. Such processes as husking and milling are still done in the crude fashion, and women are devoted to the work from morning to evening without any leisure for the development of intellectual aspects of life. The value of time may not be appreciated in a country where millions are born to starve and die untimely death, but such a condition of things is a great detriment

to the social and industrial progress of the country.

2. RATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY

Next to industrialization of production, the most important question is that of rationalization of industry. With great advance in industrial technique and corporate finance as well as in growth of international competition, (the industries in each advanced country are reorganizing themselves on a new basis with a view to eliminating wastage in productive processes). This industrial reorganization has come to be known as rationalization.

Although the process of rationalization was long going on, it was not until 1921 that it began to be intensely applied to America and still later in Europe. There is not yet any agreed opinion as to the exact definition, but the one adopted by the International Economic Conference in 1927 is "the method of technique of organization designed to secure the minimum waste of either effort or material."^{*} The same Conference considered that the aims of rationalization are to secure maximum efficiency of labour with the minimum of effort, to standardize patterns and designs, to avoid waste of material and power, and to economize distribution. Conceived thus, rationalization includes management of business or scientific management, with which it is sometimes identified; conservation of resources, organization of capital and administration of labour with a view to obtaining the highest amount of product with the least amount of effort. For the sake of convenience, rationalization is used here in the sense of reconstructing only industrial organization, leaving out other phases for subsequent discussion.

While industrialization of production is a step towards rationalization, yet the two processes are not necessarily the same. The one is concerned with the introduction of modern industrial technique to productive processes, the other attempts to eliminate waste in land, labour and capital, utilizing industrialization whenever it is calculated to eliminate wastage.

From the national view-point, the first step in the rationalization is the *allocation* or the establishment of industrial units with special reference to raw material, mechanical power,

transport facilities and market advantages. Most of the industries grow up with reference to these conditions, as cotton and jute industries in Bombay and Bengal, but conscious and concerted efforts are still necessary for avoiding wastage. The second phase is the *concentration* of industrial establishments in certain localities, as the jute mills around Calcutta, leading to the economy of transport and marketing. The third phase is the *co-ordination* of industries which are more or less interdependent, as coal and iron and steel industries. The fourth phase is the *amalgamation* of the kindred industries into one whole and under the same management, such as packing of meat and manufacture of candle and gelatine. The fifth phase is the *combination* of different industries of the same or kindred nature. This can be achieved either by the simple gentleman's agreement or by cartels and trusts.

The industry which needs immediate rationalization in India is the cotton-mill. It has always been and is still the premier industry in the country. Besides food, what the teeming millions in India need is cotton cloth. In fact, cotton manufacture is next to agriculture in importance and the annual value of the cotton piece-goods consumed in the country would amount to 169 crores of rupees.* At present, this need is supplied by hand-looms, foreign mills and Indian mills. Of the 4,479 million yards of cotton piece-goods consumed in the country in 1925-26, 1,160 million yards, over 25 per cent, were produced by the hand-looms, 1,529 million yards or 34 per cent were imported and 1,790 million yards or 41 per cent were supplied by Indian mills.† The hand-loom industry for ordinary cotton piece-goods is not an economic proposition in the long run, however necessary it be at present. Nor is it economical for India to depend upon foreign countries for the vital necessities of life. On the development of national economy, India will find it economical to supply her people with the

* In 1925-26 India imported 1,564 million yards of cotton piece-goods at the value of 57.9 crores of rupees. On that basis the value of 1,529 consumed in the country and forming 34 per cent. of the total would amount to 56.6 crores of rupees, and that of the whole amount to 169 crores of rupees, assuming that all the piece-goods were of the same value. See the text below.

† Report of the Indian Tariff Board on the Cotton Textile Industry Enquiry, 1927, Vol. I, pp. 238-39.

* Cf. Johnston, G. A., Rationalization and Industrial Relations, *International Labour Review*, November 1929, p. 260.

cotton piece-goods of her mills. On that basis there are prospects of increase in Indian mill production by 140 per cent. more for the domestic consumption alone.

The cotton mill industry has still another function to perform in the national economy of the country. In these days of international interdependence and exchange economy every country must produce some commodities advantageous to her national economy for exchange with those of others. From the earliest times cotton fabrics have been one of the most important commodities for exchange. Although the fine cotton and the wonderful art of weaving of old are lost, India, in the supply of raw cotton for the production of cotton for common use, stands second only to the United States and has already built an industry which is the fifth largest industry in the world. She already developed a large export trade, the value being 7.79 crores of rupees in twist and yarn and manufactures in 1928-29.* After almost continuous expansion from 1899 to 1922, the principal industry has begun to undergo depression.

What the cotton mill industry in India, especially that in Bombay city, needs is rationalization. The Tariff Board on the Cotton Textile Industry Inquiry of 1928, which was appointed by Government to consider mill-owners' application for protection, recommended several remedial measures, such as increase in labour efficiency and improvement in internal organization, productive processes and marketing facilities. But the most significant suggestion of the Board was that the industry should examine the feasibility of establishing a separate company, of which those mills should be members, with a view to arranging such details as the manufacture of lines required, allocation of quantities among the members and the prevention of imitation of marks and numbers.† There is a unity of policy among the various mills at Bombay through the Mill-owners' Association. But if this suggestion is carried, there will be in India the beginning of a system of industrial combination which is called cartel and trust in Europe and America.

Industrial combination on the lines suggested by the Tariff Board is logically

the next step in the development of India's cotton mill industry. Since the war there has been tremendous progress both in industrial technique and industrial organization almost all over the world. In addition to lifelong rivalry with Lancashire, India has met Japan as her great rival even in her own domestic market. In the cloth of 30 s. counts and above, the cost of manufacture in Bombay mills alone is either practically equal to or higher than the Japanese sale price.* While the remedial measures suggested by the Tariff Board will go a long way towards rehabilitation, the great economy will result from industrial combination, which alone could make possible to discard old machinery and plants and to introduce new technique, including automatic machines, to specialize in certain lines of production by individual mills, to allocate the quantities to be produced by each mill and consolidate the purchase of raw materials and the sale of finished products.

Not only the Bombay cotton mills, but the entire cotton mill industry of the country needs industrial combination. One of the causes of depression in Bombay mills is the competition of the mills located up-country, where labour is cheaper and market is nearer. From the national view-point, it is not the question of sectional or provincial rivalry, but economy in the entire cotton industry itself. The object of the industry should be how to supply the entire needs of the country for cotton manufactures, and even to send out to foreign countries as much as possible of her immense export of raw cotton as manufactured goods. This can be done only by combining entire resources, capital and efforts so that the member mills might be distributed throughout the country with a view to economizing the purchase of raw material, the marketing of finished products, the employment of labour and the utilization of mechanical power.

Not only the cotton mill industry, but several other large industries need rationalization. The jute mill industry naturally enjoys monopolistic advantages, but at present it manufactures only less than two-thirds of the raw material produced in the country.†

* *Ibid.*, p. 206.

* *The Review of the Trade*, 1929, Calcutta, p. 151.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 166 and 212.

† In 1926-27 India used in her own mills 3.5 million bales and exported 707,800 tons or 35 million bales of raw jute in 1926-27. See Statistical Abstract, 1928, pp. 639 and 479.

With the latest industrial technique and better organization, it can not only improve the quality of the present products, but can also manufacture within the country a much larger part of the raw material now exported. The depression in the coal industry shows the immediate necessity of rationalization both in technique and in organization. Tea, rubber and coffee are very lucrative enterprises, but there is a great scope for expansion and rationalization.

A word must also be said about the effect of the industrial combination upon the consumer and the labourer. It is evident that for the development of India's large-scale industries, there will be necessity for protection as in almost every other country, and thus there will in all probability be an increase in price. As far as rationalization itself is concerned any economy arising from it must belong to the industry but the public has a claim upon a share of the profits derived from protection. Any industry, which is for the welfare of the country and which receives protection must come under public supervision so that the profits are limited to a reasonable amount. As far as the labourer is concerned, rationalization is bound to cause certain temporary dislocation in employment. The labourer in such a case will receive the security of his income from a twofold source: first of all, if it is protected industry the State has a right to demand that the discharged worker should find appointment in some other department of the same establishment or in another establishment of the same industry. The industry should also establish an unemployment fund for such cases. In the second place, there must be national unemployment insurance, as in Great Britain.

Not only the large-scale industries but even the arts and craft or cottage industries need rationalization. Industrialization of the latter will itself become a step towards rationalization. The allocation of the cotton industries and buying of raw material and selling of products on the co-operative basis will not only lead to economy and elimination of waste, but will give some of them a much greater command over the market.

There is a still greater scope for the rationalization of agricultural industries. As in the case of cottage industries, industrialization of agriculture will itself lead to rationalization. The wastage of the present systems of agriculture has already been noted. This

wastage can be eliminated and agriculture can be made much more productive by the introduction of rationalizing processes.

The utilization of wasted soil fertility or arable land such as current fallows and cultivable waste, which together form 44 per cent of the arable land, is the first step in agricultural rationalization. It is true that all of the wasted land could not be economically brought under cultivation, but with scientific agriculture a considerable part of it can be utilized. What is equally important is that a large part of hilly land all along the Himalayas and the Eastern and Western Ghats, as well as in Assam and in Central India, could be utilized for the production of tea,¹ coffee, rubber, fruit and flowers. Unlike on the plains and in general agriculture, some of these industries can be profitably undertaken only on a large scale and on suitable arrangement for preserving, conserving, canning and marketing.

Intensification of cultivation is another important step in agricultural rationalization. The most important method of intensive agriculture is the production of two or more crops instead of one. It has been shown that out of 226 million acres of land sown with crops in 1926-27, only 30 million acres or 13 per cent. of the present area of arable land under cultivation is used for growing more than one crop. This area, being the most fertile land, must be devoted to the most intensive cultivation. This is quite possible with the help of increased irrigation and with the increasing use of fertilizers. The introduction of more profitable crops and of better plants and seeds, and of market gardening, which gives a quick return, are among the other methods of rationalization.

Diversification of farming is still another process of rationalization. Indian agriculture is too stereotyped, producing largely foodstuffs, oil seeds and fibre crops. The extension of such other forms of agriculture as poultry, horticulture, dairy, apiculture will not only make agriculture more productive, but will help in the utilization of the by-products or the half manufactured articles of the one industry by another. This will lead to the combination of some of manufacturing industries, such as preservation, conservation, canning and dairying industries, with agriculture.

The most difficult problem of rural life in India is the rationalization of the village

¹ or over-production?

system. Most Indian villages are nothing but small towns with all the disadvantages of urban life and yet having few of its advantages. What is still more uneconomical is that the sub-divided and fragmented farm plots are scattered all over the fields around the villages, often far away from the homestead, with different plots of the same farm located at a distance from one another. The sub-division of the land into small plots involves a great wastage of arable land. The movements from homesteads to farm plots and *vice versa*, especially in busy seasons, cause a wastage of time. Moreover, intensive farming such as cultivation of fruits and vegetables and flowers is not possible unless the farmer is located on the farm itself.

There are two methods of solving the problem, namely, either by the ruralization of village or the consolidation of production for co-operative farming. The former means breaking down of the village which is possible in all provinces except in the deltaic Bengal and Madras and distributing farmers on the farms, *i. e.*, joining the farm land and homestead together. There will be some space lost in building farm houses and farms, but it will be compensated by the intensification of agriculture. It is, however, a very expensive project and can scarcely be carried out. The second method is co-operative farming by combining the farms or plots into one or more common undertakings, to be owned jointly by all or a group of the cultivators in the village, on the basis of the joint-stock companies. Besides consolidation, this will allow application of implements and even machines to farm operations, and buying and selling on a large scale, thus resulting in economy. Each farmer might keep his share value in the farm land. The principle of joint-ownership is not unknown in India. Even to-day under the ryotary system, the land is held by the villagers jointly and rent is paid in a lump sum. The system of co-operative or joint-stock farming might be introduced in different stages, *e.g.* marketing, distributing and farming. The advantage of this system over the ruralization is that it will not involve the breaking down of the village life nor the high expenses of habilitation. It will lack some advantages of intensity, but will make scientific organization possible in India.

The principles of rationalization should not only be applied to the organization of national industries, such as farming, mining,

and manufacturing, but also to the management of each individual industrial establishment, such as factory, shop and farm. This aspect of rationalization, might be called scientific management* in its narrow and technical sense. It is concerned with the utilization of the practical results of other sciences, so that empiricism might be replaced by exact knowledge in business conduct.

✓ The essential features of scientific management might be classified under two heads: namely, industrial technique and psychophysiology. The former consists of such aspects as planning, research, accountancy and standardization, and the latter of such aspects as vocational selection, time and motion study, task-setting, rate-making, health, safety and industrial relations. Scientifically organized management is, therefore, first concerned with research and investigation so that by careful analysis some systems of standardization with regard to machine, material and methods might be arrived at and by the study of time and motion the quickest and best way of performing certain operations might be established. The selection of employees on the basis of physiological, psychological and educational tests and their training under expert or functional foremen and the payment according to the work actually done are among other important features of the system. As in the case of rationalization, scientific management in its technical sense has also for its object utmost use of the capital invested, a permanent basis for estimating costs of production, decrease in the cost of production and increase in output.

Starting with engineering workshops, scientific management has spread to almost

* Scientific management as a separate branch of industrial technique owes its origin to F. W. Taylor, and is sometimes called "Taylorism." But since its first enunciation it has widened its scope from the management of a workshop to that of industry as a whole, and from that of a single industry to that of national industrial organization. The term might, therefore, be used in three distinct senses, namely (1) obtaining the optimum output from human effort in American and classical sense; (2) organizing an industrial undertaking with a view to increasing its profits; and (3) organizing the entire industry of a nation with a view to eliminating waste. In the last sense, scientific management is the same as rationalization. It is in the second sense that the term has been used here. Cf. Devinat, Paul, *Scientific Management in Europe*, Geneva, 1927, p. v. 45.

all kinds of industries, such as mining, textiles, building, metal-working, banking and insurance, commerce and agriculture. Even the public services and public and quasi-public industries, have come more or less under its influence. In fact, scientific management can be applied to every form of business enterprise, however small as well as to all organized social institutions, including the household. The original home of scientific management is the United States, where it has made tremendous progress especially after the war, but it has now extended to almost all European countries, especially Germany, France, Belgium and Czechoslovakia.

Like rationalization, of which it is only the specific application, the introduction of scientific management is essential to India, not only for the sake of national economy, but also for the sake of industrial survival. Large-scale industrial establishments like cotton mills, jute mills, coal mines, iron and steel works, and engineering workshops, might immediately adopt scientific management. The recent depression in the cotton mill industry of Bombay and the coal-mining industry of Jharia and Raniganj have been partly due to lack of scientific management in these establishments.

The principles of scientific management should be extended to shops and farms. How to organize business, invest capital, purchase material, sell products and keep cost accounts

are some of the essential elements of scientific management, and without them no business undertaking can succeed in modern times. Business aspects of mathematics were highly developed in India and they can be easily revised for application to modern shops and farms. Since by far the majority of industrial undertakings in India consists of farms and shops, the scientific management of them is essential for the sake of national economy.

Nor should the household be excluded from the scope of scientific management. How to make the most out of the existing supply of commodities was the principle on which was founded the science of economics in ancient Greece. The same principle underlies national and political economy.

How to arrange the articles, including the furniture in the proper place, to distribute the work, such as cooking, sewing and laundering in the proper time, and to avoid unnecessary motions and activities are some of the methods of minimizing the waste of efforts and materials in the organization of household affairs. They not only lead to the savings of individual household, but to those of the entire nation of which it is composed. Since all production has for its end consumption, economy in consumption is equally important as in production. Moreover, like charity, rationalization or elimination of waste must begin at home.

(To be concluded)



Personal Magnetism

BY NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

HOW many of us have pondered over the significance of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi's historical letter to the Viceroy announcing the intention to violate the Salt Law was delivered in person by a young Englishman, Reginald Reynolds? There is first the letter itself with its unconventional manner and its directness, its utter outspokenness and the great human love that will not tolerate a wrong, and next there is the dramatic choice of the messenger, a young Englishman entrusted with a cartel from a frail and aged ascetic whose religion is love for all mankind to the highly placed representative of England's might in India. Why did a cultured and patriotic Englishman consent to be the bearer of a message which is an open challenge to British supremacy in this country?

Neither the issue nor the merits concern me here and now. The single question for consideration is why should Mr. Reginald Reynolds have left England and betaken himself to the Sabarmati Ashram? Why is he content to be an inmate of the Ashram with its surroundings of severe simplicity and its rigorous discipline, and why has he placed himself unreservedly at the disposal of Mahatma Gandhi? It is obvious that he has been attracted by the personal magnetism of Mahatma Gandhi. This quality is distinct from the greatness of a man. Mere intellectual eminence may make a man great, but it does not necessarily make him the possessor of personal magnetism. Byron was great, so was Victor Hugo, but neither of them is said to have been gifted with a magnetic personality. Some of the greatest men of genius were personally repellent.

East and West have combined to pay a common tribute to the greatness of Mahatma Gandhi. In America he has been the subject of a sermon from the pulpit, a writer of such distinction as M. Romain Rolland has written a character study of Mahatma Gandhi, and the world has recognized in him a force rarely known in the history of the world. His attraction is the magnetism of the heart and the soul, the resistless power of love,

and men and women from all parts of the world have come to him as people go on a pilgrimage. It is an Englishwoman who is now in charge of the Ashram during Mahatma Gandhi's absence.

Men follow persons in power to seek their favour. A man holding high office or wielding great power may inspire awe but he has no magnetism. Strip him of his office or his power and no one will look at him. The garment of authority is his only attraction; without it he is nothing. A man's personality owes nothing to accident or any artificial accessory. It is innate in himself, it cannot be taken away from him. To look at Mahatma Gandhi he is almost a primitive man: he wears scanty clothing and would be mistaken for a mendicant anywhere. And yet he has been acclaimed in both hemispheres as the greatest man in the world, greatest by the splendour of his soul, the greatness of his heart.

The singular fact remains that the magnetism of the East has attracted the West even in our times. Nations and races in the West may call themselves the greatest in the world; there are the pride of empire, the possession of invincible power, the haughtiness of superiority. Germany claimed to be unconquerable on land, England on the sea. There have been great leaders in many countries in Europe, captains who led from victory to victory, gifted artists and men with silver tongues who swayed multitudes. But the magnetism I have in mind is not the call to glory and aggrandizement, the flame that feeds on the fire of ambition, but the higher magnetism that attracts to sacrifice and suffering, the renunciation of the very things that men most covet.

It would be wrong to deny that saints and men and women of charming personalities have appeared in the West. When a nation ceases to produce any such it is doomed to early extinction. There are men of the highest character to be found in Europe as elsewhere. They are not to be found among politicians who juggle with words and high

responsibilities, nor among the men who rule another people with a high hand. But even among the best men in the West are there any who attract disciples from the East, young or old enthusiasts who find no rest unless they are in the company of the master or saint they admire? If I am answered that men with magnetic personalities in the West have no use for admirers from the East I declare that it is not real magnetism. A magnet will pick up a needle, east, west, north or south. On both sides the attraction is unconscious; it is involuntary and irresistible.

It cannot be said that the West has no attraction for the East. Are not our young men who have been to the West languishing for another visit to modern Babylon? For them the magnetism is of the hectic life and the purple glamour of the West. There is no individual appeal, nothing to stir the finer nature of man. In the pursuit of pleasure no one will cast away a net and become fishers of men like the apostles Peter and Andrews.

Of personal magnetism we have had three striking instances in India in the last forty years. We know perfectly well, and the knowledge is a constant humiliation, that India has no place in the Commonwealth of nations, and the very greatest Indian can be insulted and punished by any jack-in-office in this country. Swami Vivekananda was on the point of being arrested as a conspirator before he went to Chicago. Who can ever forget the effect of his magnetic personality on the West? How many people followed him from America and England to India! In what reverence and esteem was he held by his Western disciples! A woman of the intellectual acuteness of Sister Nivedita ranked him among the greatest of the prophets. Men and women used to come all the way out from America to behold the light of his countenance and listen to his words that were always with power. It was the magnet of the East drawing the needle of the West over across the seas.

Before he received the Nobel prize and the Knighthood (the latter, very fortunately, is no longer in his possession, or he might have been confounded with the very doubtful Knights of the New Round Table) Rabindranath Tagore was a suspect. He received a warning for having made what was regarded a seditious speech. His

movements were watched and followed and he was given a distinguishing number by the C. I. D. (these letters are the abbreviations for Copper In Disguise, on the high authority of Edgar Wallace). Since then the welcome accorded to this Indian poet in every part of the world has not greeted any one from the West, however famous or eminent. Rabindranath's fame as a poet does not account for his personal magnetism. That is a quality apart. There have been poets greater than him but they were not always magnetic. A man's genius is not necessarily a part of his nature, for a great poet may not always be lovable as a man. Rabindranath has attracted some good men from the West and they have found pleasure and instruction in his company in his peaceful hermit home.

Mahatma Gandhi has exalted suffering to the height of religion. In South Africa he was savagely assaulted by his own countrymen and left for dead. He refused to prosecute his assailants. As regards prison experience he was scarcely out of prison than he was in again. If his prison record count for anything he must be classed as a hardened criminal. In India, charged for the first time with the offence of sedition, a very polite judge courteously sentenced him to imprisonment for six years, but forgot to wash his hands before passing sentence. The greatest of English poets, Shakespeare, has said,

Most welcome, bondage! for thou art
a way,

I think, to liberty.

If any one is entitled to make this declaration with the fullest faith it is Mahatma Gandhi.

What does it matter if foolish Anglo-Indian scribes denounce him, or a number of his own countrymen hire another such to vilify him day after day? In South Africa his own countrymen struck him down senseless; in India why should some others of his countrymen deny themselves the pleasure of flinging mud at him? Since Mahatma Gandhi refuses to bear ill-will to any one his detractors will not even be answered.

In choosing an Englishman to carry his letter to the Viceroy Mahatma Gandhi has proved that he loves Englishmen in the same way as he loves others. The

British Government in India is another matter. Behind a system there is no personality and no magnetism can act upon it.

Is it necessary to add that Jesus Christ, the greatest personality in the West, also

belonged to an Eastern and subject race ? To the West belongs the compulsion of force, to the East the magnetism of personality. And therefore the East with all its affliction of subjection is greater than the West.

The Game of Constitution Making for India

By N. N. GHOSH, M.A., B.L.

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LAWS are the most directive and purposive of human institutions, and, of all legal institutions, the constitution of a country is that which bears the closest relation to the life of the community and to the well-being of the individuals who compose it. No social institutions afford a finer study of the inter-play of soul and body, of spirit and matter, than the constitutional and administrative laws of countries and peoples. These furnish the best object-lessons of the spiritual values of social institutions.

In the past, many varieties of personal autocracy, oligarchy and bureaucracy have been tried as forms of government. All have been found wanting and many even brought to a violent end. Latterly, men have been pinning their faith increasingly upon some form or other of democracy. The reason of this is that every other form of government, besides admitting all manners of abuses for the exploitation of the people as a whole for the benefit of a limited few, fail (even when most benevolently conducted) to hold out any hopes or possibilities of the realization of a fuller life in which all may participate. The English parliamentary form of government and its American variant, to mention the two most typical modern forms of democratic government, are also open to serious abuses, and in ways which are proving extremely disconcerting to all who honestly believe in democracy. A high place nevertheless has to be accorded to the parliamentary form, in the order of governments, not only because of its promises of a fuller and richer life to the people as a whole, but

also because from experience it appears to be the form of government which has carried with it the largest measure, as yet attained, of the living activities of the people intensively as well as extensively.

This indeed is the one standard by which the government of any country must be judged today. It is said that the first duty of all governments is to maintain law and order. That is true. But a government which can do only that and nothing more is and should know itself to be a very low form of government, for it just barely manages to be "government." That was the plight of the later Roman Empire, driven thereto though it unquestionably was by necessity rather than by choice. And yet does any student of history for one moment regret that this top-heavy, economically emaciated, military bureaucracy fell into pieces before the repeated assaults and onslaughts of the Barbarians ? In the midst of all its barbarism and lack of amenities and order, there was that in the Feudal jungle of the Middle Ages of Europe which made green life germinate and sprout. It was more congenial to life than the unrelieved arid desert of the later Empire.

The Government of India has gone through several phases since British statesmen and lawyers took a hand in its making. How does it, through all these phases, answer this test ?

Has not that Government established the the "Rule of Law," where previously there were anarchy and disorder ? Order has been established, but not the Rule of Law which is its better part. The Rule

of Law in England has served to provide appropriate channels through which, generation after generation, the growing powers of the people have sought accommodation in its strivings towards a fuller existence. The value of the English Rule of Law lies in its being the regulated self-rule of the people themselves. What is the Rule of Law worth if the will of the people is not able to express itself through it and if, on the other hand, it admits of being utilized chiefly to hamper and curb that expression?

The Government of India Act in its latest phase (that of 1919) is a perfect embodiment of "autonomy in fetters," of "checks and balances" as applied upon the creature which it took upon itself solemnly and in sonorous phrases to foster and develop into responsible manhood. It is, of course, the most colossal of all fallacies to imagine that the constitution of England is one of "checks and balances" in that or any other sense. The Rule of Law in England is indissolubly bound up with the sovereignty of the House of Commons. It is the body through which the soul of the people of England operates and works in rhythm and order. Does the constitution of British India serve to develop and energize the soul of the people of India in one-hundredth of the degree in which the English constitution develops and energizes the soul of the people of England?

From this point of view, apart from the special peculiarity of the latest Indian constitution just noticed, there is nothing to choose between the East India Company's Government before 1858 and the Government of today. For a variety of reasons, one of which is the peculiarity above referred to, the spirit has, if at all, worsened.

Before 1858, the Government at Home was at all times alive, at any rate, to the fact that the Company, a private corporation of trading people, was out for exploitation and self-aggrandizement and so needing to be kept strongly in hand by the Government at Home. Without the necessity of any urge in that behalf on the part of Indian politicians and publicists spoiled by English education (these had not come into existence yet), the Home Government was constrained to bring into the governance of India a considerable element of conscience for the very reason that the East India Company was suspect as an instrument of government. Whatever amelioration the theory of govern-

ment of the British Indian bureaucracy has undergone in its relations to the people of India was achieved really in the Company's Raj and not subsequently. The doctrine that the British Government was a trustee for the people of India had been announced long before the Mutiny.

But the moment the Crown "assumed the Government of India," and substituted its own agents and mandatories for the East India Company, all progress in that direction stopped. These agents of the Crown were not suspect as the East India Company was, and for half a century after 1858, everything was best in the best of all possible worlds, so far at any rate as the Home Government was concerned, specially as the Civil and the Political services, the Army, Trade and Commerce of India provided employment and even affluence to substantial sections of the very people who in England during this period dominated and controlled her Parliament. Though there has been no second Mutiny, is it to be wondered at that the discontent which the second seventy years of the British rule in India has fostered is more widespread and deep-seated than that which exploded in the Mutiny?

The travail began in the early years of this century and out of it at long last was born the Government of India Act of 1919. How does it answer the test? What scope does it offer to the people of India to live a fuller and ampler life of their own as compared with that secured or permitted by those which went before it?

The Government of India Act of 1919 is very fine machinery, finer far than the ramshackle English constitution, which is so uncertain as regards its parts and in the mutual fitting and adjustment of those parts and for that reason so difficult to understand and copy on the part of foreigners. But though it is (and perhaps just because it is) bad machinery, it draws all the soul of its owners to work it. It is a different story altogether with the Indian constitution.

As a piece of machinery the existing Indian Constitution can lay claim to being as near perfection as human ingenuity can make it. They were cunning constitutional artificers who planned and adjusted its parts and fitted these up into a composite unit. The only defect of it is the defect of all mere machinery. It has no life and it has to be worked (and if the truth is to be told, when it had been finally licked into shape, it was not

intended to be worked otherwise than) by force imparted from outside. The autonomy which was to grow and develop within this machinery in fact got caught like a mouse inside a trap ran breathlessly about for as long as it could, looking for an outlet to freedom, and then collapsed. All these are figures of speech, but no figures are needed to show from the provisions of the Government of India Act themselves that whether the matter be one belonging to the reserved or to the so-called "transferred" departments, the responsibility for good government still rests wholly with the agents in India of the Secretary of State in Council. It is these who are ultimately accountable for all the mistakes of Government real or supposed by whomsoever committed. Whatever field is examined—administration, appropriation or legislation—every apparent move towards conferment of autonomy on the local councils is found to be immediately countered by the provision of multiple safe-guards, so thorough that given the least inkling of a disagreement, responsibility returns as by the rebound of a spring to the agents of the Secretary of State. The will of the Indian Civil Service still continues to be the will of the Government in every department, whatever outward semblance of subordinating that will to the wishes of the people's representatives may be momentarily conjured up from the staging of a show of parliamentary methods in the Council Houses. The more one studies the details of this wonderful machinery and the more he admires the perfection of its parts and their mutual adjustment from the point of view of the official engineers, the more elusive the "substantial" measure of self-government expressly offered as a first instalment in the Preamble of the Act of 1919 turns out to be. It is the story of the Local Self-Government Acts in which Lord Ripon's admirable intentions took material shape retold word for word, the persons, the arena and the background only being different. The engineers in either case spared no pains to make the machinery absolutely and completely fool-proof, honestly believing no doubt that those who were to have a first try in working it were incurable fools, so that care was taken that it should ultimately work, in every instance that mattered, in consonance with the tastes, wishes and the mature wisdom of the watchful official guardians planted in their midst, who at the proper moment must give the machine just that twist that would

make it run with the ideal official smoothness. The present Government of India Act, in so far as concerns the people of India, is dead machinery, all matter and no soul. It piles up official "veto" upon official "certification," which powers however are carefully denied to the only authority which "in the fulness of time" is to develop and absorb all power and responsibility, I mean the Legislative Councils. Not that the drama is entirely devoid of the human touch. It provides endless scope for lobbying and intrigue, besides that it offers the representatives of the people who may fail to enter into the spirit of the game unlimited opportunities to reflect upon the acts and motives of the officials, furnishing at the same time equal opportunities to the officials, through all possible modes and moods, of affirming their unvarying probity and infallibility and of sermonizing their critics on the latter's total lack of sweet reasonableness. Beyond mobilizing all honest public opinion against officials and the government of officials, the present Government of India Act has done no service to India that one can discover. And as if these multiple checks and balances which thwart the healthy flow of the popular will (piling up, one upon another, *official* vetoes and *official* certifications) were not enough, the Statutory Commission has been flooded with claims of other special vetoes urged on behalf, or in the interest, of "minorities" (the smaller and more insignificant the louder), on behalf of Feudatory Chiefs whose "Treaty" rights must be held sacrosanct, of foreign commercial interests and the "Services," in the specious guise of "guarantees of special protection" on the one hand and of "safe-guards against differential treatment" on the other. What little glimmering of a soul may still be dimly discernible within the present constitution, even that, I apprehend, will vanish, should the engineers get a chance of fitting these deadly little devices for inhibiting the healthy growth of communal life, projected from non-official sources, into a machine already rendered thrice impotent, so far as concerns the self-governing part of it, by a surfeit of similar larger contrivances of official origination.

Any one with the least capacity for discernment can see that the malady from which the present Government of India (as a whole and as also in all its parts) is suffering is paralysis of thought and action. It does not move, because it cannot make

up its mind on anything that in these days of organized international competition really matters but just "carries on." It marks time, it does not go forward. It cannot even shake off the innumerable parasites that are battenning on its body.

The two parts of the institution, the Governing and the Popular, are always at cross purposes. The latter appears to exist only to fly into a temper and create friction, and practically the whole of the energies of the former is spent in trying to neutralize and compose the other part.

To keep such a machinery going, the engineer has no difficulty in persuading

himself, that he at any rate is indispensable; and of course, the more friction there is the more indispensable he would discover himself to be. Accordingly, those who are loudest in preaching the doctrine of indispensability are, as it were by a sub-conscious logic, also the people who proclaim themselves the champions of all minorities, oppressing as well as oppressed. Will the Round Table Conference, when they meet, do so just to serve the turn of these "Indispensables" and their time-serving henchmen by conjuring up differences which do not exist and by exaggerating others which should be thrust for ever into the background?

Rammohun Roy in the Service of the East India Company

(Mainly based on Unpublished State Records)

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

THE current lives of Rammohun Roy start with his service as "Diwan of Rangpur" under Mr. Digby in 1810, and have no light to throw on his career and movements before that year. Indeed we are quite in the dark about his early employments and his relations with European officers other than Mr. Digby. Yet, this formative stage of his career and his youthful experiences and travels would lend most valuable aid to a right understanding of his mental growth and his acquisition of wealth and position.

In 1815 we find a fully developed Rammohun settled in Calcutta and serving as a centre of light and influence in the society of the capital. It is the duty of his biographer to explain how he arrived at this stage. Happily, it is now possible to carry his authentic biography backwards by seven years to 1803.

AT DACCA

From the Bengal Government's old records we learn for the first time, that Rammohun

"was in the confidential employ of Mr. Woodforde when Acting Collector of Dacca Jelalpur." This was early in 1803. The fact that Rammohun had once served at Dacca was not known to any of his biographers. In fact this is the earliest definite mention I have been able to trace of his service under the East India Company.

Thomas Woodforde became Acting Collector of Dacca Jelalpur* (the district now called Faridpur) on 1st February, 1803.† The nature of the appointment held by Rammohun while at Dacca Jelalpur will be found in the following letter which Mr. Woodforde addressed the Board of Revenue on 7th March 1803:

"Kishen Chand having this day voluntarily resigned the office of Dewan of this collectorship, I beg leave to inform your Board

* The Dacca Jelalpur Collector's office was removed in 1811 from Dacca to Faridpur, which latter name was substituted in 1833 for Dacca Jelalpur.

† Board of Revenue Con. 8th February, 1803, No. 63.

thereof and that I have appointed Rammohun Roy in his place. Rammohun Roy has given the security required by Regulation 3rd Section 15, 1794, and the name of his surety is Dulsing, a very respectable man.”*

Thus we find that in March 1803 Rammohun—then about 29 years of age—was appointed Diwan to the Collector of Dacca Jelalpur. It seems highly probable that his acquaintance with Mr. Woodforde began much earlier than this year, but we do not know whether he had taught oriental languages to this Civilian or held some sort of appointment under him in the earlier days of his writership.

Mr. Woodforde continued to hold the collectorship of Dacca Jelalpur till 14th May 1803, on which date he handed over charge of the district to Mr. John Battye.† Rammohun, too, resigned his post of Diwan on the very same day, as will be seen from Mr. Battye's letter to the Board, dated 16th May 1803 :

“In the letter which I had the honor of addressing you on the 14th instant, I omitted to state that Mr. Woodforde, late Acting Collector of this place, informed me that Rammohun Roy had on that morning sent him his resignation of the office of Dewan of Dacca Jelalpur.”§

From Dacca Mr. Woodforde came down to Calcutta and on 11th August he was appointed Register of the Murshidabad Court of Appeal and Court of Circuit. But before assuming charge of his new office he was obliged to take leave on 8th September to proceed to sea for the restoration of his health.

From Dacca Rammohun must have come back to his ancestral home at Radhanagar, where his father, Ramkanta Roy, was then lying on his death-bed, as we learn from Mr. Adam's Memorandum :

“R. Roy, in conversation, mentioned to me with much feeling that he had stood by the death-bed of his father, who with his expiring breath continued to invoke his God—Ram! Ram! with a strength of faith and a fervour of pious devotion which it was impossible not to respect although the son had then ceased to cherish any religious veneration for the family deity.”

Ramkanta Roy died during the latter part of 1803. In the following year Rammohun

seems to have proceeded to Murshidabad to join Mr. Woodforde, who took up his new appointment sometime after February, 1804. A tradition is current that during his sojourn in Murshidabad, Rammohun got his *Tuhfat-ul-Muahhidin* printed.* In this connection it is interesting to note that the date of the publication of this pamphlet is given by one writer as 1803 or 1804.†

We shall presently see that Rammohun next proceeded to Ramgarh, owing perhaps to the illness of Mr. Woodforde, which necessitated his proceeding to sea again in August 1805. He was ‘out of employ’ in 1806 and must have gone home. Rammohun's superior, Mr. Thomas Woodforde, was in all likelihood, the same gentleman with whom he many years later maintained a correspondence while in England.§

AT RAMGARH

The name of Mr. John Digby has come down to us as an intimate friend of Rammohun. The first appointment held by him on his arrival in this country was that of the Register of City Court of Dacca in August, 1804. On 9th May, 1805 he was appointed Register of the Zila Court of Ramgarh and Assistant to the Magistrate. The following passages in a letter, dated 30th December 1809, addressed by Mr. Digby to the Board of Revenue, indicate that it was at Ramgarh, near Ranchi, that Rammohun first made his acquaintance with Mr. Digby (in 1805) and that he acted as Sheristadar of the Faujdari Court there during the period that Mr. Digby officiated as Magistrate of the Zila of Ramgarh :

“Rammohun Roy.....acted under me in the capacity of Sheristadar of the Faujdari Court for the space of three months, whilst I officiated as the Magistrate of the Zillah of Ramgarh.....The opinion I have formed of his probity and general qualifications in a *five years' acquaintance with him*”...

A reference to the State records shows that during the illness of Mr. Miller, Judge and Magistrate of Ramgarh, the Governor-General, on 21st August 1806, empowered the Register, Mr. Digby, to officiate as

* *Board of Revenue Procdgs.* 11 March, 1803, No. 23.

† *Board of Revenue Con.* 20th May 1803, No. 3.

§ *Ibid.*, No. 28.

* According to Dr. Carpenter, “He now quitted Burdwan and removed to Murshidabad, where he published in Persian, with an Arabic preface, a work entitled ‘Against the Idolatry of all Religions’”—Mary Carpenter, 2nd ed., p. 4.

† See the Editor's note on p. 953 of the Panini Office edition of Rammohun Roy's English Works.

§ Mary Carpenter's *The Last Days in England of the Rajah Rammohun Roy*, (2nd ed.), pp. 97-99.

Magistrate of that district, while Mr. Miller was away from the station.*. Mr. Digby acted as Magistrate for three months and handed over charge of the office to Mr. R. Thackeray on 18th October 1806,† reverting to his original post of Register.

We are therefore left in no doubt that Rammohun served in the capacity of Sheristadar of the Faujdari Court at Ramgarh from August to October, 1806, i. e., the period during which Mr. Digby officiated as Magistrate of the Zila Court of Ramgarh. The usual salary of a Sheristadar was Rs. 50 a month. It will be seen later on that an unfavourable mention of Rammohun's conduct while holding this post reached the Board of Revenue.

AT JESSORE

We next find Rammohun at Jessore. In his letter to the Board of Revenue, dated 31st January 1810, Mr. Digby wrote :

"...the knowledge he [Rammohun] evinced of the Regulations and of the general system to be adopted for the collection of revenue when with me in the capacity of a private Munshi, during the term of my acting as Collector of the district of Jessore."

We learn from the records that on 23rd December 1807 Mr. Digby reported to the Board of Revenue the fact of his having received from Mr. E. Parker the charge of the Jessore collectorate§ and that the former relinquished this office on 9th June 1808.** Thus, it is clear that the period of Rammohun's stay at Jessore as the private Munshi of Mr. Digby must have been from January to 9th June, 1808.

As Rammohun was merely in the private employ of Mr. Digby at Jessore, it is extremely unlikely that a search among the records of the Jessore collectorate will yield any information about him.

AT BHAGALPUR

From Jessore Mr. Digby was directed to proceed to Bhagalpur to take up the appointment of Register of the Zila Court

there.* Rammohun evidently accompanied him. His residence at Bhagalpur in January 1809 is mentioned in a petition against the behaviour of the local Collector which he forwarded to the Governor-General Minto on 12th April 1809. He states :

"On the 1st of January last, your petitioner arrived at the ghaut of the river of Bhagalpur, and hired a house in that town."†

In connection with this petition the Collector of Bhagalpur made some remarks, the following passage of which indicates that in 1808-09 Rammohun was in all probability still in the private employ of Mr. Digby at Bhagalpur, although the latter nowhere mentions the fact :

"I turned to a servant of mine and enquired who it was coming along ; he replied, Mr. Digby's Dewan, Baboo Rammohun Roy."§

AT RANGPUR

On 30th June 1809 Mr. Digby was deputed from Bhagalpur to act as Collector of Rangpur in the place of Mr. Morgan.** On the 20th October following, Mr. Digby was appointed substantive Collector of Rangpur.†† Rammohun also left Bhagalpur and followed him there.

At Rangpur the diwanship of the Collector's office fell vacant, and on 5th December 1809 Digby wrote to R. Thackeray, then Secretary to the Board of Revenue, that he had filled the post by appointing Rammohun Roy, "a man of very respectable family and excellent education, fully competent to discharge the duties of such an office."§§ It should be noted here that the post of Diwan—the principal native officer in the collection of revenue—generally carried a monthly salary of Rs. 150 to start with.

At the direction of the Board of Revenue, Digby next furnished the names of

* *Judicial (Civil) Procdgs.* 15 January 1808. No. 1.

† This document—published by me in the June 1929 number of the *Modern Review*, pp. 682-85, is supposed to be the first English composition of Rammohun.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 685.

** *Board of Revenue Procdgs.* 11 July 1809, No. 49.

†† *Ibid.*, 26th October 1809, No. 42.

§§ *Board of Revenue Con.* 14 Decr., 1809, No. 23. Mr. Digby has wrongly dated his letter as 5th November 1809, instead of 5th December, 1809.

* *Judicial (Civil) Procdgs.* 21st August, 1806, No. 19.

† *Ibid.*, 30th October 1806, No. 18.

§ *Board of Revenue Procdgs.* 29 Decr., 1807, No. 93.

** *Board of Revenue Con.* 14 June 1808, No. 34.

Rammohun's securities * and added the following information :

"Rammohun Roy, the man whom I have recommended to be appointed as Dewan of this office, acted under me in the capacity of Sheristadar of the Faujdari Court for the space of three months whilst I officiated as Magistrate of the Zillah of Ramghur and from what I saw of his knowledge of the Regulations, accounts etc. during that time and during the term of my acting as Collector of Jessore as well as from the opinion I have formed of his probity and general qualifications in a five years' acquaintance with him, I am convinced that he is well adapted for the situation of Dewan of a Collector's office." (30th December 1809). †

Digby's letter drew the following remarks from Mr. Burrish Crisp, then the Acting President and Senior Member of the Board of Revenue at Calcutta :

"I understand the man recommended by Mr. Digby was formerly in the confidential employ of Mr. Woodforde when acting Collector of Dacca Jellalpur. I have also heard unfavourable mention of his conduct as Sheristadar at Ramghur. Under the circumstances I feel averse to giving my voice for his confirmation as Dewan at Rungpur. Indeed, it may be sufficient to say as an objection, that a Faujdari Court is no school for knowledge in the Rev. Dept., and his three months of service as Sheristadar of that Court at Ramghur certainly cannot be considered as any qualification for the very important Revenue appointment of Dewan which Mr. D. proposes giving to him.

"I further consider the security offered as very objectionable on a general principle. The security of a zemindar should not in my opinion ever be taken for the Dewan of the zillah in which his lands are situated "

The President's observations afford us a glimpse into the actual reasons that ultimately led to the refusal of the Board to confirm the appointment of Rammohun. In fact, we learn for the first time from this source that an unfavourable mention of his conduct while Sheristadar of the Faujdari Court at Ramgarh had reached the Board, which chiefly influenced their decision.

The Secretary of the Board accordingly

wrote to the Rangpur Collector to nominate some other person for the diwanship, their ground for rejecting the nomination proposed by Mr. Digby being stated in the following passage :

"It is essentially necessary that all persons who may be appointed to the responsible office of Dewan should have been some time in the habits of transacting revenue details and also be well acquainted with the Regulations relating to revenue matters and the general system observed in the collection of the revenue. The service performed by Rammohun Roy as Acting Sheristadar of a Faujdari Court cannot be considered by the Board as rendering him in any degree competent to perform the more important duties of a Dewan which are in their nature totally different . . . They are of opinion the security of a Dewan should not, if it can be avoided, be persons holding lands in the district, as they possibly might obtain an undue influence in the district." (15th January 1810). *

The man on the spot, Mr. Digby, really felt aggrieved at the failure of his recommendations, and he again wrote to the Board, on 31st January 1810 : "I had imagined that such objection would have been sufficiently obviated by what I mentioned in my letter of the 30th ultimo, as to the knowledge he evinced of the Regulations and of the general system to be adopted for the collection of the revenue when with me in the capacity of a private Munshi, during the term of my acting as Collector of the district of Jessore. Moreover, I cannot refrain from observing that in many instances Dewans of Collectors have been confirmed by the Board, who had never been employed in any public office. I now beg leave to refer the Board to the Qazi-ul-Cuzzat in the Sadar Dewani Adalat; to the Head Persian Munshi of the College of Fort William, and to the other principal officers of those Departments for the character and qualifications of the man I have proposed." At the same time he informed the Board that Rammohun could procure securities from other districts to any amount that might be required. †

This letter ruffled the temper of the Board ; they not only refused to alter their decision, but entirely disapproved of the style in which Mr. Digby had addressed them on the occasion, and said that they "would certainly feel themselves compelled to take very serious notice of any repetition of

* "Joiram Sain the zemindar of Chachoiah etc., and Marza Abbasally, an heir of the late Marza Mahomed Tuckey zemindar of Coolaghaut etc."

† *Board of Revenue Original Consultation* 15th Jany. 1810, No. 10.

* *Board of Revenue Procdgs.* 15 Jany. 1810, pp. 135-36.

† *Board of Revenue Con.* 8th Feby. 1810, No 9.

similar disrespect towards them." (8th Feby., 1810).*

The Collector felt himself obliged to give the Board the following explanation of his attitude in the matter:

"If under the strong conviction which I felt of the superior talents, judgment and character of the person whom I recommended to the Board, and if under the disappointment I experienced in the rejection by the Board of that person so eminently qualified by extent of knowledge and respectability of character to promote the public interests connected with my office, I should have been betrayed into the adoption of a warmth of expression which could bear the construction of disrespect, I sincerely regret the inadvertency; and beg you will assure the Board, that far from entertaining any deliberate intention of disrespect, I meant merely to express but in a respectful manner, my surprise at the rejection of so intelligent a person and to remind the Board of the existence of precedent, which would authorize the appointment of persons less entitled to it, on the grounds of disqualification adverted to by the Board, than Rammohun Roy." (8th March 1810).

The Collector concluded his letter by expressing his earnest hope that the Board "will allow me to authorize Rammohun Roy to act as Dewan for a few months longer, by which means the Board will be enabled to judge of his real qualifications, and of the propriety or impropriety of confirming him in the office of Dewan; though I presume to hope that by adverting to the *taujis* and reports of the months of Aughun Poos and Maug in which there was only a very small balance, the Board will already be induced to entertain a favourable opinion of his talents and integrity."†

The Board, however, remained obdurate; they again directed the Collector to "nominate some other person instead of Rammohun Roy" and merely observed "that the punctual realization of the public revenue is generally deemed a circumstance creditable to the exertions of the Collector: though at the same time they would not be unwilling to deny the possibility that some share of that credit might be due to the vigilance and attention of the Dewan. But the Board can by no means admit the argument that favourable *taujis* for three months of the year or even for a much longer period alone afford a criterion for judging either of the talents or integrity of the native officer holding that situation." (16th March, 1810.)

Mr. Digby was now convinced that

further representations to the Board on behalf of Rammohun would be of no avail and he looked out for another man. On 28th March 1811 he was able to intimate to the Board the nomination of "Munshi Hemaitullah, a man of good ability and fair character, who served twelve years as Sheristadar of the Faujdari and about two years in the same capacity in the Dewani Court of Rangpur, to officiate as Dewan of this office." The Board promptly confirmed the appointment of Hemaitullah as Dewan of the district (19 April, 1811).

It is abundantly clear from the official correspondence quoted above that Rammohun was never made substantive Diwan of the Collector of Rangpur. He merely held the situation temporarily for a period of some five months, from December 1809 to—say—April 1810.

AT UDASI—RANGPUR

It is said that Rammohun continued to stay at Rangpur till 1814 and settled in Calcutta after Mr. Digby had left Rangpur, on home furlough, at the end of that year. But it is not known from any of his biographies what kept Rammohun at Rangpur during the five years that followed the refusal of the Board of Revenue (in March 1810) to confirm Mr. Digby's nomination of him to the diwanship. Fortunately, some State papers, discovered by me among the records of the Bengal Government, help us to fill up this gap in our knowledge, and we now know, for the first time, that in August 1810 he was appointed by Mr. Digby as guardian of the minor proprietors of the Estate of the late Rajkishor Chaudhuri of Udasi, on a salary of Rs. 8 per month. The estate was then under the management of the Court of Wards, and Rammohun retained his office till February 1815, when, the minors having come of age, he left Rangpur and settled in Calcutta.

The appointment of Rammohun Sarma* as guardian of the minor proprietors of the 8-anna share of Udasi was intimated to the Court of Wards in the following letter, dated 1st August 1810, from Mr. J. Digby, Collector of Rangpur:

"I beg leave to acquaint you for the information of the Court, that I have appointed

* *Ibid.*, No. 10.

† *Board of Revenue Con.* 16 March 1810, No. 11.

* The title of *Sarma* is exclusively used by Brahmans. Rammohun Roy was born of an orthodox Brahman family.

Rammohun Sarma, as guardian of Kishenkishor, and Gourkishor Chowdhries, minors proprietors of 8 annas share of Odassy, who appears as procer a man for that office, as I can expect to procure, for a salary of Rs. 8 per mensem, and trust that the Court will be pleased to sanction the appointment.”*

On 21st August 1810 the Court desired to know whether Rammohun Sarma was a relation of the minors, and, if not, the Collector was directed to enquire if there was any of their relations fit for the duty of guardian who would undertake the trust for nothing. †

Mr. Digby supported his nominee on the following grounds :

“I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st instant, in reply to which I beg leave to acquaint you, for the information of the Court, that Rammohun Sarma, the man proposed as a guardian for Kishenkishor and Gourkishor Chowdhries minors, does not bear any relationship to them and that as the first cousin of their father has already preferred a suit to the Court against the minors, for 3 annas share of their Estate, it being also doubted, whether the rest of their relatives have any particular regard for them, I do not consider it advisable to trust any of them with an office of such responsibility as that of guardian to the minors.” (29 August 1810).§

The Court saw the propriety of the Collector's remarks and confirmed the appointment of Rammohun in November, 1810.**

Early in 1815 the two wards, having attained the age of majority, took up the management of their estate, as will be seen from the Collector's letter quoted below :

“Enclosed I have the honor to transmit a copy of a petition presented by the guardian of Kishenkishor and Gourkishor minor proprietors of 8 annas share of the Estate Odassy, soliciting to receive the management of the said estate into their own hands at the expiration of the current Bengal year and to have the amount of the deposits and Notes with the interest thereon delivered to them. Kishenkishor Chowdhuri has appeared before me and I am of opinion that he has already attained the age of majority. I also beg leave to add that the present farmer's lease expires with this Bengal year.” (9 Feby. 1815).††

No mention of Rammohun's name as guardian occurs among the records of the

Court of Wards from March 1815 onwards. Thus, it is quite clear that Rammohun's residence in Calcutta dates from the early part of 1815 and not from 1814 as is generally believed.*

A search conducted among the Rangpur collectorate records may yield some correspondence exchanged between Rammohun Roy as guardian of the Udasi wards, and the Collector of the district.

RAMMOHUN ROY AND MR. DIGBY

Though a subordinate officer Rammohun was held in high regard by his superior, Mr. Digby. A sincere friendship sprang up between them, and they assisted each other in studying European and Oriental literature respectively. This laid the foundation of Rammohun's extensive knowledge of Western literature. In the following passage Mr. Digby describes Rammohun's attainments :

“Rammohun Roy...is by birth a Brahmin of very respectable origin, in the province of Bengal, about forty-three years of age. His acquirements are considerable : to a thorough knowledge of the Sanskrit (the language of the Brahminical Scriptures) he has added Persian and Arabic ; and possessing an acute understanding, he early conceived a contempt for the religious prejudices and absurd superstitions of his caste. At the age of twenty-two he commenced the study of the English language, which not pursuing with application, he, five years afterwards, when I became acquainted with him,† could merely speak it well enough to be understood upon the most common topics of discourse, but could not write it with any degree of correctness. He was afterwards employed as Dewan, or principal native officer, in the collection of revenues, in the district of which I was for five years Collector, in the East India Company's Civil Service. By perusing all my public correspondence with diligence and attention, as well as corresponding and conversing with European gentlemen, he acquired so correct a knowledge of the English language as to be enabled to write and speak it with considerable accuracy. He was also in the constant habit of reading the English newspapers, of which the Continental politics chiefly interested him, and from thence he formed a high admiration of the talents and prowess of the late ruler of France, and was so dazzled with the splendour of his achievements as to become sceptical as to the commission, if not blind to the atrocity of his crimes, and could not help deeply lamenting his

* Board of Revenue—Wards O. C. 21 August, 1810, No. 10.

† Board of Revenue—Wards Procdgs., 21 Aug. 1810, p. 317.

§ Ibid., 30 Nov. 1810, No. 9 A.

** Ibid., No. 10.

†† Ibid., 28 Feby. 1815, No. 33.

* In his statement made in the Burdwan lawsuit in June 1823 we find that Rammohun “for the last nine years lived in the town of Calcutta.” This also places the date of his final settlement in Calcutta early in 1815.

† Mr. Digby's official correspondence of an earlier date, however, tends to indicate, that he made his acquaintance with Rammohun at Ramgarh in 1805, and I have accepted this date as correct.

downfall, notwithstanding the profound respect he ever professed for the English nation; but when the first transports of his sorrow had subsided, he considered that part of his political conduct which led to his abdication to have been so weak, and so madly ambitious, that he declared his future detestation of Buonaparte would be proportionate to his former admiration.*

Rammohun's sense of personal dignity, which was illustrated in the Bhagalpur incident alluded to before, was so great that the following statement of Mr. R. M. Martin—who had the privilege of Rammohun's acquaintance for several years—may not seem unlikely:

"So proud was his soul, and so tenacious of his rank was Rammohun, that a written agreement was signed by Mr. Digby to the effect that Rammohun should never be kept standing (a custom enforced by European Civil servants towards natives of the highest rank) in the presence of the Collector, and that no orders should be issued to him as a mere Hindu functionary."†

RAMMOHUN'S RESIDENCE IN RANGPUR

There is a tradition current in Rangpur that Rammohun built a house near Mahiganj at Tamphat, and excavated the big tank near the Court, at his own cost. It was at Rangpur that he first began to assemble his friends, including some Marwari inhabitants—Jainas by faith—and held evening discussions on the absurdities of idolatry. Such religious views very soon created a number of enemies for him. This hostile party was headed by Gaurikanta Bhattacharya, who is said to have been Diwan to the Judge's Court at Rangpur. Gaurikanta—a learned Persian and Sanskrit scholar—challenged Rammohun in his *Jnananjana*, a Bengali book published in 1743 Saka (1821). On page 4 of his book he says that Rammohun had been disseminating his religious views in a Bengali edition of the Vedanta and in another treatise composed in mixed Persian and Arabic. §

* See the reprint of Rammohun's translation of the *Kena Upanishad* and the *Abridgment of the Vedanta* (London, 1817) which Mr. Digby edited during a visit to England.

† "Rajah Ram Mohun Roy" by R. M. M.—*The Court Journal*, 5 Oct., 1833.

§ I have consulted a copy of the second edition of this book, as revised by Madhusudan

A good Persian scholar, Rammohun was known at Rangpur as a *Zabardast Maulavi*. Some are inclined to the opinion that it was probably at Rangpur that he published his *Tuhfat-ul-Muawhidin* (or 'A Gift to Monotheists'), a treatise in Persian with a preface in Arabic. It would be interesting to know the exact date of publication of this work, but perhaps this is not possible until a second and more complete copy of the 1st edition of it is discovered. In the *Tuhfat* Rammohun says: "I have left the details to another work of mine entitled *Manaxirat-ul-adiyan*—Discussions on Various Religions."* It is perhaps going too far to infer from this statement that Rammohun had actually published such a treatise, though he might have contemplated writing it, or had even composed it, either wholly or in part, at the time when he wrote the *Tuhfat*. On the contrary, the weight of evidence is in favour of the view that the *Manaxirat* was never printed. It is significant that not a single copy of this treatise has yet been discovered by anybody. Secondly, when speaking of his early publications against idolatry Rammohun mentions the *Tuhfat* only, and not the *Manaxirat*, as will be seen from the following passage in his *Appeal to the Christian Public*, a booklet published by him in 1820 under the pseudonym of "A Friend to Truth":

"Rammohun Roy, although he was born a Brahman, not only renounced idolatry at a very early period of his life, but published at that time a treatise in Arabic and Persian [*Tuhfat*] against that system; and no sooner acquired a tolerable knowledge of English, than he made his desertion of idol worship known to the Christian world by his English publication."

Tarkalankar and published from Calcutta in 1245 B. S. (1838), in the rich library of Rajah Radhakanta Deb Bahadur of Sovabazar.

* "The Discussions on Various Religions . . . are, unhappily, no longer procurable. I conclude then it must have been in one of these that Rammohun made some rather sarcastic remarks on Mahomet, to which reference is made by several of his biographers as having excited an amount of anger against him among the Mahomedans which was a chief cause of his removing to Calcutta. In Mr. Leonard's *Hist. of the Brahma Samaj*, these sarcastic remarks are said (p. 27) to occur in the *Tuhfat*, but certainly no such passage is to be found there."—Miss Collet, 2nd ed., p. 14.

India as an International Problem

BY REGINALD A. REYNOLDS

Satyagrahashram, SABARNATI

WE are so used to hearing of the *Pax Britannica* as the crowning benefit of British rule in India that the legend has acquired a kind of hoary sanctity. Englishman and Indian alike, we imbibe it in early boyhood from school history text-books, carefully written to feed the pomposity of the one, and the servility of the other. It has always been a wonder to me that no one has invented a symbol for this pacific imperialism—a sort of eagle-dove, for example; a feathered Janus which would signify at once the two functions of Empire and the two-faced character of the Imperialist.

However, I will not anticipate an invention which is better left to the genius of some true-blue Christian missionary. My function, alas, is that of the *Advocatus Diaboli*; and it is my painful duty to make a critical analysis of the claim that the British Empire is a suburb of the Kingdom of Heaven.

History records that at the time of the foundation of the East India Company the power of the Great Moguls was nearing its end. It was such a period as the world has often witnessed, when the destinies of nations are re-shaped. From the chaos that followed the breaking-up of the Roman Empire, a new and healthier civilization arose. In a later age the power of Spain was broken for the betterment of mankind. But in India the normal course of political evolution was frustrated at the most critical turn in her history, and the transient despotism of the Mogul emperors was replaced by a system that rooted itself deeply and rapidly by every available means. The dependence of India was to be not simply political but commercial: her subservience was to be not only outward, but inward and psychological, the product of a cunning system of education.

It is impossible to say with certainty what would have happened if India had been left to herself. The history of man-

kind is so full of surprises that none can tell whether India's development would have been swifter or slower than that of the West. Few would have dared to prophesy at one time that the Kingdom of the Pharaohs would one day become a dependency of an unknown island beyond the Pillars of Hercules. In more recent times Japan stood forth suddenly as the rival and equal of the Western Powers. And so the alternative destiny that lay before India must always be a matter of purest speculation. All that we know is the price that India and the world have paid for what actually happened, and the reckoning that yet awaits us, if cause and effect still hold good in the political world.

The early history of the British in India is bound up with the question of Anglo-French relations. Or perhaps it would be more true to say that Anglo-French relations at that time were bound up with British and French ambitions in India. It is in any case certain that Anglo-French rivalry had no solid basis in Continental affairs. England and France opposed each other in the War of Austrian Succession (1741-1748) as the sponsors of Austria and Prussia respectively. Seven years later they stood face to face once more; but in respect of the dispute that was still the main issue on the Continent (*i. e.*, the possession of Silesia) the two Powers had changed sides.

It was, in fact, apparent, both from this evidence and the known policy of the elder Pitt, who was all-powerful from 1757-1761, that the real quarrel between France and England lay in India and Canada. Pitt subsidized Frederick of Prussia to keep the French armies busy in Europe whilst he worked out his designs in the remoter parts of the earth. For over twenty years (1741-1763) England and France conducted their feud on land and sea, in what may be considered the first world war. In Canada the Red Indians were

drawn into the butchery. Central Europe was made the battle-ground of a bloody struggle. In India the divisions between rival nawabs was exploited; and in a sea of carnage Britain's first imperialists laid the foundations of the Empire.

From this time the British power in India remained undisputed, but India by no means ceased to be a cause of wars. Without doubt it was the British power in the East that fired Napoleon with the ambition to found a great Eastern empire, and sent him on his ill-fated expedition to Egypt. The conquest of Egypt was to have been the first step in a plan that Bonaparte had laid before the French Directory for a campaign in Southern India, where Tipu Sultan had promised his support.

Four years after the battle of the Nile the Peace of Amiens brought a short respite to the world, and when hostilities broke out again the following year, the cause was extremely significant. The island of Malta had been captured from the Knights of St. John by Bonaparte on his way to Egypt, and subsequently recaptured by the English. The British Government were not slow to realize the value of this stronghold in protecting the route to India, and our retention of the island had already been the occasion of war with Russia. Its restoration to its rightful owners was one of the terms of the Peace of Amiens, and Britain's failure to fulfil this pledge was the direct cause of the renewal of Anglo-French hostility in May 1803. Mr. Prothero, an imperialist of the deepest dye, says in his book *The Development of the British Empire* (p. 80):

"Its retention marks the entry of India and her affairs into European politics, for Malta was a stronghold on the way to Egypt and the Red Sea route to India."

We have seen that this is not strictly accurate; but it is interesting to notice that even the apologists of the Empire have to admit the far-reaching effects of Imperial policy in disturbing the world's peace. "Bony" was the last Frenchman to aim at "the brightest jewel in the English crown," and with this (be it noted) Anglo-French rivalry comes to an end, except for sporadic instances.

From this time onwards British diplomacy becomes more and more obsessed with what is now known as "the Russian

Bogey." Whether Russia ever actually had designs on India or not will never perhaps be ascertained, but it is a historical fact that our foreign policy up to and even after the formation of the Triple Entente, was dictated largely by the fear of Russian aggression in the East.

It is a cynical reflection upon the relative values attached to commerce and religion that England, which had once taken a leading part in the Crusades, now put forth all her power to conserve the Ottoman Empire. On the Red Sea route a subservient Turkey was considered preferable to a belligerent Russia; and for the next hundred years the British Government became absorbed in wars and intrigues in the Near East.

This was the cause of our interference in the quarrel between Mehemet Ali and the Sultan. "Palmerston," according to the epilogue to Green's history, "had a single purpose—so to restore the old boundaries of the Turkish Empire that it should remain in occupation of the roads to India." The action of England at that time in driving Mehemet Ali out of Asia nearly led to war with France. Rejecting an enlightened French proposal for the freedom or neutrality of the Suez and Euphrates routes, we protected the road to India our own way. The Treaty of London (1841) secured the Empire of Britain by guaranteeing that of the Sultan, and the Syrian Christians (for whose case France had pleaded) were restored to the *Pax Ottomana*.

Meanwhile on the North-West frontier of India the diplomatic "necessities" of the Empire had been levying their toll in blood and money. The First Afghan War was an act of aggression unsurpassed in the history of imperial enterprise. Dost Mohammed is described by Justin McCarthy as "a sincere lover of his country, and on the whole a wise and just ruler," and his only crime was that he had entered into friendly relations with Russia on being cold-shouldered by the British authorities in India. For this cause we declared war—a war that lasted four years, brought neither profit nor credit to any of the parties concerned, and ended in the restoration of the original status quo.

The Crimean War, with its terrible cost in human life, is the next landmark in our imperial history. Here again we were fighting for the integrity of the Turkish

Empire as a corollary of our Indian policy. Eleven years later Europe hovered on the verge of another war, when the bombastic imperialism of Disraeli threw us into a diplomatic conflict with Russia over the same issue. The atrocities committed by the Turkish Government in 1876 were probably unequalled in the whole record of the Ottoman Empire, and were made the subject of a vigorous political campaign by Mr. Gladstone. However, in the words of Justin McCarthy,

"The cry went forth...that the moment the Turks went out of Constantinople, the Russians must come in. Nothing could have been better suited to rouse up reaction and alarm."
Short History of Our Own Times, (p. 414).
 "Lord Beaconsfield was for maintaining Turkey at all risks as a barrier against Russia. Mr. Gladstone was for removing all responsibility for Turkey and taking the consequences" (*Ibid.*, p. 415).

The italics are mine, but the risks were doubtless felt by the world at large, and more particularly by the Sultan's subjects in Bulgaria.

This time, however, what Disraeli called "peace with honour" was maintained. "Peace with honour" was the work of the Congress of Berlin, where the British Prime Minister made, with the other delegates, a solemn statement that he was not bound by any secret engagements affecting the matters under discussion. In point of fact he was bound by two such engagements, of which one was a promise to maintain Turkey in all her Asiatic possessions against all invasion in return for the occupation of Cyprus by Great Britain. By such "honourable" means was the road to India secured once more.

The protection of this route had acquired additional importance by the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Our continual interference in Egyptian politics which followed this event may be traced chiefly to the military necessities arising from the Indian Empire. For this reason Disraeli had bought the Khedive's shares in the Canal Company, and England, therefore, continued her aggression in the Near East after France had abandoned the dual control of Egypt. On the bombardment of Alexandria, the author of *The Development of the British Empire* writes, "France was unwilling to interfere... but England could not leave the Suez Canal to be dealt with as Arabi chose." Bloody campaigns followed as a result, in Egypt and the Sudan.

The year following the Congress of Berlin

was marked by a second attack on Afghanistan, as utterly unjustified as the first. "The Government," says Justin McCarthy, "determined to send a mission to Shere Ali... the ruler of Kabul, in order to guard against Russian intrigue by establishing a distinct and paramount influence in Afghanistan.... It (the mission) was so numerous as to look rather like an army than an embassy." The mission was stopped on the frontier, and this fact was made a *casus belli* by the British authorities. The war that followed was as unprofitable and discreditable as the first, but the cost (£ 15,000,000) fell mostly on the shoulders of the Indian tax-payer.

The more recent history of Anglo-Russian relations is common knowledge, and it largely concerns India. In 1885 a frontier "incident" at Penjdeh nearly brought on a war between the two powers, and in 1905 the opening of negotiations between Tibet and Russia was the reason for the "armed mission" sent to Llassa by Lord Curzon (Gooch: *History of Our Time*, p. 173). That "armed mission" is a real triumph in the history of official phraseology. I wonder how it would have done in 1914 to speak of Germany's "armed mission" to Belgium!

After the formation of the Triple Entente the fear of Germany largely replaced the fear of Russia in English minds, but once more there can be little doubt that our jealousy of Germany's activities in the East were closely bound up with this change. As early as 1835 Von Moltke and other Prussian officers had undertaken the reconstruction of the Turkish army. By the end of the nineteenth century German influence had acquired a stronghold over the Sultan's Government. In 1898 William II visited Syria and proclaimed himself the protector of Mohammedans throughout the world. Britain's distrust of this menace to her Eastern Empire showed itself in a refusal to assist in the German project for a railway to Baghdad. The plan was continued, however, with the co-operation of Turkey. But Russian ambitions were here threatened almost as much as those of England, and the historic rivals of the Near East drew into a firmer compact against the intruder. So did the Indian Empire play its part in bringing on the world war in 1914.

All this time, while the Indian frontier and the road to India had been disturbing the courts of Europe, the venom of imperialism had not been idle in the Far

East. History records three disgraceful wars waged with China. In 1837 the "Heathen Chinese" had vetoed the importation of opium and (in the words of Mr. Prothero) "*The English Merchants in India*,"* stimulated by the high profit made from its sale, smuggled it into the country," the Indian Government, meanwhile, protesting strongly against the loss of revenue occasioned by the reforms in China. The Chinese Government seized, and destroyed the smuggled opium, and for the sake of these "English Merchants in India" we went to war. China was compelled to pay £4,500,000 for the cost of the war and £1,250,000 for the contraband opium destroyed, and forced to "open" five ports—i. e., to withdraw her prohibition against opium. That was the first Chinese War—the direct result of our economic imperialism in India. The second "Opium War" was no less discreditable and was condemned in the English Parliament at the time both by Radicals and Tories. The Jingoism of the "men on the spot" rather than Indian imperial enterprise was the immediate cause of the second and third wars with China; but inasmuch as they were rendered almost inevitable by the "treaty" that concluded the first war, they may undoubtedly be laid at the door of "our Indian Empire." No mention of Indo-Chinese relations would be complete without reference to the intervention of the Powers in 1927, when Indian troops were used against the express wishes of all parties in the Indian Legislative Assembly. It may be mentioned that this use of Indian lives and Indian rupees in the quarrels of England is not the least of the many indictments that are to be made against the British Raj: thus, for instance, India's "gift" towards the expenses of the Great War was £100,000,000, whilst another £100,000,000 is the estimated excess of her war budget during the years 1914-18 over her normal military expenses: her tribute of blood was poured forth in Flanders, Gallipoli, Iraq and East Africa.

If this article were to include in its scope all the wars into which Britain has entered in the last 200 years it could very easily be shown that every one of them was fought either for the expansion or the preservation of her empire—or, in other words, that every bloody conflict in which we have engaged was entered into for the

maintenance of the *Pax Britannica*. The American Independence War was an unsuccessful attempt to maintain that "Peace," the Boer War a successful attempt (if the world can see any difference). But the present article is only intended to deal with the cost of this *Pax Britannica* in India; and by its cost I mean in this case not the economic drain and impoverishment of the country itself by an intolerably expensive administration, but the cost in blood to the whole world of a "Peace" that is based upon violence. So for our purposes even such wars as that with Abyssinia (for which India was compelled to find men and money, though it was in no sense her quarrel) are hardly relevant. On the other hand, the various aggressive campaigns in Burma, by which England acquired that country at the expense of India, were all conducted in the name of Imperial defence, and so were a direct result of *Pax Britannica* in India, although jealousy of French interests played some part in the matter. To these must be added the long series of wars by which we conquered India itself and the border raids and "missions" by which we kept it (numbering over 100 in the last century) and the tale is—for the present—complete.

The immediate future of India's part in world politics is hard to determine. But assuming that Britain retains her hold on the country, a renewed clash between England and Russia is more likely to arise from our rival ambitions in the East than from any other cause. Shrewd observers have noticed the tendency of Bolshevik Russia to revert in many respects to her ancient Imperial traditions; and though her present isolation has led her to seek friendly relations with Turkey, there is little doubt that her Asiatic policy in general has changed very little. An important cause of this is that in 1918 and after we gave the Soviet Government good reason to fear our own ambitions in Turkestan. That was the time when Britain and India (perforce!) pursued a glorious crusade in Central Asia with the noble object of restoring Czarism. The campaign failed, but had it ended otherwise, who is to say whether the grateful Romanoffs would not have rewarded us with some concession?

This was the cause of the profound suspicion aroused in Russia since the rising in Afghanistan against King Amanullah.

* Italics are mine.

Investia was at the time confident that the outbreak was the work of British intrigue and "Aircraftman Shaw," (Colonel Laurence) was believed to be connected with the affair.

The truth or untruth of these charges is of little importance compared with the mentality that they illustrate. Russia is genuinely afraid of British ambition in the East, and in British minds Russia is still regarded as "the Enemy." It is, in fact, significant that by general admission the Bolshevik bogey in its guise as the symbol of World Revolution is being rapidly replaced in England by the older phantom of Russia, the aggressive military power of the Orient.

And what are the logical deductions to be made from such a wealth of evidence? We have seen that British imperialism in India has been the source of innumerable wars and contains in its continued existence the embryonic probability—some would say certainty—of further wars. For the moment we may discount the possibility of further aggression on Britain's part, and assume her to stand (as she appears to have done generally in recent years) for "Peace," on the basis of the status quo. Can we reasonably expect that other powers—a rejuvenated Russia, a paramount America, or an expanding Japan—will accept indefinitely a status quo whereby the lion's share of the world's produce and markets is held by Great Britain?

In a recent book on the causes of war, the distinguished French economist M. André Siegfried mentioned imperial rivalry as the prime cause of modern warfare. He spoke of emigration, the possession of valuable mineral deposits, and the control of markets as the three great factors in this rivalry, which resolved itself into a matching of forces. In the case of India the first factor is irrelevant, but neither of the other two can be ignored, though in this particular case a fourth cause might be added under the heading "Lucrative employment of the Upper Classes." With regard to the third cause we see that the shadow of imperial preference looms portentously in the near future. The Indian Government, that had already given preference to British steel, has now succeeded in forcing preference in the cloth trade as the price of protection to the indigenous industry. It is hardly likely that the rest of the world will long remain a disinterested spectator of this economic exploitation. Whether imperial preference

comes in its complete form or not, the possibility of its institution has always to be reckoned with by those other countries which consider their right to the Indian trade to be as great as that of England.

It is, therefore, amply clear that the very existence of such an empire as we have in India must be a perpetual cause of strife. It is not, for the moment, a question of whether we can rule India best; though testimony on this point is anything but unanimous in our favour. Most Englishmen believe that their rule as conquerors compares favourably with that of other Imperial Powers. They may be right, but their opinion is entirely irrelevant; for they cannot reasonably expect the other powers to take the same view of the case. Self-assumed and self-delegated authority, even where its objective results are beneficial, can (in the nature of the case) only claim the sanction of force, and is always open to challenge by equal or superior force. In other words, the principle of self-government is not only morally unassailable but it is also pragmatically indispensable; for, until the right of a nation to govern itself is recognized, the privilege of governing it must always be a matter of dispute between rival claimants.

So, in the case of India, since her "Trustees" are self-appointed they have no moral claim to put before the world, and centuries of *usus fructus* cannot justify a system essentially unjustifiable. So long as India remains in the hands of Britain it will be coveted by those who started later in the race for empire, while our vested interest in the road to India must inevitably bring us into conflict from time to time with the rights and interests of others.

Empire, in fact, connotes military dominion, pure and simple. It is derived from the word "Imperator," which meant (originally) a general. The "Peace" of an Empire is an armed peace, and an armed peace is a permanent invitation to war. That is where those shallow pacifists who try to establish the Kingdom of God without first rooting up the Dominion of Caesar make their fatal mistake. It is always easy to talk of peace when one has already grabbed the lion's share; in fact a maintenance of the status quo is inevitably to the advantage of the conqueror. In this sense the diplomats of the Congress of Vienna were great pacifists, for they aimed at a co-operation of the despots of Europe to perpetuate absolute.

monarchy. This is the pacifism of the man on top telling the man underneath him to stop struggling. It is the pacifism of the thief who *turns* "honest man" without restoring his stolen property.

But there is only one sort of pacifism that can bring any lasting peace, and that is a pacifism that brings nobility to the serf and penitence to the tyrant. The principles of peace are, in fact, bound up both morally and practically with those of democracy. Nowhere is this clearer than in the conflict of East and West; nowhere is its recognition more urgent than in the affairs of India. I would not be so rash as to prophesy that a free India would automatically generate peace. The sincerest advocates of Swaraj contemplate the possibility of an interim of internal anarchy, which may have to come sooner or later when the unnatural alien government is removed, just as the habitual drug-taker or drunkard may find his system temporarily upset by a return to healthy living.

One may remark here, parenthetically, that it is a universal tradition to prefer such anarchy to servile peace. Thus, the states of Europe, which are never tired of urging the benefit of their despotism in Asia or Africa, live themselves in a state of anarchy unequalled in the world's history. We persist in comparing Indian antagonisms with those of England or Ireland, whereas in point of numbers India ought to be compared with the whole of Europe. It would then be seen that India was a paradise of concord and unity compared with the mad-house that we showed the world in 1914. In all parts of the earth we desire greater harmony, but we of the West would scarcely relish the suggestion that this should be achieved by means of the Pan-European dictatorship (including Great Britain) of a Mussolini or a Pilsudski. Yet this is closely analogous to the "solution" that we have offered India.

The prospect of anarchy is to be reckoned with, and so is the fundamentally peaceful character of the country, deepened and spiritualized by the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, which must eventually produce a better state of affairs. But both these aspects of the question are temporary, local and speculative. Far more fundamental to the problem of world peace is the fact that self-government provides the only *condition*

upon which a solid foundation can be built. The virtue of such a settlement lies not in its immediate results but in the fact that it is the only settlement that can be justly and universally recognized as permanent. And that is the foundation stone of Peace.

It is here that international authority enters as a factor. No international authority that had any pretence to morality could guarantee Great Britain in the perpetual possession of her Indian Empire. But the League of Nations or any other International body both could and would guarantee Indian independence as a condition of our withdrawal. And if such a guarantee were made to include in some way the protection of "minority" interests in India, it would probably be welcomed by most of the present Indian leaders.

One word of warning is perhaps worth offering in conclusion. During the last 50 years a large number of Indians have themselves emigrated to other parts of the world—notably Africa—where, in spite of their oppressive treatment by the white people, they have succeeded in securing for themselves a status which is generally far superior to that of the indigenous population. In Kenya, especially, there seems a tendency for the Indian to aim at sharing the "trusteeship" with the Englishman, and, in fact, to associate himself with a system that he has condemned in his own country. Should India ever fall into this trap, it will be one of the great tragedies of history. The crumbling democracies of the West and the rise of military dictators is an object-lesson in the fact that one cannot easily preserve self-government at home and pursue despotism abroad. Even in England the necessity for "continuity" in imperial policy had proved a formidable obstacle to representative government; while in those countries whose dominions are less firmly held or who (like Italy) look to further colonial aggrandizement, the civil power has been necessarily subordinated to the military, with the inevitable result of dictatorship.

In connection with this problem of India's future foreign policy it is worth noting that a resolution on this subject was submitted to the All-India Congress Committee of March 21st, but it was at that time referred to a later date owing to pressure of work in a time of emergency. The resolution proposed included the following points:

- (1) Repudiation of present Government policy,
 - (2) Condemnation of political or economic domination of any country over another,
 - (3) Repudiation of secret diplomacy,
 - (4) Disarmament.
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Some of these points have been distressingly familiar on the lips of politicians out of office. But in a state which looked for its ideals to Mahatma Gandhi such words might prove after all to have some real significance.

Sister Christine

By SWAMI NIKHILANANDA

WITH the passing away of Sister Christine on the 27th March last in New York, we have lost one of those sincere lovers of India who, at the clarion call of Swami Vivekananda left their life of ease and comfort in the West behind and devoted themselves to the cause of our motherland. She, in collaboration with Sister Nivedita, founded the girl's school at Baghbazar which is now known as the Sister Nivedita Girl's School, the premier institution of the Ramakrishna Mission for promoting education among the Indian girls along national and modern lines.

Miss Christina Greenstidel, lovingly known since her adoption of the life of consecration as Sister Christine, held a lucrative post in the education department of the city of Detroit where she first came in contact with Swami Vivekananda in 1894. The Swami was the "man of the hour" in Detroit that winter. Society smiled upon him and he was much sought after. The daily papers recorded his comings and goings. Even his food was discussed, one paper gravely stating that his breakfast consisted of bread and butter sprinkled with pepper! Letters and invitations came pouring in, and Detroit was at his feet. Sister Christine first came in contact with this Hindu monk in Detroit. She, like other ladies, was surprised to find a man so white, so chaste as he was.

It set him apart from other men. He was intimately known to the most brilliant and beautiful women of the United States of America, mere beauty did not attract him, but he would often say, "I like to cross swords with your bright intellectual women; it is a new experience to me, for in my country the women are more or less secluded." His casual acquaintance with Sisters Nivedita



Sister Christine with Sister Nivedita

and Christine, Miss Waldo, Mrs. Ole Bull; Mrs. Bagely and other brilliant ladies thus ripened into lifelong friendship and devotion.

After one or two meetings with Sister Christine the Swami was much impressed with the innate purity of her heart. Even then he could foresee that this lady would be of inestimable value to him in his future plan of work for India. Regarding those who wished to have a part in his life-work he would say, "they must be pure in heart." He evidently noticed in Sister Christine great possibilities for renunciation and sacrifice. One day he asked a friend of the sister many questions regarding her life, habits and environments and then wistfully said, "And she is pure, pure in soul, is she not?" The friend simply replied, "Yes, Swamiji, she is absolutely pure in heart." His face lighted up and his eyes shone with divine fire as he said with enthusiasm, "I know it, I felt it, I need have her for my work in Calcutta." Swami Vivekananda had in his mind a plan for starting a school in Calcutta for the training of Indian girls. The sad contrast of his illiterate and ignorant sisters and mothers of India with the advanced women of the West weighed heavily upon his mind and he was on the look out for some Western women who would dedicate their lives to the advancement of the Indian womanhood.

Sister Christine had no chance to meet him in a personal way at the time, but she pondered in her heart over all that she heard him say, resolving to find him sometime, somewhere, even if she had to go across the world to do it. She lost all trace of him for nearly two years and even thought that he might have returned to India. But suddenly she was informed that Swami Vivekananda had been staying in the Thousand Islands Park with a band of chosen disciples for the purpose of recuperating his health and also initiating them into the deeper mysteries of spiritual life. She started next morning with Mrs. Funke, resolved to seek him out and ask him to teach them. The account of this first meeting at Thousand Islands Park may best be told in the words of Mrs. Funke:

"At last after a weary search we found him. We were feeling very much frightened at our temerity in thus intruding upon his privacy, but he had lighted a fine fire in our souls that could not be quenched. We must know more of this wonderful man and his teachings. It was a dark and rainy night and we were weary after our long journey, but we could not rest until we had seen him face to face. Would he accept us? And if he did not,

what then could we do? It suddenly seemed to us that it might be a foolish thing to go several hundred miles to find a man who did not even know of our existence, but we plodded on up the hill in rain and in darkness, with a man we had hired to show us the way with his lantern. Speaking of this in after years, our *Guru* would refer to us as 'my disciples who travelled hundreds of miles to find me. And they came in the night in the rain.' We had thought of what to say to him but when we realized that we had really found him, we instantly forgot all our fine speeches and one of us blurted out, 'We came from Detroit and Mrs. P. sent us to you.' The other said, 'We have come to you just as we would go to Jesus if he were still on the earth and ask him to teach us.' He looked at us so kindly and said gently, 'If only I possessed the power of the Christ to set you free now!' He stood for a moment looking thoughtful and then turning to his hostess who was standing near said, 'These ladies are from Detroit. Please show them upstairs and allow them to spend the evening with us.' We remained until late listening to the Master who paid no more attention to us, but as we bade them all good night we were told to come the next morning at nine o'clock. We arrived promptly and to our great joy were accepted by the Master and were cordially invited to become members of the household."

Those summer months at the Thousand Islands Park were a period of tender memories to those twelve disciples who had clustered round their beloved teacher. It seemed as if Pentecostal Fire descended and touched the great Swamiji. He told them of the glory of renunciation, of the joy and freedom of those of the ochre robe. One day in the midst of such a conversation he suddenly left them and in a short time wrote his "Song of the Sannyasin," a passionate poem of sacrifice and renunciation. His teachings and talks were related to the deepest mysteries of spirituality and all of them felt for the time being a taste of Life Eternal. These teachings of the Swami have been recorded in his immortal book, *The Inspired Talks*. Though a great teacher explaining serious and profound things, he was like a boy in other matters. What impressed most of his disciples in those days was his infinite patience and gentleness—like a father with his children, though most of them were several years older than he. He would often cook for them Indian tit-bits leaning over the stove with great patience. He was at those times so gentle and benign.

Sister Christine's next meeting with Swami Vivekananda was at the Belur Math where she arrived, with the Swami's consent, in the early part of 1902 a few months before his passing away. She came to India with the expressed desire of helping Sister Nivedita in

her educational work among the Indian women. The Swami was eager to take advantage of her educational experiences in America. In addition to this there was the magnetism of her personal character, purity of heart and an inborn spiritual fervour. Perhaps a worthier choice could not be made. A few months' stay with the Swamiji helped a great deal in the inflorescence of her many latent sterling virtues. She was imbued with a passion for serving this great country.

In the autumn of 1903, the whole work of Indian women was taken up and organized by Sister Christine, and "to her," writes Sister Nivedita, "and her faithfulness and initiative alone, it owes all its success up to the present. From the experiment which I made in 1898 and 1899 was gathered only my education." Her interest in the work was as deep and close as that of Sister Nivedita. Before her advent the school consisted of classes for little girls, in which Kindergarten methods were practised with more or less success. When she, however, took up the management at the end of 1903, it was with the intention of devoting herself specially to the cause of married women and widows. Her single-minded devotion greatly expanded the scope of the work. It was at first quite a question whether well-born orthodox women of respectable families could be persuaded to enter the house of two Western women, even for the purpose of lessons, on two afternoons each week. To the utter amazement and great delight of all it was found, on making the experiment, that they were accepted so entirely as recognized members of the community that orthodox ladies of the strictest tradition were perfectly willing to come to the foreign teachers accompanied by their younger sisters and daughters-in-law and that, in fact, the only limitations upon the management of the school lay in its lack of further means for teaching and conveying to and fro. A new class was opened for young wives — whose age ranged from sixteen to thirty-two years — who did their needle-work at home and came daily, at their own request, to

receive ordinary elements of literary education. In many things, the two sisters received much valuable help from the ladies of the Bramho Samaj.

It is needless to say that Sister Christine met with many insurmountable difficulties at the beginning of the work. There was a paucity of funds. She was also a stranger to this country. The language difficulty was also there. The Hindus of that time, particularly the ladies, were most orthodox and



Sister Nivedita

conservative in their views and outlook of life. But her indomitable energy and inborn optimism, love and tradition for Indian culture and above all a sincere passion for serving the country swept away all obstacles before her. Swami Vivekananda had foreseen all these difficulties and known that the path before Sister Christine bristled with thorns.

Thus we find him addressing her in 1896 in the following words :

What though thy bed be frozen earth,
Thy cloak the chilling blast ;
What though no mate to cheer thy path,
Thy sky with gloom o'ercast ;
What though if love itself doth fail,
Thy fragrance strewed in vain ;
What though if bad o'er good prevail,
And virtue o'er vice reign :-
Change not thy nature, gentle bloom,
Thou violet, sweet and pure
But ever pour thy sweet perfume
Unasked, unstinted, sure !

Yes, the gentle violet, though exposed to frost and biting chilly wind never lost her sweet perfume. She met her *Guru* in rain and darkness and she carried out his behest through uphill difficulties and obstacles. She had to pass through a valley of death before she could gain for the Sister Nivedita Girl's School its present position of security and usefulness. She would visit the Hindu ladies of the locality at their own houses and share with them their joys and sorrows, weal and woe. She would often sit in the same row with her pupils, to be lost in them, and felt as one of them. Whether in the school rooms or in the houses of the Hindu ladies, she always brought with her the cheering sunshine of her loving and sympathetic disposition and thus relieved much of the monotony and tedium of their everyday life. Her words and very presence encouraged them greatly in their sorrows and tribulations. Her whole-hearted identification with the school work left Sister Nivedita free to follow her literary pursuits.

Sister Nivedita passed away in 1911 and Sister Christine remained at the helm of the affairs of the school till 1914 when the complications arising out of the Great War compelled her to leave India for the United States of America. Even then she always kept herself informed about the activities of the school and helped it in various ways. The permission was secured for her return to the land of her adoption in 1923. But the climatic conditions of India proved too much for her and she suffered from various ailments. She returned to New York in 1928 and often helped the Vedanta Society of the place in spite of her failing health. The authorities of the Ramakrishna Mission, very recently, cordially invited her again to come to India and take charge of the Nivedita School. But an inscrutable Providence decided it otherwise. While we have been

hoping to find her again in charge of the school, the cruel hand of death has suddenly snatched her away from our midst. It is a terrible blow to us and the school is distinctly poorer for her loss.

Even a casual friend was struck to see how Sister Christine resembled a Hindu woman in many respects, especially in her lack of aggressiveness. She was non-resistance personified. She would never hit back. She had the infinite love of the mother and the infinite patience of the teacher. While staying in Mayavati, she, at one time, made great though futile efforts for about a couple of months for teaching English to a foolish hill-servant. This trait of her character made friends for her everywhere. Though poorest of the poor, she always found some one near by to help her. It is a great delight to her friends to know that during her recent illness she was treated through the kind ministrations of a friend in the best sanatorium of New York where the most up-to-date medical help and nursing were available for her.

The Sister impressed everyone with her suavity of temper and gentle nature. She was sweetness itself. Besides the many attractive qualities of a Hindu woman, she combined the simplicity of a child in her manners, the wisdom of a scholar and the active zest of a very practical person. Knowing the important part she would play in shaping the destiny of the Nivedita Girl's school, Swami Vivekananda sent her the following blessings in 1900 :

"The mother's heart, the hero's will,
The softest flower's sweetest feel,
The charm and force that ever sway
The altar-fire's flaming play ;
The strength that leads, in love obeys,
Far-reaching dreams and patient ways !
Eternal faith in Self, in all,
The light divine in great in small,
All these and more than I could see,
Today may 'Mother' grant to thee !"

Sister Christine, perhaps, had not the literary gift or power of expression like Nivedita. But in the depth and profundity of intellect she was not surpassed by any of the Western disciples of the Swamiji. She was one of those few Western women workers of India who never showed in their method of work any arrogant spirit or supercilious outlook. She was a silent worker and avoided the footlight of public demonstration. A true teacher that she was, she taught more by example and influence of

her fascinating character than by mere words of the mouth. She possessed the pith of the oak and the fragrance of the sandal-wood. She has bequeathed to us a pleasant memory to be always cherished and she is like one

of those rare flowers which though faded leave behind their sweet aroma.*

* Read at the memorial meeting of the monks held at the Belur Math on the 3rd April, 1930 in memory of Sister Christine.

Beginnings of English Education in the Punjab

By PHANINDRANATH BASU, M.A.

IT is necessary to describe the condition of education in the Punjab in the early sixties and seventies of the last century, before we essay to portray the life and character of that eminent scholar Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu, because not only Sris Chandra, but also his father Babu Syama Charan Basu were intimately connected with the educational activities of the Punjab for many years.

In the early fifties and sixties of the last century, education had not made much progress in India, and much less in the Punjab, which was a very backward province specially in educational matters at that time. It was necessary to take special measures to create a taste for high education in the people of the Punjab. Lord Lawrence was not in sympathy with the requirements of the inhabitants of that province.

Wood's Educational Despatch of 1854 was a landmark in the history of Indian education. It brought into being the Educational Departments in the different provinces of India. The Punjab also got its own Department of Education. But the man who was appointed to guide the destinies of the Education Department was not an Educational expert. Mr. William Delafield Arnold, the first Director of Public Instruction of the Punjab, possessed no other qualification for this high post than that of being the son of his father, Dr. Thomas Arnold of Rugby. Mr. Arnold was at first a military officer, but on the creation of the Punjab Education Department was appointed its head on a salary of Rs. 1,200 per month.

Not only Mr. Arnold, but also his successors, namely, Lieutenant Paske and Captain Fuller, unfortunately were not

educational experts, though occupying the highest post in the Education Department. It was rather fortunate for the province, that the gentleman who was selected as their assistant not only knew the requirements of that province, but possessed great sympathy for its inhabitants. The assistant in question is no other than Babu Syama Charan Basu, the father of Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu, who devoted his life for the furtherance of the cause of education in the Land of the Five Rivers.

Even after Wood's Educational Despatch of 1854, no systematic attempt was made in the Punjab for the spread of higher education. The province had to wait about a decade before a move was made for the establishment of the Government College at Lahore. In his letter No 14, dated 8th April 1861, the Secretary of State for India wrote to the Government of India :

"The formation of a school of a superior order at Lahore, which will serve as the nucleus of the college, which, under the original scheme sanctioned in 1856, will hereafter be constituted for the Punjab, has my approval." (*A Collection of Despatches*, etc., from 1854-1868, p. 160).

This need for "the formation of a school of a superior order at Lahore," was felt because education in the Punjab schools till this period was free. It is evident from the following quotation from the letter of the Secretary of State for India, from which the above extract is given :

"It is stated by the Lieutenant-Governor that sanction has been separately given to the proposals of the Director regarding the demand of schooling fees from the pupils in the several classes of schools. There do not seem to me to be any circumstances which would justify the continued exemption of the Punjab from the rule prevailing in other parts of India, under which schooling fees are universally exacted." *Ibid.*, p. 161.

At last the Government College was established in Lahore in 1864, ten years after Wood's Educational Despatch had been written. Dr. Leitner was appointed its Principal. As his appointment was made in an irregular manner, it called forth the following letter (No. 10, dated 24th March 1864) from the Secretary of State for India to the Government of India :

"The following advertisement has recently appeared in several successive issues of the *Times* newspaper :

"Educational appointments in India.—A Principal on £792, and a Professor on £660, per annum, are required for the Government College at Lahore in the Punjab, £200 will be allowed to each for passage money and outfit. For one post mathematical attainments are desired, at least equal to those of a medium Cambridge wrangler ; and for the other, excellence in classics, at least up to the standard of a good Oxford Second Class and proficiency in English language and Literature. Proficiency in other subjects, such as History, Law, Mental and Moral Science, or the Oriental Languages, especially Arabic, Persian and Hindoostanee, will render a candidate, otherwise qualified, still more eligible for appointment. Early applications with copies of testimonials should be sent, either direct to Captain Fuller, R. A., Director of Public Instruction for the Punjab at Lahore; or to Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co., Cornhill, London, who will forward them by the next overland mail and supply any further information that may be needed."

"I have to request that the attention of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab may be called to the irregularity which has been committed by the Director of Public Instruction ; and that he may be directed in future to conform to the prescribed course of submitting to the Secretary of State any occasion which may arise for the engagement of a gentleman in this country for the Educational Service in the Punjab..."

Here we find the Secretary of State pointing out "the irregularity" committed by Captain Fuller, the Director of Public Instruction, of the Punjab. But this "irregularity" was not rectified. It is doubtful whether he would have been selected for the job, if the selection for the appointment had been left to the Secretary of State for India, who, in the letter referred to above, observed that "The above advertisement is...open to the further objection that a decision passed at Lahore on the applications of individuals supported by testimonials sent from England would afford a very insufficient security for the selection of the best candidate." This "irregularity" however, brought out Dr. Leitner to India and he was appointed Principal of the Government College, Lahore.

The establishment of the Lahore Govern-

ment College was the first step towards the spread of higher education in the Punjab. But this first college of Lahore did not have a very promising beginning. It did not fare well in the first year of its existence. Mr. A. M. Monteath, in his "Note on the State of Education in India during 1865-66," regarding the Lahore Government College, writes :

"It has been found difficult to get students, and still more difficult to keep them, . . ." p. 25.

In a marginal note he remarks that—

"There was in 1865-66 an average attendance of only 8 students in the Lahore College," p. 26.

This was rather a disappointing state of affairs for the Government College, Lahore. It was thought necessary to attract students to the new college by offering scholarships. So it was proposed to grant scholarships to all the students who attended the college. The Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, therefore, wrote on 20th April 1865, to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab :

"By orders of the Supreme Government in the Home Department under date the 15th April 1864, sanctioning establishments for the Lahore and Delhi Colleges, Rs. 200 per mensem in all, i. e., Rs. 100 for each college, were passed on account of scholarship . . . I now beg that the Government of India may be solicited to sanction the proposed increase to College scholarships of Rs. 200 per mensem for the year 1865-66, and that a similar increase may be allowed for each of the two years succeeding . . . Thus, when the colleges are in full working order, with four classes in each, the whole cost of scholarships, will be Rs. 800 per mensem, or Rs. 400 for each College."

The Secretary to the Government of the Punjab in forwarding this application of the D. P. I. to the Government of India wrote "that the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor supports this application."

Lord Lawrence was then the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. He was, unfortunately, not in favour of this proposal. He objected to sanction this paltry sum of Rs. 400 a month to the Lahore Government College.

In his letter of 31st May 1865, the Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, wrote to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab that—

"The proposed sum of Rs. 400 per mensem would apparently suffice to give to every one of the students in the two colleges a monthly stipend of about Rs. 13, being one Rupee more than the average value of the Bengal Junior Scholarships for exactly the same class of students (first and

second years) and open to be competed for at the University Entrance Examination by the numerous candidates from all schools, Government and private, in the Lower Provinces of Bengal...

"Even admitting the possible propriety of extending a more than ordinarily liberal encouragement of this sort during the infancy of college education in the Punjab, the Governor-General in Council would suppose that scholarships for about one-third of the total number of students ought to be amply sufficient. This would give about 10 scholarships which, at an average of Rs. 12 each (the average amount of the Bengal Junior Scholarships), would make a total charge of Rs. 120 per mensem for the students of both colleges, being less by Rs. 280 than the amount proposed and falling short by Rs. 80 of the amount (Rs. 200) already sanctioned."

Thus, it seemed for the time being that the fate of the Lahore Government College had been sealed, because, in the event of the proposed scholarships not being granted, the condition of the Government College would continue to grow worse.

Moreover, it did not seem probable that a subordinate Government and the various departments under it would venture to argue out the case with the Supreme Government, even if the Government of India would happen to take a wrong view of the situation. It has rightly been observed by Mr. Ludlow that—

"No officials in the world would have greater temptations to sacrifice everything for the sake of a quiet life, than the Indian ones. The climate is enervating; they have no permanent connection with the country, no abiding incentive to activity... why, unless from higher motives than any which constitute the ordinary springs of Government, should he trouble himself to do the right and fight the wrong?" (Ludlow's *British India*, vol. II, pp. 40-41.)

Thus the fate of the Government College, Lahore, was hanging in the balance. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and the D. P. I. would have allowed the matter to rest there, because they had "no permanent connection with the country," and "no abiding incentive to activity."

Fortunately for the Punjab the province then had Babu Syama Charan Basu as the Head Clerk of the Education Department. He realized the calamity that would befall the land of his adoption, if the question of scholarships was allowed to drop. He, therefore, induced the D. P. I., his chief, to ask the Government of India to reconsider the decision. It was Babu Syama Charan, who drafted the reply to the Government of India's letter, which was forwarded on the 24th July 1865 to the Punjab Government for transmission to the Government of India.

In this reply, signed by the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, it was said :

"My proposal undoubtedly was, and is, that for the present, every student of colleges in the Punjab should receive an allowance from Government just sufficient to maintain him there, unless he or his parents have the means themselves of providing for his maintenance. For this is the only way in which we can hope at first to keep the colleges... supplied with a sufficiency of students and prevent the time of the Principals and Professors being wasted in lecturing to miserably small classes."

The Government of India had to recognize the force of this argument, because they wrote to the Punjab Government that "the argument is undoubtedly a strong one;..."

The Director went on to say :

"I readily admit that scholarships, properly so called, should be awarded to the meritorious among a host of competitors, as is the case in every country that can boast of even moderate intellectual development. But in the Punjab, colleges have only just been opened, and the advantages of University Education are not yet properly appreciated, because they have not yet in any case been realized here, as elsewhere, by the advancement of those so liberally educated to posts of the highest dignity and emolument. Moreover, the inhabitants of the Punjab, as compared with the other parts of the Bengal Presidency, are decidedly poor, especially the upper classes, from which our college students ought chiefly to be drawn, as most likely to possess the requisite leisure and means for pursuing so long and advanced a course of study as is required by the University for its degrees. In the Punjab then, I submit, that scholarships must be, for sometime to come at any rate, regarded rather in the light of stipends or subsistence allowances to poor but willing and laborious students than as rewards to the meritorious out of a host of competitors.

"I would, therefore, most earnestly solicit His Excellency the Viceroy in Council to reconsider the supposition 'that scholarships for about one-third of the whole number of students ought to be amply sufficient.' If two-thirds of the present scholarships were, under the foregoing rule, withdrawn, two-thirds of the students would infallibly disappear. Or, to be plain, after sanctioning so large an expenditure to start the Punjab Colleges, the Supreme Government, for the sake of one or two hundred rupees a month more, would utterly prevent the due development of those institutions; and the previous and current heavy expenditure, instead of being turned to the best account and made to yield the largest return of well educated college men, would, on the contrary, be lamentably wasted on the education of a very small number..."

The Bengal system of awards of scholarships was sought to be introduced by the Government of India in the Punjab. In the course of the letter, drafted by his assistant, the Director put forth the following argument

against the introduction of the Bengal system in the Punjab:

"I would invite the consideration of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor and His Excellency the Viceroy in Council to a closer comparison of the status of the Punjab and of Bengal proper in regard to this matter of college scholarships. I select Bengal, because constant reference is made throughout the Supreme Government's letter to the state of affairs there, and it is evidently held up to us as a model, to which we should strive to attain.

"Now I find that, in the province of lower Bengal, according to its Educational Report for 1863-64, no less a sum of Rs. 61,752 is annually spent in college scholarships...

"If then, the comparatively richer province of Bengal, where English education of a higher standard has been going on for years, say in the ratio of about a quarter of a century to every year that it has been at work in the Punjab, is found to require this pecuniary stimulus, *a fortiori*, must a proportional stimulus of this kind be needed in the latter province, which suffers under the disadvantages of want of wealth, as well as dearth of education of a high standard. In short, if the 40 millions of inhabitants in Bengal are allowed to draw Rs. 61,752 annually by way of college scholarships, the 15 millions in the Punjab are, by a simple rule of three, seem entitle to Rs. 23,157 annually for the same purpose.

"This amount would admit of senior or junior scholarships at the Bengal rates being established in the Punjab. I should be very glad to see the Bengal system of awarding the scholarships, as far as they will go, among all candidates, whether belonging to Government or private colleges, affiliated to the Calcutta University, by open competition, and on the results of the University Examinations."

In forwarding the above letter to the Government of India, the Punjab Government observed that—

"It is certain that much of the heavy outlay which has already been incurred on colleges will be in a great measure sacrificed, if the additional stimulus now solicited be withheld at the present critical period."

At last the Government of India had to admit the strong arguments advanced in the letter of the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab. Had they foreseen that higher education would not be appreciated in the Punjab, they would not have given their sanction to the establishment of two expensive colleges in that province. They observed:

"There was nothing in the original recommendations by which the immediate necessity of establishing two expensive colleges in the Punjab was supported, that could have led the Government of India to expect a result such as is now reported;—

"The Governor-General in Council would ask the Punjab Government to impress strongly upon

Captain Fuller the impropriety of pressing forward educational projects without, as in the case of the Punjab Colleges, giving the Government to understand the real extent of the expenditure to which he was practically pledging it."

Though the Government of India found out "the impropriety of" Captain Fuller in pressing for the scholarship, they at last sanctioned the grant of stipends. They remarked that—

"To every deserving student in the Government Colleges who does not obtain a scholarship and whose parents are unable to maintain him at College, a subsistence allowance of Rs. 4 or Rs. 5 per mensem might be given for the present."

Thus the long drawn-out controversy of awarding scholarships to all the students of the Lahore Government College came to an end. Some provision was at least made for awarding "a subsistence allowance of Rs. 4 or Rs. 5 per mensem" to attract students to this expensive college of the Punjab.

We cannot conclude this brief survey of the condition of education in the Punjab in the latter half of the last century without touching on the movement for the establishment of the Punjab University.

Though the Calcutta University was established as early as 1858, the Punjab could not boast of any university at that early period. The movement for the foundation of the Punjab University was of very late growth. The movement originated in the time of Sir Donald McLeod, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. This Punjab satrap was strongly in favour of orientalizing the system of education in that province. He did not like the spread of Western education in the Punjab. In a letter to the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, Sir Donald McLeod put forward his view of orientalizing the system of education of the Punjab. The Director of Public Instruction asked the opinion on this question of his assistant, Babu Syama Charan Basu, who had received a sound training under the celebrated educationist, the Rev. Dr. Duff and who was well acquainted with the famous controversy between the Orientalists and Occidentalists, in which Raja Ram Mohun Roy had also taken part. To orientalize the system of education would have meant throwing the Punjab backward in the onward march of progress. It would have meant a great disaster to the Punjab. Babu Syama Charan, therefore, opposed this retrograde proposal of Sir Donald McLeod. The letter was at his suggestion sent for consideration

to the *Anjuman-i-Punjab*, which owed its origin to the efforts of Babu Syama Charan and Dr. Leitner. When the letter was placed before the *Anjuman-i-Punjab*, Babu Syama Charan proposed the establishment of an institution for the encouragement of the vernaculars of the Punjab. We read in the *Tribune* of 5th December, 1885 :

"The Punjab University was the creation of almost an accident. A meeting was one fine day held in the Siksha Sabha Hall somewhere about the beginning of 1865 and there was some conversation about Oriental education. Babu Shama Charan Bose in course of the conversation suggested the formation of an institution which

should foster the cultivation of Western as well as Eastern learning. The keen foresight of Dr. Leitner looked through the suggestion and he eagerly caught hold of it as capable of indefinite expansion. A scheme was shortly after drawn up, matured and the proposal of a University was set afloat."

The Punjab University was established shortly afterwards, though unfortunately Babu Syama Charan did not live to see its foundation. He had done his best to organize the Education Department of the Punjab. He was connected with the Siksha Sabha, *Anjuman-i-Punjab*, Lahore Government College and the Education Department, Punjab.

Indian Fine Arts

By SRIS CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

AT the present moment there is quite a strong movement in certain quarters in the country for inclusion of at least an elementary training in art in the curriculum of the universities. It seems that by art is principally meant the fine arts of painting and sculpture. There can be no doubt that the training of the eye for the cultivation of the sense of beauty, for the development of our aesthetic faculty, which is 'one of the greatest gifts of God to man, can best be effected through the plastic arts—painting and sculpture. The fullest development of the aesthetic faculty is the sign of health and intellectual well-being in any nation, and this faculty may be either conscious or unconscious. Every one will sincerely agree with the plea for art education which has been put forward with such zeal and erudition from some of our foremost art critics and art lovers. The question is—how to do it? Education in order to be an effective force in life must not be cut off from life. What we learn in the class-room or laboratory or museum must be nourished and strengthened by what we see and do outside. An education in art, with the help of pictures and casts and slides, is all very well. But unless there is a world of beauty around us, such an education will remain a hot-house plant. Two or three hours' lecture or study or drawing and painting

in a week, and then the dreary surroundings in the city, devoid of all art,—that surely is not a helpful state of things. Art must be brought to the door of all; "he who runs may read," it is said: so we can say, art should be so widely dispersed as never to fail to attract and ennoble even the most busy. Art is not an affair of mere taste for the luxury of connoisseurs, but is an affair of deep and wide-spread human concern for society at large. It is no longer to be regarded as an embellishment of life but a thing necessary to redeem life from brutality. Then only an art education can be made fruitful. This can only be done if we have a noble architecture, the mother as well as the repository of all the plastic arts. Painting and sculpture cannot thrive or develop if the stream of architecture ceases to flow. The history of the world has several times witnessed the phenomenon that great national awakenings were characterized by the regeneration of the fine arts and literature, and there was always a revival of architecture which held the fine arts in its embrace. It was architecture that stimulated the imagination of the artist to produce a statue or a picture as a thing of beauty to find harmony in and bring in an additional note of beauty to its surroundings. Only from harmony in all conditions and environments results the state of perfect æsthetic happiness. Architecture is

said to be the artistic expression of materials and form in harmony of line and in colour, as well as in symmetry and proportion. From the time of Asoka when monuments of Buddhist saints began to be built in permanent material, historic Indian architecture took its course. Following that period, the art of the sculptor gradually came to be prominent in all religious works. Painting on a grand scale tended to become entirely subsidiary to sculpture. The Ajanta painting and sculpture followed and embellished the architecture of the period. The monastic painters decorated the walls of the temples designed and executed by master-architects and cut out of solid rocks by master-builders. The artists and sculptors found ample scope and provision for cultivation of their art from the great constructions which were in vogue. The erection of a great palace or temple, with its all round decoration gave both a living and an opportunity for creative work to a whole host of master-artists as well as craftsmen of humbler rank. The court architect joined with the court poet and chronicler in recording the deeds of the royal house. The golden ages of the Imperial Guptas, of the Cholas, of the North Indian princes and of the Mughals are conspicuous among the most glorious epochs of artistic life in India when literature and fine arts flourished side by side with the schools of architecture. A great temple with its vast corridors, its pillared assembly halls, its *mandapas* meant also a school for the boys, a college for the scholars, and a picture gallery and museum for the masses. The figures of the gods and heroes, and reliefs and frescoes of the scenes from the national classics, were a part of the entire composition—the mind had to take in the entire grand composition as a whole, and feel elevated. Vast bas-reliefs, like those at Elephanta, were framed by noble columns; an exquisite group depicting common life—a mother and child, or a teacher with his pupils, or a rowing party—would be enshrined and framed in a niche of exquisite beauty. It was not the modern unmeaning phrase—art for its own sake. It was what art has always been meant to be—something to fill a want. Old Indian paintings whether in fresco or tempera or in mica sheets were executed on walls and were treated as an inseparable branch of the tree of architecture combining with it as a homogeneous whole. They drew their

nourishment through architecture and developed to perfection. Painting received great impetus from the *Chitra-salas* of the Hindu and Buddhist princes of ancient India. In modern days they are no longer considered as organic and inseparable parts of the building and they are considered merely as detachable ornaments showing the taste or wealth of the owner. The worship of Beauty is a most important pathway to the worship of Truth, and of the Divine. The revival of religious devotion brought about by the followers of Buddha, Sankaracharya, Ramanujā, Chaitanya, Kabir, Mira Bai and other spiritual leaders of India were accompanied by mighty floods of notable shrines and under those impulses were built so many beautiful temples which were only the reflections or symbols of the soul striving for the vision or union with God.

It must be admitted that our country does not now possess the wealth and the power of the West. Art is looked upon as a luxury—in olden days it was considered a necessity—and when the people who can afford to pay for this luxury are too few, or those few who can pay for it lack taste and good sense, art cannot flourish. Economic distress cannot make the ordinary run of people sensitive to art. In Europe, and specially in America, merchant princes, capitalists and others are a legion. They have the money to gratify their tastes or their caprices. And they can and do patronize artists to make beautiful things for them which they may or may not understand or really appreciate. In India such a state of things cannot be realized. Millionaires are too few, and they often lack education or taste. The less is said of the general run of the princes in India the better. The average middle-class man cannot support a painter or a sculptor. Only with some difficulty can a photographic artist or portrait painter make a living. This being the situation, where is art to go for patronage, and how is it to live in the land at all? It seems the fine arts are in a most desperate situation in the country. The princes will not patronize the artists and craftsmen of their own country—they would decorate and furnish a palace with foreign objects, while the beautiful arts and crafts of their own States, it may be, have to depend on the capricious patronage of the American tourist for eking out a living. A Maharaja or a zamindar will go to Europe to find out

an architect to build him a palace, but a master-architect in the old style may be living in misery in his own State. The states or zamindaries will be most niggardly, often mean, in paying the local artist or craftsmen while they would pay thousands in preliminaries to select a European architect or artist.

The people of India must come to a better understanding of their artistic heritage and bring about a true renaissance of Indian architecture, which must have its own once more if India is to find for herself an honoured place among the nations. With the masses living from hand to mouth and the rich people reckless in their extravagance and almost criminal in their neglect of the local crafts, art has been brought to its present state in India. Folk art is languishing everywhere and has already died out in many parts of the country. Foreign competition is killing it off and foreign competition is getting a powerful ally in the abject poverty of the masses and the heartless apathy of the Government. Where are those beautiful terracotta dolls gone now, which we would see in our childhood's days, at every fair or market—the old man smoking, the fat smiling lady in yellow whom we used to call *Alhadi*, the horses and cows and Krishna like a baby in all forms? True, you may find some of these still for sale, but the quality has deteriorated, the Japanese and German celluloid dolls have driven them out—and the potters who made them are either starving and passing out of existence in misery or they are taking to agriculture to make the statement that "India is primarily an agricultural country" truer every year. The *pat* pictures which were such a characteristic thing of Kalighat are to be had no more: Bombay lithographs and German oleographs have killed this noble form of folk art. Lack of culture is responsible for many other things. The priests in Benares are embellishing the temples of Visvanath and Kedarnath with minton tiles, and at good expense too, at the cost of pilgrims who are tempted and made to earn virtue by defiling the temples with such foreign tiles. The same thing is happening in many other temples in India.

I definitely put forward one suggestion for the uplift of art in our country, both for the status of the artist and making it more worth while to practise this craft and for the purity of the art itself. The

traditional culture of the masses is passing away. Both the masses and the middle-classes cannot afford to patronize art in any form owing to economic stringency. The classes which can pay usually lack test. Even though the people may not care for art, they must have buildings to live in, or to meet and transact business, or to attend to the other functions of corporate life. They must have dwelling houses as well as public buildings. Here alone the plastic arts can be made to flourish. We should, at the first instance, therefore, concentrate our energy on the revival of our national architecture. With the growth and spread of our architecture other allied arts will follow as a matter of course and they will never die of starvation. The painter artists of modern days do not find much scope to earn a livelihood. If we are to revive Indian painting and sculpture we must have to revive Indian architecture as its basis. In doing so, and for ensuring the artistic regeneration of India in its architecture, I would suggest the foundation of chairs of Indian architecture in the universities of India and the planning and execution of artistic buildings and allied crafts and the publication of the same for the public by the municipalities and Government departments. The municipalities must encourage the construction of beautiful Indian styles of buildings. The general attitude towards the question of the revival of Indian architecture to which I had to refer often in the past, with a certain amount of regret as being one of apathy has by this time been changed to one of active interest. Not only in Bengal and Bombay has the question been followed with some lively interest but there is plentiful evidence of an awakening in many other provinces. I am thankful for constant enquiries and invitations, which, compared with the situation some time ago, are becoming greater in number and more varied in character than can be properly attended to by one single organization. My recent experiences in Madras—particularly with reference to the hearty response I had from the President of the Madras Municipality—also show the possibility of this movement becoming popular everywhere.

I shall venture to offer some suggestions about what our bigger municipalities can do for this cause without undergoing any financial liability or without indulging in any extravagance in that direction. The economic aspect is no

negligible factor—in fact, it becomes often the only controlling factor. My interest is primarily that of weaning the Indian public from the non-Indian and hybrid styles in vogue. My aims are mainly educational, without myself forgetting the responsibilities to the science of Engineering which is the basis of architecture as a fine art, when I design and construct. Public bodies like municipalities have got to take up the movement for the revival of Indian architecture in its educative aspect. The Corporation of Calcutta has a large department dealing with the question of building. There are apprentices in training in this department. Those young men while in training might be made to know both in theory and practice something of Indian architecture so that they may not feel themselves wide at sea when later on they may be called upon to deal with buildings with real architecture about them. A little study of Indian and other architectures side by side with the technical training that may be imparted to them will not harm them in any way. The Corporation can make a beginning in this way. And as a corollary to such a decision, *viz.*, to teach Indian architecture and architectural drawing to its Building Department apprentices, will be the inauguration of a series of practical handbooks and architectural drawings of details and decorations in the various Indian styles, pre-Mahammadan, Hindu or Rajput, or Pathan or Bijapur, or Mughal or Chalukyan or Pallava or composite and newly evolved styles suiting modern conditions which may be called into being. Such books of details should in the domain of practical building and architecture ultimately take up at least an equal rank with the standard P. W. D. treatises.

Preparation of standard types of designs for buildings of all sorts, public and private, can be another line in which the municipality can serve the people in both directing them how to build usefully and elegantly and at the same time bringing home to them the beauty and the suitability of the Indian styles. A stereotyped form for anything would kill the soul out of it. Standardized types held up before the public by the municipality, might bring the risk of killing initiative and freshness of creation which is the soul of all art. In spite of the same, for the present, as a guidance to all our builders and contractors, who usually have no ideas about this matter and to their masons and carpenters, who are equally

or just a little more deficient in them, it would be a great boon and a great advance in the interest for the recapturing of the national fields of architecture. And when in that longed for future architectural genius or at least facility would be a common thing in India, such treatises on standard types would become useless. Till then the municipalities would only do their duty to the public in showing it the way.

The character of the citizens is expressed by their architecture. There are no special laws now in vogue (although formerly there were) in the matter of proper dress to wear. The law only insists that a man must be decently clad. It is cultured society which sets the standard in dress. In architecture similarly in many cities of Europe and America, there are laws against bad architecture like laws against indecent dress. The high level of culture among engineers and architects as well as their clients sets the fashion or taste in architecture, and consequently the tone of architecture in the West remains high. In the general absence of that cultured body in India, both among house-builders and house-owners, the municipality owes it as a duty to the public to act as its conscience-keeper in this matter. It should make garish and parvenu architecture, such as unfortunately too plentifully disfigure our public streets and avenues, an impossibility—not by refusing to sanction buildings, which would be a harassment to be rightly resented, but by holding out before builders in its designs for whole avenues what could be done. There should be some attempt from now to have the new streets and *boulevards* which have now been begun made into an architectural paradise. This can be done if the Corporation were to rise to the occasion and do something. A single such avenue laid out by the Calcutta Municipality would serve as a model to other proposed avenues of Calcutta, and even of other cities of India. Indian architecture does not mean exclusively Hindu or any sectarian style, Muhammadians, Parsis and other communities inhabiting India should feel the same interest in the revival. Indian architecture can boast of several styles contributed by the different culture streams which have poured into India from the earliest ages. The revival of Indian architecture will, therefore, mean the revival of all these different styles and will, at the same time, make it possible for yet new styles and designs

to be evolved in the future. Of all the arts, architecture alone has kept step with progress. It has met the imperative demands of the inventive masters of the age. It has built to fit their needs. To the structures created it has imparted beauty, dignity and complete utility.

I want to bring up once again in the present connection the suggestion for starting an architectural crafts school. The municipality has municipal workshops for supplying appliances for many of its departments. This comes out cheap in the long run. The corporation is also a builder. It can easily start a craft section to supply its building construction department (and also to the public) various building parts. If it can turn out carts, buckets, lamp-posts, etc., in its workshop there is no reason why it cannot do the same for its tiles, pillars, balustrades, *jalis*, brackets and the terracotta and wood and metal works. If it can turn out standardized articles of good quality it would give a tone to local manufacturers. The municipality may not, with an avowed intention, start a factory as a business concern. It can, however, open a school where some of the handicrafts which are associated with house building can be taught. Drawing and painting can also be taught in addition. Architecture is a mother art which alone can nourish a great many fine arts as its dependants. The decorator, the carpenter, and very often the sculptor, the metal worker and painter can flourish only when the house building trade flourishes. A school of artistic crafts teaching terracotta work, ornamental carpentry and wood carving and bronze and metal casting would enable a number of young men to learn some artistic crafts for which, as my experience with a little establishment of mine dealing with these crafts shows, there is a growing demand. Thinkers also share the same opinion with me. The bread problem of our unemployed young men who are driven to the university, because they cannot get the training in a decent and paying trade anywhere, can be partly solved if a central school can be opened for these crafts for which there is demand. A small beginning can be made any time. The details can be settled easily. I need not for the present deal with it elaborately. By taking up the work of beautifying the city as a practical proposition and with that end in view, by estab-

lishing a store yard and workshop as suggested, such a practical school of crafts and sculpture and painting in connection with the work of actual construction of buildings can be started as a matter of course. As such combination takes place, the corporation will work both as manufacturers and suppliers of material and will be in a position to erect and decorate and furnish buildings, if required at considerably lower costs than the P. W. D. or other private firms. And I am perfectly convinced that such an arrangement will pay its way, and if the public are won to an appreciation of beautiful buildings, will relieve considerable distress through want of unemployment. With the growing demand for Indian style of buildings, the store yards and workshops and kilns of the corporation may be developed and as the corporation is organized properly and strengthened in all its branches the Public Works Department will ultimately cease to be necessary. To control the Public Works Department and to carry on its functions should be the ideal of our municipalities as it is in all civilized countries, barring of course large engineering schemes affecting the whole country, which can be taken up by Trusts like the Calcutta or Bombay Improvement Trust and the Port Trust, etc. The bigger engineering and building firms should co-operate with the corporation by sending their apprentices to the municipal school of architecture. Government should be properly approached in the matter and we are confident that the Government will extend its support. This work of co-operation will obviously win us *Swarajya* in the direction of house-building.

It is a matter of gratification that at last the Corporation of Calcutta have turned their attention to a revival of Indian architecture, and have been arranging to give a permanent footing to the same.

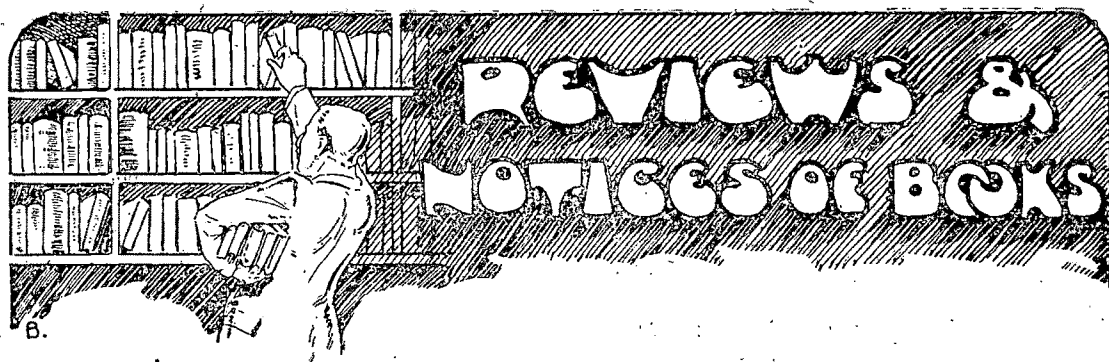
Progressive states like Mysore, Baroda, and Jaipur have done a lot to conserve and strengthen the old architecture of the land. Bombay is going ahead in this matter. Madras is also not sitting idle. The premier municipalities of India can—if they cannot organize early for a municipal museum in their respective centres—immediately do one thing which will help towards changing the taste of the public; they can spare one room each in the central municipal offices where building plans and designs and

artistic crafts in Indian styles can permanently be exhibited. Indian architects, craftsmen and modellers will thereby find a scope to display their designs and their artistic creations which will be useful in architecture. Let big municipalities lead in this matter, and the entire country will follow their example.

These are my suggestions and they are based on personal experience. I give my opinion for whatever it is worth. I invite criticism and questions and further suggestions from persons with a practical interest in the matter. Now that the fear of cost, that so long stood in the way for erecting buildings in the Indian styles has been removed through actual constructions Indian arts can no longer be treated as museum treasure only or a subject to write theses on or recorded and catalogued scientifically by archæologists, but must be made actually living. It may not be at present possible, neither it is desirable, to eschew foreign ideas completely or to build in strictest conformity to the grammar and convention of our *Silpa Sastras*, but any way the demands of free-thinking and artistic tradition have to be harmonized as far as possible. It is expected that a new synthesis suitable to our present needs will evolve in the near future. Our immediate duty is to turn the tide of our wayward ideas. Our duty is to unite and co-operate with each other forgetting our self-interest. A combined and sustained effort has to be made to save Indian architecture and other fine arts from starvation.

In conclusion, I would say a few words to the authorities of the Indian universities. They should know that even our modern engineers, trained in the European principles of architectural composition, are feeling the glow of enthusiasm for the great national architecture. The imagination of the people whose profession would seem to give little scope for the exercise of this faculty has at last been touched, and the

spirit of curiosity is also abroad among them. The necessity for giving greater prominence to architecture, especially to Indian architecture, in the engineering college curriculum is being acknowledged universally. The principle has been accepted and is waiting to be carried out in practice. The principals of some important Government engineering colleges have told me that they are agreeable to its inclusion. Every year houses with elevations with an Indian feel are being erected, and the scope for the builders in Indian styles are growing brighter and brighter every year. The municipalities also are interesting themselves in this matter, which augurs very well for the real development of Indian architecture in our country. I think the universities and the engineering colleges and schools should now take the lead. Private engineering institutions can also be run on these lines. We understand that one such "Calcutta Engineering College" has recently been established with Dr. B. N. Dey as its President. Indian architecture both in its historical and in its constructive side should form an important subject in the engineering college and school courses and a properly qualified professor of architecture with special practical knowledge of Indian architecture as well as teachers of architecture with requisite draftsman assistants can at once be provided for. Arrangements have to be made for teaching the allied arts of sculpture and painting side by side. Libraries and model rooms, photographic collections and other accessories necessary for proper teaching will also have to be provided for. Practical training excursions to important seats of architectural remains in India are also to be organized as part of the training. Other details can be worked out and formulated if the idea takes shape and receives the support of the authorities. I conclude with a very optimistic view of the whole situation and I feel quite confident that good times are in store for the future of architecture in this country.



[Books in the following languages will be noticed : Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Pungabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

THE BHAGALPUR JOURNAL OF DR. F. BUCHANAN,
 Edited by C.E.A.W. Oldham, pp. XL+262. Rs. 10.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRICT OF PURNEA IN 1809-10, by Francis Buchanan, ed. from the I. O. L.M.S.S. by V.H. Jackson. (Patna: B. & O. Research Society, 1928). Pp. 630+48. Rs. 10.

Dr. F. Buchanan (afterwards Hamilton) made a statistical survey of Bihar and North Bengal in 1807-14, during which time he wrote a personal *Journal* and a *Report* of each district that he studied.

"An ill-conceived and ill-executed abridgment of the Reports" was published by Montgomery Martin in 1838 as *Eastern India* in three vols. The Journals "have a greater personal interest : in them we get a view of the man, his tireless energy, his wide scientific interests, his topographical acumen, his powers of observation and of accurately recording what he saw and heard, and his most methodical system of work" (as Mr. Oldham rightly points out). These last had remained in MS. in the India Office, London, for nearly a century, until Messrs. Macpherson, Jackson, and Oldham—three distinguished and scholarly officers of the Bihar service, set to work on them. The importance of these papers for the study of the economic social and ethnological condition of Bengal and Bihar and their antiquities before modernization had begun, cannot be over-stated. The Government of Bihar and some local noblemen deserve the thanks of the scholarly world for financing the publication and the Bihar and Orissa Research Society for supervising the editing and printing of both *Journal* and *Report*.

The Patna and Gaya *Journals* have been published edited by Mr. V. H. Jackson, and the Shahabad and Bhagalpur *Journals* by C. E. A. W. Oldham, each of whom made himself, while in India, the supreme authority on his subject. The Purnea *Journal* appears to have been lost, but the Purnea *Report* opens the series of the full and

correct text of the *Reports* which the B. & O. Research Society has now undertaken to print. The Reports on the four Bihar districts mentioned above will next follow.

On the subject of the Sontals, Buchanan's account is the earliest and most valuable (Bhagalpur volumes), while the studies of Hindu castes in the Shahabad and Purnea volumes are indispensable to the ethnologist, as his exact and detailed collection of economic data and statistics is to the student of economics. In short, these well-printed, well edited and helpfully illustrated volumes touch the high watermark of modern scholarship and will find a place in every library on Indian history, ethnology, economics or sociology. The B. & O. Research Society and these editors have at last done justice to the memory of Dr. Buchanan and established his fame on a high pedestal as the father of Indian ethnological survey, on the same level as James Rennell, the father of Indian Geography.

J SARKAR

THE PLACE OF MAN AND OTHER ESSAYS : By
 Nagendranath Gupta : The Indian Press.

This is a volume of thoughtful and suggestive essays by an author who needs no introduction to the readers of the *Modern Review*. The essays are on a variety of subjects,—chiefly on art, literature and religion,—extremely well written and illustrative of the intellectuality of the author. The discussion of "Art in the West and the East" tackles a vast subject and the author's literary powers are best evident in his being able to compress as many ideas as he has done within such a short compass. The sketches of Ramkrishna and Vivekananda have an added interest because of the writer's personal contact with these leaders of the religious revival in Bengal and one can visualize them fully after noting Mr. Gupta's suggestive touches. In condemning "Megalomania in Literature" the writer does not mince matters and

his straightforward talk is extremely interesting and enjoyable for all students of literature. The essay on Rabindranath was not intended to be a complete analysis of the poet's greatness as a man and a poet; but within the limits marked out by himself, the writer shows how fully and adequately he has appreciated the poet's work.

The whole volume, one must repeat, is of extraordinary interest to every thoughtful reader and will repay the labours of an intensive perusal and re-reading.

N. K. S.

THE MOTOR MECHANISM OF PLANTS: *By Sir J. C. Bose, London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1928, pp. XXV, 429. 21 net.*

Sir J. C. Bose, the world-renowned scientist, has brought out one more of the series of volumes in which an account of his researches in plant physiology has, from time to time, appeared. In this volume the author deals more particularly with the investigation of the motor mechanism of plants as compared and contrasted with that of the animal. The author's investigations in this direction date so far back as 1901 when in a Friday evening discourse before the Royal Institution in May the discovery was announced "that every plant and each organ of every plant respond to stimulation, the excitation being manifested by an electric response of galvanometric negativity." A detailed account of the method of experimentation and the results are to be found in the author's "Response in the Living and Non-Living," published in 1902. In his "Comparative Electro-Physiology," published in 1907, the method of electric response is employed in order to confirm and extend the results obtained by the method of mechanical response. Since then, the author says, a great deal of new material has been collected; and that notably within the last two years. The volume under review contains a complete and up-to-date account of all the important results that the author has obtained on the motor response of plants; dealing at the same time with their functional importance in the life of the plant.

The book is divided into thirty chapters all containing very interesting materials which would repay one's perusal. It has, in the first place, been demonstrated that the movements of 'sensitive' plants are accompanied by all the physiological signs, e.g., electromotive variation, behaviour under change of external conditions and under the action of anaesthetics and other drugs, reaction to stimulation—which are characteristics of the contraction of animal muscle. From this, the author thinks, the conclusion is inevitable that the mobile organs of plants include a tissue closely resembling animal muscle in its properties. This is true not only of the 'sensitive' plants, but also of the 'non-sensitive' ones. It has also been shown that their responses are accompanied by all the physiological signs which are characteristic of that of the sensitive plants. It has been further demonstrated that all the experimental conditions affecting the movement of the heart or the stomach of the animal affect in just the same way the activity of the tissue effecting the propulsion of the sap in the plant. Here also "similarity of behaviour justifies the assertion of physiological identity." This identity, the author remarks, is not surprising,

"for there is a common factor in the motor mechanism of plant and animal, the moto-excitability of the protoplasm of which they both consist." (P. 416).

The book has been written in a very clear and lucid style, of which the author is a past master, and even those uninitiated in science would find little difficulty in making a general estimate of the experimental accounts. The experiments of the author are really ingenious and epoch-making. Sir J. C. Bose has for a long time enjoyed a very high reputation in this respect, and it is not surprising that one of the greatest scientists of the present day, amazed at his practical demonstrations, recently paid him a high tribute remarking that a monument should be raised to his honour. While there is no gainsaying the fact that Bose's experiments have astonished the whole scientific world, the difficulty has all along laid in the acceptance of the interpretation he has offered of the phenomena under his observation. The European mind is rather sceptical about it. It has been thought in certain quarters that his interpretations of the various phenomena are opposed to recognized principles of plant-physiology.

Sir Jagadis, on the other hand, claims that his interpretations are wholly in accord with the principles of physiology, in general, the tendency of which is towards the recognition of the essential similarity of the vital processes in animal and plant." (Preface). The highly sensitive instruments that the author has been able to construct have made it possible to solve various outstanding problems in plant-physiology, which have again all gone to establish his claim on a very firm footing. The scepticism of the European mind in this respect may properly be attributed more to orthodoxy than to open-mindedness, which is quite palpable and all the same unfortunate. The researches of the author have not only advanced the study of animal-physiology, but the cause of idealism in philosophy also has thereby gained ground. The banishing of the barrier between the 'organic' and the 'inorganic,' which the author did a long time back, by showing the similarity in response-phenomena, in its various aspects, of both the 'living' and 'non-living,' and about which I have had occasion to write before, went a very long way in removing the obstacle that lay in the way of the establishment of a true and consistent idealism. The sceptical mind might reasonably argue that even admitting this there still remained to be shown that similarity of constitution actually existed. But this was not so far proved. This the author has now been able to do. But this, we may say, is only the beginning, and much more is to come out, for which we shall all be too eagerly waiting.

J. K. MAJUMDAR

MAN AND THE UNIVERSE: *By Hans Driesch, translated by W. H. Johnston. Published by George Allen and Unwin, London. Pp. 172. Price 6s.*

The author is an eminent representative of the movement known as "Neo-vitalism." His philosophical and psychological teachings are based on brilliant biological studies and experiments continued for a long period. He became known to the English-reading scholars through his famous

Gifford Lectures delivered at Aberdeen University in 1907-1908.

These lectures were published under the name *The Science and Philosophy of the Organism* (A. and C. Black: 2nd ed. 1929). His other important works published in English are *The Problem of Individuality* (Macmillan, 1914), *The History and Theory of Vitalism* (Macmillan, 1914), *The Crisis in Psychology* (Princeton U. Press, 1925), *The Possibility of Metaphysics* (The Faith Press, 1926) and *Mind and Body* (Methuen, 1927). Some of these books are written for thoughtful students of Philosophy and experts. But the book under review is meant for general readers and written in popular and non-technical language. The book is divided into four principal sections, viz., (a) The Apprehension of the Universe, (b) The Nature of the Universe, (c) Man as a member of the Universe, and (d) Conclusion: Man and the Universe. The author believes that "man cannot be considered 'first' exclusively as a mechanical system, 'secondly' exclusively as an organic living being, 'thirdly' exclusively as a social ethical entity, as though these were different methods of contemplation applied in turn to the same object. Rather, Man is one extremely complex structure in which one part (Soul, Spirit, life) enters into contact with other (material) part; and here the popular view, that man consists simply of body and soul, is much nearer to the truth than are many of the statements of philosophers who hold the 'point-of-view' theory" (pp. 6-7).

Being a vitalist, the author affirms the irreducibility of Life to physico-chemical terms. In discussing the question of immortality, he says that "moral consciousness can have force only for those who accept immortality in some form. For the philosopher this will of course be no childish form. He must think of no "reward," such a consideration would be the negation of ethics. But he may consider Justice and he may strive to cause Joy to some highest principle which he loves in its sublimity. But he can do all this only on the assumption that he will persist and that he has a refuge in this supreme principle, which does not stand over against him as an alien force of which he is the plaything and the gull" (pp. 162-163). "What is important is that the individual shall know that he is a permanent member of Reality working towards a moral end" (p. 164).

Plato called the body the grave of the soul. Our author does not go so far. According to him "the body is the material prison of man, and as such it is at once his good and his evil fortune" (pp. 166-167). "It is his evil fortune since his prison is a barrier to the possible range of his knowledge, and also to his actions and further to the manifestations of his moral disposition. For his senses are pretty inadequate instruments. And the body is also the source of many ills" (167). But body and matter in general are also the good fortune of man. For man was created to be a willing and striving being and he can act only through the instrumentality of matter" (p. 167).

An English poet (Montgomery) called the world "this vale of tears." But Keats with deeper insight described it as "The Vale of Soul-making." Our author goes back to the idea of the ancient poet and says—"It is certain that the world is a vale of tears" (p. 170).

According to him "a true deliverance is impossible in life; for all evil attaches to the body, and the body cannot be escaped so long as life proper remains. To this extent life on earth with all its manifestations is discord within the harmony of the whole, of knowledge and of volition. Evil, error, disease, and incompleteness are rooted in it. It is as though in the midst of this confusion we had to fulfil a task completely mysterious in its ultimate foundation; as though it were our task to improve whatever can be improved in the realm of the dualistic bond, from which there is no escape as long as we have life" (pp. 169-170).

But he is not a thorough-going pessimist; according to him the ill of the world can be alleviated. He writes—"We are its inhabitants, whose task it is as it is our privilege to alleviate the ill even if we cannot dry the tears. That doctrine is nefarious which denies to man even the capacity of alleviation. It is true that man is bad, but he is not so bad nor so weak that he cannot alleviate if he has the will... We can never fashion a realm of pure Spirit on earth. But we have the power to strive after it and to realize it if only fragmentarily. The first demand here is that selfishness, whether personal or national be cast off. Let us believe in freedom and in our power to alleviate. "God's fellow fighters on earth" is an old and noble aim; let us hold the faith that we are, the fellow fighters of the Spirit; let us believe in the worth of our great task and in our victory on the field of earth" (p. 170).

So he is a "meliorist."

The book is well-written and worth reading

MAHES CH. GHOSH

THE PSYCHOLOGY AND STRATEGY OF GANDHI'S NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE: By Richard B. Gregg, Author of *Economics of Khaddar*. Published by S. Ganesan, Triplicane, Madras. 1929.

This book is an attempt on the part of an American to put into Western terms the basic principles underlying non-violent resistance or *Satyagraha*. This is a preliminary contribution by the author on the subject and is intended as a present to Mr. Gandhi on his 61st birth-day. The author has approached the problem both from the psychological and the biological sides. In his writing he stresses the wide and slow acting effect of revenge and retaliation and resentment which is usually overlooked by the militarists and supporters of physical force. On the analogy of certain physiological processes known as "conditioned reflexes" he has discussed the possibility of altering the expression of pugnacity and creating a new discipline of non-violent resistance. He considers non-violent resistance or *Satyagraha* as a new and better weapon of war which is likely to secure "a far more perfect protection for what is good in national life than army and navy can ever achieve, without demanding the carnage, the waste, the welter of brutality involved in modern war." The book is fascinating reading and is of great topical interest.

PRACTICE OF YOGA—HIMALAYAN "YOGA" SERIES: *By Swami Sivananda (Ram Ashram Rishikesh, Himalayas) Volume I. Ganesh & Co., Madras, Price Rs. 2.*

This book discusses the theory and practice of Yoga and is meant for English speaking readers. But unfortunately the Swami is under the impression that his readers will have no difficulty in understanding the different technical Sanskrit terms he uses so freely. His peculiar ways of expression make the book quaint reading though his writing is not without an element of unconscious humour. In describing a saintly man the author writes: "He is a follower of Lord Jesus in this respect that his left hand does not know what his right hand does. He is Sannyasin's genuine friend. He is a rare radium. He is a rare Tibetan musk. He is a rare French Saffron. He is a rare Cashmere Saffron two (sic). I wish him Santi and Kaivilya Mukti." The author writes from practical experience and his book will be of interest to those who care to cultivate Yoga. The book gives a list of different places where Yogic methods can be practised with advantage. He is rather hard on medical men. "Foolish doctors make lot of fuss about calories, food value of different stuffs, vitamine theory, etc. It is all mental imagination." Again, "If you consult with an allopathic doctor on the subject of giving up salt he will unnecessarily alarm you. He is a foolish man." Describing the bliss of "real rest in meditation" attained by the Yogi the author compares it with the pleasures of taking 10,000 Bengal Rasgullahs. It is interesting to note that "the success in the life of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaje in the establishment of a grand Hindu University at Benares is all attributable to his *gayatri jap*" and also that "Sri Arabinndoo of Pondicherry can draw energy directly from the Will to support his body. He was taking very little food some time ago. Now, he might have entirely dispensed with the food. Recently, he materialized with his Linga Sarir in Africa, just to convince one of his earnest admirers and sincere Sadaks. We are at a loss to know how many miracles he is going to exhibit. He can change the world. Hail, hail, to Sri Arabinndoo." There is a bibliography attached to the book which will be of help to the student of Yoga philosophy.

G. BOSE

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF RABINDRANATH: *By Sochin Sen, M. A., B. L. with a foreword by Mr. Pramatha Chaudhuri. Calcutta 1928.*

This useful book, containing clear evidence of hard work, is marred by definitely faulty English and puerile phrasing, such as anyone writing a serious critical book for a word-wide audience should have taken pains to remove. We strongly hope that a second edition, should the necessity for one arise, will find the young author tackling this aspect of his work with greater seriousness. The book is composed almost entirely of extracts from Tagore arranged under suitable headings with occasional comment. This has been wise, for it is good to let Tagore explain himself. As Mr. Chaudhuri makes it clear, Tagore's politics, being

those of a poet, do not lend themselves to severe systematizing. The passages show, to quote words which have been used by a great critic about Landor, flashes of thought rather than sustained thinking. Most passages have been written on the stimulus of great events, particularly in India since the Partition days; but there are general reflections on property, capital, the industrial mechanism of today as well as socialism. New thought makes a quick imaginative appeal to Tagore and is readily grasped by him on the emotional and even on the intellectual plane; but in pronouncing his own verdict, he shows great caution. He is not, for example, even a lukewarm supporter of socialism; he is inclined to condemn it. Great service would be rendered, if Mr. Sen gives us the bare extracts in a better arrangement and concentrates his own comments in an introductory or concluding chapter, in a future edition. This will give the book the value which, in its present shape, it has not.

B. B. ROY

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ: *G. A. Natesan & Co. Madras. Price Rs. 4. 1930.*

The book is too highly priced, but the contents will prove eminently readable to those Englishmen who care to know something of the latest phases of the movement. Sir P. C. Sethna contributes a well-written introduction. The history of the movement has been summarized without overburdening the book with quotations, though important speeches by statesmen and publicists have been freely drawn upon. The author begins with the Ilbert Bill and ends with the present demand for full responsible government. The book is well bound and neatly printed, and contains over 300 pages, and will prove highly useful to those who are employed in political work in the councils, and also to laymen who are too busy with their professional work to read the daily papers.

POLITICS

THE SHORT STORY: *By Neelkanth V. Gokhlay, B. A.; The Vishrambag Stores, Publication Department, Poona, No. 2. Price As. 10.*

In this small book the technique and principles of the short story have been dealt with. It is a handbook mainly written for students, and may serve as a useful introduction to the study of the form and features of the short story.

HINDU SHASTRAS ON MARRIAGE OF WIDOWS PART I: *By Murali Dhar Kacker, B. A., LL. B. Allahabad, Price As. 8.*

The author has tried to set forth the views expressed in Hindu Shastras about the marriage of virgin widows. He has discussed the shastric texts and has arrived at the conclusion that there is absolutely no justification for enforcing widowhood on twenty-five lacs of these innocent girls. But it seems really a bit strange that he has not once mentioned in this book the name of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, the originator of the movement in favour of the re-marriage of Hindu widows.

S. LAW

BENGALI

RANGALAL (*A biography*): By Manmathanath Ghosh, M. A., F. R. E. S. Gurudas Chatterjee & Sons. Price Rs. 4.

This book, the result of painstaking researches of Mr. Ghosh, may well be styled: "A history of Bengali literature in the Nineteenth century," as it throws a flood of light on the literary society of Bengal during the time of the Poet Rangalal.

It is an unfortunate fact that the very period that saw the birth of present-day Bengali literature—recent as it is—is one of the darkest, as far as connected history is concerned. What light is being thrown on those chapters at the present day, is due to the selfless and tireless efforts of a very very few eminent literateurs of the type of Mr. Ghosh.

This book should attain the status of reference book in every Bengali library.

K. N. C.

PERSIAN

ZAFAR-NAMA-I-RANJIT SINGH: By Diwan Amar Nath, edited with notes and Introduction by Sitaram Kohli, M. A., Lecturer, Govt. College, Lahore. (Punjab University, 1928.) Pp. 308+xl.

We are glad to see that Prof. Sitaram Kohli, who has made a name for himself by his erudite study of Ranjit Singh's military organization on the basis of the original Gurmukhi and Persian records, has given to the world this history of Ranjit Singh written by one of his hereditary officers. The editor's work is scholarly and helpful to the reader, and his critical and descriptive introduction and glossary of non-Persian words deserve special praise. The type is clear and large, being evidently of the same fount which is used by the celebrated Baptist Mission Press in printing the Perso-Arabic section of the Bibliotheca Indica series. A careful list of corrigenda has been added.

As for the book itself, it stops at the year 1836, three years before the death of Ranjit. The author was a son of Diwan Dina Nath (a Kashmiri), who was Ranjit's Minister of Finance and as such had the entire charge of the civil, military and political records of the Maharajah's Government. The author was born in 1822 and wrote his first historical piece—a panegyric on the Sikh conquest of Peshawar, at the age of 12! He began his history in Ranjit's lifetime, by order of that monarch, but death cut his work short at the age of 45 (in 1867.)

The early history of the Sikhs as a political power, *i. e.*, their doings from the suppression of Banda to the unification of the Panjab under Ranjit Singh, is shrouded in mystery. Probably no authentic records of this period have been preserved or indeed were ever penned. What we can learn of them from indirect sources such as histories of the Mughal empire, has been compiled by Williams—but only with reference to one region—in his account of Dehra Dun. It is a painful and dry record of raids and massacres with dates. The formative stage of Ranjit Singh's career—*i. e.*, the period before 1800,—would yield a fascinating narrative if its authentic history

could be now reconstructed. But that is evidently an impossible dream. The *Zafar-nama* begins as late as 1800, when Ranjit was already well established in power, and it passes very rapidly over the next eighteen years, about which we should have been glad to learn more, as English records are plentiful about the Maharajah after 1818.

J. SARKAR

MARATHI

CHUKALELA ITIHAS (Mistaken history). Writer Mr. P. K. Savalapurkar. Editor and publisher Mr. S. N. Huddar, Navi-Shukravari, Nagpur. Price Re. 1-4-0.

Both writer and publisher are Graduates of the Tilak University. This book contains 232 pages or 20 chapters. But each chapter is an independent one. The writer has once more reproduced the admitted facts, such as Umichand's story, Nandkumar's execution, persecution of Begums of Oudh etc. in a vehement and abusive language, but shown utter disregard for the research of the Maratha period. The reviewer is sure that his request to the author to use his intelligence for better work than this, will not fall on deaf ears.

V. S. WAKASKAR

GUJARATI

POYNAM: By Jayendra Rao B. Durkal, M. A., Professor of English and Gujarati, Arts College, Surat. Printed at the Shankar Printing Press, Surat, pp. 240, cloth bound. Price Rs. 2. 1929.

The title of the book means water-lilies. In the author's own words it is "a collection of essays on Life and Letters." The essays range over a wide area, and embrace such widely unconnected subjects as the Sun, the Matra in Literature, factories for husking rice and mosquito-net. All subjects are placed, however, in their appropriate surroundings aided by philosophical reflections or humorous touches, serious thought, or close and intimate observation, as required by the situation. Prof. Durkal has written two or three other books before this, but we think, that this is his best effort at popularizing his way of thinking and looking at things in general.

(1) BHAGAVAN JADESHWAR, (2) SAMVADIKA, both by Popatlal Punjabhai Shah, printed respectively at Wankaner and Rajkot, paper and cloth bound, pp. 18: 144+96: Price 0-1-3; Re. 1. 1929.

There is a very well-known temple of Shiv near Wankaner in Kathiawad, to which pilgrims flock in large numbers, in the month of Shravan for worship. It is a pretty place, picturesquely situated away from inhabited towns, and is utilized as a sanitarium also. The origin of the place is mythological and the first little book narrates that origin. The second book is a collection of dialogues, divided into two parts, those meant generally for every body and those meant for Jains specially. The introduction gives a short history of this branch of literature. The dialogues furnish delightful reading and many of them have been successfully acted on the stage at school gatherings.

K. M. J.



Tomatoes and Potatoes Grown on the Same Plant

The "tomapotato," a new plant demanding a new name, which produces potatoes at its roots below the ground and tomatoes on its stalk above the earth, has been developed after twenty years of experiment by Oscar Soderholm, foreman of a



The remarkable "tomapotato" plant, ten feet tall, overtops its creator, Oscar Soderholm.

florist's greenhouses at Worcester, Mass. The plant is no freak, but is the demonstration of Soderholm's theory that, as the roots of the potato plant are stronger than those of the tomato, the combination should produce better tomatoes. His results have proved the soundness of the theory, he claims, for not only does his hybrid grow potatoes but the

grafted tomato section attains a height of ten feet, if supported, and bears more fruit than a normal plant.

In grafting his queer plant, Soderholm starts by planting a piece of potato, containing at least two eyes, in the ground, and planting tomato seeds in a pot. When both have grown to vines about one quarter of an inch in diameter, he makes a cut diagonally across each; then he matches them and ties the grafting together with a thread. Special care must be taken to prevent wilting.

Soderholm now plans experiments in grafting cucumbers on Hubbard squash, the roots of the squash being much the stronger of the two.

Umbrellas Sold by Slot Machine

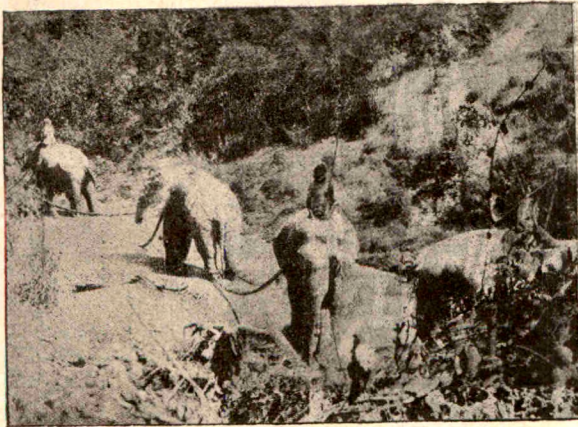


If caught in the rain, Berlin pedestrians now can deposit the equivalent of fifteen cents in a vending machine and pull out an umbrella. The folding emergency umbrella comprises a hood of oiled paper and a handle of wood.

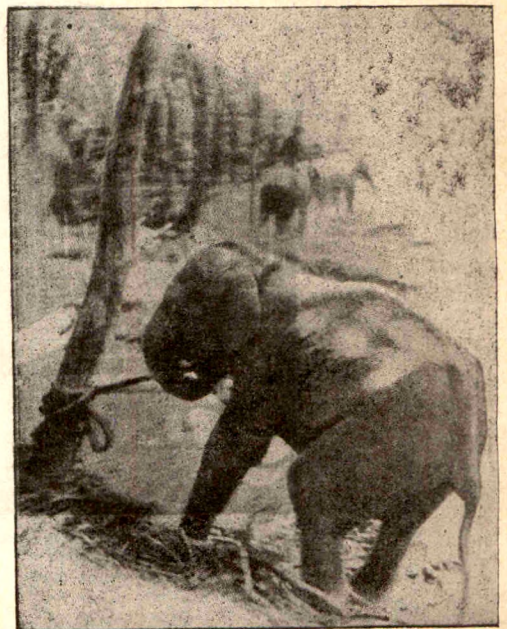
Catching Wild Elephants

More exciting than Wild West rodeo, and more perilous, is a wild elephant hunt in the hill forests

of India, as pictured here in close-range photographs. Decoyed by tame elephants, the angry, trumpeting beasts are rounded up in herds, roped with enormous "lassos," and captured alive. The



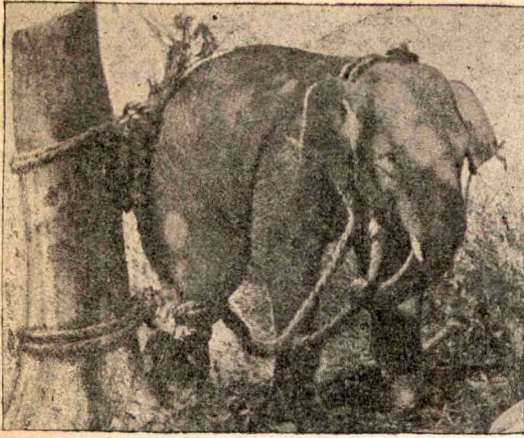
Subdued and roped together, these wild elephants are enjoying their first bath in captivity. The Indian elephants require plenty of shade and water and no animals enjoy a bath more thoroughly. They are good swimmers and by means of their trunks, can breathe when their entire bodies are beneath the surface.



A futile fight against the rope that holds him. These wild Asiatic elephants become dangerous only when disturbed or attacked. Then they charge and seek to trample their foes to death.

stout ropes are made of seasoned jute by natives. One of these tethers weighs as much as 500 pounds. The photo in the oval above shows a captured elephant exerting the last bit of its strength in a

vain effort to escape. The young tusker in the picture immediately above has become entangled in the heavy rope during the struggle.



Rounding up a herd of wild elephants—the climax of the hunt. The animals travel in "family parties" numbering from ten to fifty, or occasionally even 100 individuals. Each herd is led by a female.

—*Popular Science Monthly*



The Indian Crisis In Ceylon*

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

Colombo, April 10, 1930.

I

FRENZIED energy is at present being put into the movement to keep Ceylon Indians in political and industrial servitude. Success has not actually crowned the efforts of the anti-Indian agitators: but they believe—and not without reason—that it is nigh.

The Governor of Ceylon (Sir Herbert Stanley), who, out of the richness of his South African experience suggested to the Colonial Office some months back that Indians in the Island should be sacrificed in order to placate certain Sinhalese politicians, is on the point of proceeding "home," ostensibly on holiday. It is, however, definitely known that he will confer on the subject of the impending reform of the Ceylon Constitution with the Fabian Socialist who presides over the Colonial Office in Downing Street—the Baron Passfield, better known to us as Sidney Webb.

Shortly before the Governor of Ceylon was due to depart from the shores of Ceylon, information bearing upon its face the semi-official impress was filtering in to assure the Sinhalese politicians that the Colonial Office would not let the Governor down in respect of imposing qualifications patently framed to prevent all but a negligible minority of Indians in Ceylon from acquiring the vote. Lord Passfield, we were told with almost oracular authority, was willing to alter "the formula" regarding Indian franchise to soothe Indian hurt feelings: but he was not disposed to make any material alterations in the actual conditions. To do so, would, in his opinion, constitute a "breach of faith" with the Ceylonese politicians.†

* This article must not be reprinted or translated, in part or in whole, *outside* India without first securing the written consent of the author.

† The London correspondent (an Englishman) of the *Hindu* (Madras) sent a telegram to his paper which was published in the issue of April 3rd, and read as follows: "I gather that Lord Passfield stands firm in adhering to his decision on Indian franchise in Ceylon and refuses to admit that any injustice to Indians is involved in the proposed arrangements. He is understood to be willing to

Even if statements of this tenor emanating from London are without foundation, the chances of the Colonial Office dismissing the plea that the Governor of Ceylon will make personally even before these words are printed, are, I should think, remote. Sir Herbert Stanley will no doubt represent to Lord Passfield, that the Sinhalese politicians who were opposed to "essential" proposals contained in the Donoughmore Commission Scheme for the reform of the Ceylon Constitution modified their obstructive attitude only on the condition that definite steps would be taken to prevent Indians—particularly Indians living in certain parts of the Island which the Sinhalese regard as their very own—from pulling anything like their full voting strength. He will, I am convinced, point to certain passages in the despatch that he forwarded from Colombo on June 2, 1928, to that Office, then headed by the Rt. Hon'ble Colonel L. C. S. Amery, M.P., in which he stated "that a majority of the unofficial members of the Legislative Council will be ready to accept" the Donoughmore scheme "if only the (Indian) franchise question can be settled to their reasonable satisfaction."

The despatch sent in reply by Lord Passfield will be quoted as implying that the Governor's recommendations in that respect had been accepted—so at least the Sinhalese legislators who ate their words must have told His Excellency, even though most of them refused openly to say so in the Ceylon Legislative Council. Sir Herbert Stanley can, in any case, be expected to lay emphasis upon that point.

The Governor is sure to condemn as a quibble unworthy of acceptance by any honest person the construction placed by the

modify the formula, but will make no real concession and if he is responsible for the Order-in-Council, franchise provisions will remain substantially as indicated in his despatch. He would regard any other course as a breach of faith with Ceylon. The final decision, however, will await the Governor of Ceylon's arrival and as Mr. Benn is equally resolved to protect Indian interests, a minor Cabinet issue seems likely to arise."

Indian member of the Indian Civil Service (Mr. G. S. Bajpai), who acted as the Government of India spokesman in the Indian Legislative Assembly during the debate on the subject, upon the language actually employed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Mr. Bajpai sought to make out that Lord Passfield was only "disposed to accept," but had not actually accepted, the Ceylon Governor's recommendations regarding Indian franchise.

There is room for difference of opinion as to whether or not the Sinhalese politicians would have backslided if they had not derived the impression that the Colonial Office had sanctioned the Governor's proposals severely to restrict the Indian franchise. People who are capable of eating their words will do so, even if those words are not spiced with a relish specially manufactured for the occasion.

The prestige and lucre attached to the ministries to be created under the Donoughmore Commission scheme—largely empty of power though they will be—was, in my opinion, sufficient bait to tempt a number of Sinhalese M. L. C.'s to abandon their original position in respect of the Donoughmore Commission proposals. Members of the privileged classes (Britons and Ceylonese) who stand to gain through the adoption of the scheme, with which the Ceylon Legislative Council is crowded—reinforced with these backsliders—would have passed the resolution expressing assent to it.

Evidently the Governor did not feel so sure about this matter as I did. With his mind steeped in prejudices entertained by South Africans towards Indians, he recommended that Ceylon Indians be sacrificed with a view to winning over the anti-Indian Sinhalese opponents to the scheme.

That bargain was struck by the Governor. It is only to be expected that he will press the Colonial Office to stick to it, and if he finds that Office obdurate, may indicate his intention to resign.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies should have had nothing to do with so unholy a bargain when it was suggested to him in the first place. I will not insult his intelligence by believing that he at that time was, or now is, unable to perceive that it involves any injustice to Indians in Ceylon.

The injustice is palpable. The Governor's recommendations will, in practice, require from Indians—and from no other British

subjects—definite and explicit surrender of their original citizenship as the price of franchise in Ceylon. Even then only a percentage of Indians—a small percentage at that—will be able actually to acquire the vote, while all adults among the non-Indian British subjects who care to register will become enfranchised. Hardly a single Briton in Ceylon who has attained the age of twenty-one will, for instance, go voteless unless he so chooses.

If Sidney Webb has become so blind as to be unable to see so glaring a piece of discrimination and injustice, the sooner he resigns from his office the better for his reputation. Any one of us who happens to know him has, however, to admit that he is an obstinate man and having made a decision, no matter how wrong it may be, it is difficult, if not impossible, for him to change. It would, nevertheless, be folly to believe that chances for securing the withdrawal of the unjust and discriminative proposals respecting Ceylon Indian franchise would be improved by calling his attention to a phraseological loop-hole of which advantage can be taken to crawl out of a difficult situation only at the cost of self-respect.

Lord Passfield's refusal to stoop to such a machiavellian subterfuge may, in fact, be taken for granted. Knowing his obstinate nature, I have, at no time, been sanguine that he, of his own accord or through pressure exerted by his colleagues, would modify the proposals so that they would be just to our people in Ceylon.

If Mr. Ramsay MacDonald possesses the will to overrule the Secretary of State for the Colonies, he will show a species of courage of which he, until now, has given us no exhibition whatever, so far as India is concerned. I am, of course, prepared for a political miracle to happen any day: but it is much more likely that the Colonial Office will be allowed to have its way, and the South African minded Governor of Ceylon will triumph.

II

I am gravely mistaken, therefore, if humiliation is not in store for the Indian Legislative Assembly. During the Delhi session it passed, at the instance of Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, a resolution voicing its refusal to permit Indians in Ceylon to be subjected to the South African twist that Sir Herbert Stanley was then—and is still—bent

upon giving to the proposals governing Indian franchise in Ceylon submitted by the Donoughmore Commission. Even Sir D'Arcy Lindsay—the trusted lieutenant of the Scottish financial potentate, Lord Inchcape, who has, both in India and Ceylon, extensive interests of many kinds in addition to shipping—gave his blessing to this motion, which was unanimously adopted by the Assembly.

Humiliation seems, I fear, to be in store also for the mighty Government of India, which unreservedly accepted the Kunzru resolution. The Indian I. C. S. official who acted as its spokesman, helps to run the department charged with the administration of affairs, connected with Indians overseas—a department which is said to be so much under Indian domination as to be a bit of 'Swaraj' "in action." The debate showed, however, that either its agent in Ceylon had kept it in the dark in regard to the march of events in the Island and it had not taken the trouble to inform itself even by scanning the newspapers that it receives, to my knowledge, from Colombo and other places; or that it had chosen to pursue a policy of *laissez faire* until the motions put down by Mr. K. C. Roy and Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru made it impossible for it to continue to follow the line of least resistance.

III

Pandit Kunzru did not press a heroic measure upon the Indian Legislative Assembly. He did not ask that the basis of franchise in Ceylon should be such that it would permit as large a proportion of Indians to acquire the vote as that of the other communities—at least the Ceylon Britons. He did not insist even upon action that would wipe the stigma of semi-slavery from the face of three-quarters of a million Indian plantation workers. He merely urged the Assembly to recommend—

"... to the Governor-General in Council that the proposals of the Government of Ceylon regarding franchise, which have been accepted by the Colonial Office, in so far as they make possession of a certificate of permanent settlement and renunciation of the protection of the Government of India by Indian emigrants a condition of eligibility to vote should not be put into effect and that immediate steps should be taken to secure the adoption of the original recommendations of the Donoughmore Commission making five years' residence the basis of franchise."

In asking that the Ceylon Government be compelled to go back to the Donoughmore

Commission proposals relating to Indian franchise, the mover of this resolution seemed to be utterly unconscious of the fact that those proposals were, in themselves, framed by persons who, on their own admission, were seeking to weigh the political saddle against Indians in the Island. Had Pandit Kunzru realized that fact, his patriotic sense would, I am confident, have led him to recommend a far different line of action.

Since this point has been missed even by persons in the position of leaders in India, it must be explained at some length. In so doing I shall endeavour to avoid, as much as possible, going over ground that I have already covered in contributions on this subject to this *Review*.

At the time the Earl of Donoughmore brought his team to Colombo at the behest of Colonel Amery, who, though born in India, is none too anxious to make Indians or Ceylonese self-sufficing, politically or otherwise, the position in respect of Indian franchise was this:

(1) Indians in the Island possessing the requisite income (or property) and literacy qualifications had the right to elect their own representatives two in number on the "communal" principle.

(2) Concurrently with that right, they were given the competence to vote in the territorial electorates on *exactly the same terms as the Sinhalese*, Ceylon Tamils, Ceylon Muslims and Ceylon Britons.*

It is to be noted that no disability was manufactured at the time Indians were incorporated in the general electorate purposely to handicap them. The restrictions governing franchise were to apply to everybody else exactly as they did to them.

IV

This was the position when the Donoughmore Commission arrived in Colombo in November, 1927. After receiving evidence in the capital and other towns during a stay of some fourteen weeks, they returned to London. The steamer that took them away from the Island "happened" also to carry an exceedingly resourceful Irish member of the Ceylon Civil Service who, for years, had been

* An account of the events that led to the incorporation of Indians in the general electorate will be found in my article: "Moves to make Indians in Ceylon Political Helots," in the *Modern Review* for June, 1929.

serving as Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour under the Ceylon Government, and who, in virtue of his office, had appeared twice before the Commission—the first time in public and the second time *in camera*.

In the report to which the Chairman and members of the Commission set their hands, they recommended "manhood suffrage" and a limited measure of "womanhood suffrage." Both were to be subject to

"...two reservations. In the first place we (chairman and members of the Commission, Ceylon Constitutional Reforms) consider it very desirable that a qualification of five years' residence in the Island (allowing for temporary absences not exceeding eight months in all during the five-year period) should be introduced in order that the privilege of voting should be confined to those who have an abiding interest in the island."

The Commissioners took pains to add :

"As will be seen later this condition will be of particular importance in its application to the Indian immigrant population."

This reservation was, in other words, manufactured specially to keep down the number of Indian voters. Before, however, I turn to this reference I will state the second "reservation" which the Commissioners proposed.

To quote from their report :

"Secondly, we (the Commissioners) consider that the registration of voters should not be compulsory or automatic, but should be restricted to those who apply for it, the method of application being of course definitely laid down and widely published."

Lord Donoughmore and his colleagues were not so candid as specifically to mention that this restriction would particularly affect the "Indian immigrant population": but as I shall show, that will certainly be the case.

The question of the Indian vote is discussed at some length on pages 95-97 of the report, under the sub-head, "The Indian Tamils." That sub-head shows that either the Commissioners were oblivious of the fact that there was a considerable non-Tamilian Indian population in the Island, or that, for some reason best known to them, they wished to ignore it. According to them :

"The problem of Indian immigrant labour is a serious and difficult one and arises here in connection with communal representation of the Indian community. There are at present about 700,000 of these people in the Island, most of them employed on the tea and rubber estates at the higher levels where Sinhalese have hitherto been unwilling to work in large numbers. Indian Tamils

are also engaged as labourers on Government, Municipal or other work in towns, and are also to be found as traders and shop-keepers."

I skip over certain *obiter dicta*, some of which is only a paraphrase of matter that is used to stimulate recruitment of Indian labour for Ceylon plantations. I am surprised particularly at statements concerning conditions existing in India which the members of the Commission had no opportunity of personally investigating.

Despite the bias that the Commissioners showed in favour of the planters (most of them their own countrymen—Britons), they were compelled to admit that Indians in Ceylon were in an "economically helpless condition" (p. 96) and that though their number was large, there was an "utter lack of organization among them" (p. 96). In view of their helplessness the Ceylon Indians had been given "Indian communal representatives" when the Constitution was last revised. "As to whether the two Indian representatives have been able to secure improvements in the conditions on the estates" the opinion expressed before them was divided. They, nevertheless, felt that they were doing no injustice to the utterly helpless and unorganized masses of Indian workers in recommending the abolition of these (as well as other) "communal" seats.

It was "fairly clear" to the Commissioners that "the pressure" exerted by "the Indian Government (they must have meant the Government of India) had, among other influences, proved instrumental in securing improvements in the conditions of Indian plantation labour. They were certain that "this (pressure) will be continued to be exercised." They then went on to state that :

"...a large section of these immigrant labourers—said to be from 40 per cent to 50 per cent—may be regarded as permanent residents of Ceylon, and that a substantial number of the estate workers have actually been born in the country.* At present only a small fraction, mainly the supervisors, called kanganies, and some of the coolies who work in the Government or municipal service, have the necessary income qualification to vote at the elections for the Legislative Council. We believe that, with the changes in the franchise recommended in the earlier part of this chapter, (already noted by me) even when there is a necessary five years' residential qualification, a considerable number of these people will become entitled to a voice in the election of a territorial representative, and in that way should be able to secure, perhaps a more effective expression of

* How can a person born in a country be an "immigrant labourer?"

their grievances and difficulties in the Legislative Council than under the present arrangement."

Just two inferences can be drawn from these statements, namely :

(1) While every adult male and all adult females above thirty (since reduced to twenty one) years of age among the Ceylonese were, under the Donoughmore proposals, to be entitled to a vote, the great bulk of the Indians were to be excluded ; and

(2) that exclusion *would not just happen*, but would be DELIBERATELY produced.

While the commissioner talked so much of "Indian immigrant labour," they did not publish the information that, according to Government of India regulations as interpreted by the Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour (an official of the Ceylon Government), Indian labourers lose the status of immigrant after they have been away from India for five years. For at least three years, to my knowledge, that Ceylon Government official, who appeared twice before the Commissioners and, just by chance, sailed the seas on the same ship with them, has been contending that all Indian labourers who have been in the Island for five years pass outside the control of the Government of India Agent in Ceylon. The first "reservation" designed by the Donoughmore Commission (the five years' residential qualification) would, if accepted, automatically debar *all* "Indian immigrant labourers"—in this sense of the term—from acquiring the vote.

Since seven out of every nine Indians in Ceylon live on plantations in conditions of semi-slavery, the second "reservation"—namely the registration of voters at their express request and not through automatic process, as in England, would operate specially against Indians. Huddled in one-room "lines" situated on private property from which ingress and egress are regulated according to the will—and even the whim—of the owners, they would find it difficult to get away and register unless, of course, it suited the planters to have them registered, in which case, however, their vote would be used to fasten upon them tighter than ever the shackles of semi-serfdom.

V

The question of "protection by the Government of India" is not merely academic. Indian workers on Ceylon plantations live in industrial serfdom, as stated again

and again in the Ceylon Legislative Council. According to a letter read by one of the Sinhalese M. L. C.'s, our people are, in fact, prisoners. In this circumstance the right conceded to the Agent of the Government of India to enter any plantation employing Indians and to make enquiries is of considerable importance, especially, if the present practice of sending young Indian Civil Service men with little experience—"I. C. S. kids" I call them—is stopped and Indian publicists of proven patriotism and independence of character alone are appointed to the post.

It must, moreover, be remembered that the lot of the Indian plantation workers—far from satisfactory today—would be infinitely worse if certain regulations placed on the Ceylon Statute Book under pressure from our people in India had not been enacted expressly for them. Anything that would have the effect of taking any of these labourers outside the scope of these regulations would menace their very existence. It would, for instance, place them entirely at the mercy of the planters in respect of wages and make them liable to arrest for debt. It has been claimed in the Legislative Council that "benefits" of this nature cannot legally be claimed by Indians in Ceylon if they have lost the "status of Indian immigrants"; and no spokesman for the Ceylon Government in that Council has so far denied the validity of that contention.

Persons with the intelligence of the Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues must have been alive to the importance of this question. They, however, took care to make no mention of it in their report.

VI

The leaders of the anti-Indian movement in Ceylon are mostly planters. As soon as they realized that the Donoughmore Commission were for politically handicapping Indians, they set up an agitation which would *definitely* relieve them of such obligations as were imposed upon them in respect of their Indian labourers by ordinances passed under pressure from India.

The Sinhalese planter-politicians knew that any agitation to curtail the usefulness of the Government of India Agent would appeal quite as much to the British planters, who were none too anxious to submit to the special regulations forced upon them from India. An obliging Governor who had gained

His administrative experience in South Africa advised the Colonial Office to insist upon conditions that would secure to the planters their hearts' desire in this respect.

To sum up : The twist given by Sir Herbert Stanley to the Donoughmore Commission proposals relating to Indian franchise has certainly worsened them. The proposals, as they stood, were, in any case, designed to discriminate against our people.

VII

Mr. K. C. Roy's motion, while somewhat indefinite, did not err in urging the adoption of proposals regarding Indian franchise which were, as I have shown, designed with the deliberate intention of disqualifying a large number of Indians in the Island. The speech that he made in the Assembly showed that he was for manful action.

If Lord Passfield refused to heed the Indian protest against the "tentative sanction" * that he had given to the Stanley modifications of the Donoughmore Commission recommendations regarding the franchise, this Indian legislator would have the Government of India take retaliatory measures. If the Ceylon Government persisted in doing injustice to Indians—and the Colonial Office supported such action—India, he suggested, should immediately cut off supplies of food materials and labour.

The Ceylonese may, in a pinch, be able to make alternative arrangements for securing rice, curry-stuffs, etc. The making of such arrangements would not be an easy matter and might, besides, add to the cost of importing foodstuffs. Some years ago there was a threat of stoppage of rice from India and the Ceylon Government and people alike were at their wits' end as to what to do in such a contingency.

Supposing, for the sake of argument, that the Ceylonese could get along without food supplies from India, the plantation industries in the Island certainly could not dispense with Indian labour without becoming bankrupt. Close upon 800,000 acres, I estimate, are cultivated, to a greater or less extent, with the aid of Indian workers. I put the

capitalized value of this land at forty crores of rupees—really a low estimate. The number of Indian workers, together with their dependents, of both sexes and all ages, cannot now be far short of 800,000 persons.

If India were to withdraw supplies of Indian labour, little tea would be produced in Ceylon. The output of rubber would decrease probably by half. Ceylon would soon fade from the map of the world.

Enormous wastage takes place all the time in the Indian labour on Ceylon plantations. Something like 70,000 of our people return annually to India—many of them broken-down wrecks, to be a burden upon Indians for the rest of their life, since no "old age" pension, sickness benefit or other grant is payable to them from their former employers in the Island or from the Ceylon Government. Here are the figures relating to the five years ending with 1928—figures published under orders from Sir Herbert Stanley :

Year	Departure of Indians from Ceylon Plantations
1924	56,116
1925	53,203
1926	61,265
1927	87,481
1928	93,596
Total, 1924-28	351,661

Yearly average, 70,332 persons.

If the Government of India were to order all the camps maintained by the Ceylon Government—a "foreign government," in strict legal parlance—on Indian soil, to be closed, bid the Ceylon planters' organization known as the "Labour Commission" but which the Ceylon Government would like to have us regard as semi-official, shut down its depots at Trichinopololy and other centres and put in jail every *kangany* (agent) that the planters sent out to recruit Indian labourers, the natural wastage would soon deplete Indian labour on Ceylon plantations.

The threat uttered in the Indian Legislative Assembly, at least regarding the withholding of labour supplies to the Island, can certainly be executed. India has a formidable weapon, ready to use the moment need arises.

Stoppage of further recruitment of labour in Southern India for plantations in Ceylon would, moreover, greatly benefit those Indians who elected to stay on in Ceylon. Their wages would go up automatically. They

* I quote the phrase from memory. It is not improbable that the interpretation placed by the Government of India upon the language used by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in respect of the acceptance of the Ceylon Governor's proposals regarding Indian franchise was suggested by the terms of Mr. Roy's motion.

would, in fact, be able to exact their own terms from their employers.

VIII

But for the threat about the stoppage of food and labour supplies to Ceylon flung by Mr. K. C. Roy from the floor of the Indian Legislative Assembly the debate in the Assembly would, I believe, have had little repercussion in the Island. The Ceylonese anti-Indian agitators do not think much of the Indian Assembly. They, at the same time, profess to be worth at Mr. Roy's threat, and declare that India has no right to menace prosperity in Ceylon. In their estimation our motherland is only a door-mat—for them to clean their boots upon.

The general opinion in Ceylon is that the threat is idle. It is said that the Government of India is predominantly composed of Britons who will never take action calculated to ruin the planters, most of whom are Britons.

It is true that many influential Britons own plantations in Ceylon. An Englishman who served not long ago as the Viceroy and Governor-General of India is, for instance, part-owner of one. Some members of the two Houses of Parliament or their relations—have proprietary interests in tea and rubber estates in Ceylon. Thousands—probably hundreds of thousands—of Britons—highly placed and otherwise—own shares in companies in the Island. Ninety per cent. of the tea and fifty per cent. of the rubber—probably more—are grown on plantations belonging to Britons and operated by them.

For this reason, it is said, the Government of India will never dream of interfering with the labour supply from India to plantations in Ceylon. If it were to show any sign of so doing Downing Street, they add, would soon compel it to stay its hand.

To make assurance doubly sure, the anti-Indian agitators, on the eve of the Governor's departure, have been holding many meetings to protest against the resolution passed by the Indian Legislative Assembly, and particularly against the threat uttered by Mr. Roy. Though care was taken to select places where there is intense hatred of the "*Damīlas*" (Tamils)—descendants of despoilers of Sinhalese homes and temples in centuries gone by—the attendance has, at least in some cases, been disappointing to the conveners of the meetings.

The speakers have been the same at practically all these meetings. They either themselves or their relatives own the newspapers in Colombo which, in consequence, have been devoting columns to reporting the orations made to half-empty halls and also to printing anti-Indian letters.

Lord Passfield is not supposed to know these little details and will no doubt be greatly impressed when presently the Governor places before him files of newspaper cuttings. The Colonial Office is already being bombarded by certain anti-Indian Sinhalese who have gone to London for "reasons of health."

Indians in Ceylon, on the other hand, have been apathetic. The Hon'ble Mr. K. Natesa Aiyar, who represents the well-to-do Indian element in the Ceylon Legislative Council, has been anxious to go to England to make representations: but so far the means to enable him to make the journey have not been placed at his disposal. His colleague—the Hon'ble Mr. Ignatius Xavier Pereira—being a wealthy shop-keeper, has been able to sail.

Both these Indian M. L. C.'s kept silent in the Ceylon Legislative Council when the Stanley modifications of the Donoughmore scheme were being debated. They have, broadly speaking, failed to give a strong lead to the people whose cause they should have served, single-mindedly. It, however, Mr. Pereira can forget that he derives custom from the Sinhalese and adopts a bold course, even at this late hour he may be able to accomplish some good.

IX

Personally I have little hope that Indians in Ceylon will receive justice so long as the planters can, without difficulty, have all the cheap Indian labour that they require or desire. Only when they become convinced that their supplies will be withheld from them until decisive action has been definitely taken to lift our plantation workers from the conditions of political servitude and industrial semi-slavery in which they are at present compelled to live, can we expect fair play for our people in Ceylon.

As I have often written, the region of the purse is the tenderest spot in the British anatomy. Any appeal that is not directed towards that region cannot have much chance of proving effective.

The Salt Monopoly in India

By MRS. G. D. MOHUN

FEW people outside India can understand the significance and object of Gandhi, in selecting the salt laws as his first objective for his civil disobedience campaign. They may well ask for proportion between the fight for freedom and violation of this petty, local penal law and how a step, so restricted in its scope and action can lead to the attainment of such a high aim.

The object of a civil resister is to undermine the prestige of the Government and to create in the minds of the commonalty a feeling of active non-co-operation against the same, by his suffering against the tyranny of its unjust laws. To bring success to his mission, he must win sympathy of the whole populace—at least the intelligentsia, and bring round a majority to his active co-operation. To attain this point, he must begin by striking the most common and responsive chord in the minds of his objectives, until the success which accompanies the efforts of his first following, fires such an enthusiasm in the environments, that the waverers and the cautious are, by the sheer force of circumstances forced to throw their lot with the forerunners. It is only when this stage is reached, that a campaign of mass civil disobedience becomes possible and practicable. In fact, the latter is a necessary corollary to the success of the former and comes to pass without any effort on the part of the initiator. When this stage is reached, strangely enough the blind masses lead the so-called leaders, and diverse fields of action spring up spontaneously. The primary and immediate concern of the leader, therefore, is to initiate his campaign in a field of action sufficiently wide and comprehensive to strike and arouse, nay, shake the feelings of the slumbering masses to the highest pitch.

The salt tax is the most oppressive, inequitable and scandalous of all the indirect taxes, under which the teeming poor masses of India are literally groaning. Salt is as much a necessity of life as light, air and water and it is as absurd to tax it as it would be to bring the latter within the purview of the Customs and Excise schedules.

It forms a part of almost every morsel of food of human beings and cattle alike and a great part of the loss of the latter from murrain in India, has arisen for want of salt due to high prices. The poor peasant, who in spite of his scanty requirements—perhaps his economic place in the world polity is at the lowest rung, finds it difficult to make both ends meet, can ill-afford to provide this luxury for his cattle. The unnaturalness and grotesqueness of the salt tax is better illustrated by the fact that it is more than twenty times the cost of its otherwise saleable price. Its dead weight falls on high and low, rich and poor, prince and peasant, human beings and cattle, all alike. The inequity is further aggravated by the fact, that the tax did not exist in free India before it went under British domination.

The Government monopoly for its manufacture, is the most grotesque part of the affair. Not that the Indian soil or waters are short of the necessary ingredients for excavation or manufacture of this necessary element of life and the monopoly is retained by a benevolent Government to ensure prompt and copious supplies to the people at a reasonable rate. India is bounded by the sea on half of its border, and the waters of many tidal rivers in their lower courses are impregnated with salt. Nay, the heavy deposits in the Punjab and other parts of the country, if properly worked, may alone feed India for a long time to come. Before the advent of the British people, India was quite self-supporting in the matter of salt. Its import originated with their occupation and has increased with their rule. The frequency of occurrence of salt in the country is patent from the fact, that the 'War Councils' adumbrated in all the provinces, for civil disobedience against the salt laws, have found natural and convenient centres for its manufacture simultaneously. They are, so common, that the protagonists did not think it worth while to consider this aspect of the case previously.

The political motive behind the tax is not far to seek. It is the familiar tale of Imperial

exploitation. No greater joke could have been perpetrated on a poor and helpless country, than to make it consume salt purchased from Liverpool, when the country abounds in such a mineral wealth. The above tale and its moral is better illustrated by the following figures of import and revenue than any copious comment.

IMPORT		REVENUE	
1847	7,25,000 Maunds	1907	Rs. 4,60,00,000
1853	17,27,000	1916	Rs. 6,84,00,000
1909	1,39,56,000 "	1925	Rs. 10,00,00,000
1925	1,72,40,000 "		

The rigidity with which this monopoly is watched and enforced passes all comprehension. The powers of seizure, detention, search, confiscation, arrest and punishment under the Indian Salt Laws are appalling—nay, perhaps monstrous, and quite disproportionate to the gravity of the offence. The sense of proportion and juridical outlook, so necessary an element in the hatching of penal laws, is sadly lacking. They smell of the over-zealousness of an enthusiast. For instance, Sections 39 and 50 of the Bombay Salt Laws empower salt revenue officers to enter any place, where salt is being manufactured illicitly, to break any door or resistance to their entry in any such building, to seize and confiscate any contraband salt they find along with receptacles, materials, conveyances or animals employed in the same and to arrest any person whom they suspect to be guilty of any offence under the Salt Laws. The punishment for such offences runs to six months, with an addition of the same period in cases of second offence. Under Section 41, *Ibid.*, all village officers are enjoined to prevent the commission of such offences and report their occurrence to revenue officers forthwith. The climax is, however, reached in Section 48A, *Ibid.*, which makes cowardice shown by a revenue officer in the discharge of his duties a penal offence punishable with imprisonment for three months and fine. And to crown all, the vigilant and over-zealous Bombay Government have quite recently invested the police constables even—who, on account of their illiteracy, are notorious for their indiscretion and impoliteness, with the powers of revenue officers.

After this reading of the situation, one may with justification enquire reasons for such a display of legislative skill and effort. Is it that the manufacture of this essential commodity of life is coupled with such a

danger to the producer that the Government is playing the role of a protector in taking the risk on their own shoulders? Or is there any subtle connection between the manufacture of this mineral and the forces of law and order? One may go on vainly reasoning in this strain *ad infinitum* without finding an answer. Nor will it ever be possible from this line of reasoning, to find the answer for such a high duty as Rs. 1¼ a maund. He may ponder over the Budget debates in the Legislative Assembly to learn how this tax has been seriously and consistently arraigned and has been the primary cause of the overthrow of the Finance Bill in one session, and how the Government have never been able to justify its existence on any moral ground except the usual plea of finances. In fact, they have always hid their heads in obdurate silence shamefully, for the hoax of financial considerations has always been skilfully unravelled to their discomfiture. So long as an Imperialist and irresponsible Government rules the country, the tax or monopoly does not stand any chance of repeal.

In fact, the key to the whole riddle lies in the necessity of this tax to foster British shipping and commerce. Owing to the ruin of the indigenous manufacturing industries of India, it is now chiefly an agricultural country. The volume of raw materials exported from India is thus many times that of imports from Britain, which involves a serious handicap to British shipping, commerce and industry. If things were allowed to run their natural course, the result would be that many ships would have to sail from England on high seas empty. Besides the impracticability of such a formula, this will necessarily involve a higher freight on exports and imports from and to Britain, which will be a menacing factor in trade competition with other countries and higher home prices. The only alternative, therefore, is that such empty ships should be filled with keel ballast. In the absence of any raw produce coming from Britain to India, the system of salt monopoly and tax has been devised to import the commodity as keel ballast. British statesmanship deserves great credit for this stroke of ingenuity. The duty of Rs. 1¼ has been kept intentionally high to make its import of salt as ballast possible. If this duty is reduced, import of Liverpool salt becomes unlucrative and the necessary keel ballast is knocked out. British

commerce with India thus rests solely on salt imported from that country and this is the key to the problem.

Every wrong loses its sting with age, and the lapse of more than half a century under these circumstances has blunted India's sensitiveness to this injustice. Its inequity has been obscured and has lost its force simply because Indians are now accustomed to buy salt just as wheat, gram and cereals. Mr. Gandhi, with the wideawake instinct of a Messiah, has rightly selected for attack, the weakest, yet the most precious, chord in Britain's fiddle. Both high and low have

tolerated its jarring of note slavishly for long, and he has well counted on the support of all to snap this string. The strength and success of a cause lies in the masses and if the newspaper reports are a true index of the country's response, he has begun well. The inequity of the tax has roused the slumbering masses and success in this sphere is sure to be the precursor of mass civil disobedience. Perhaps the latter event may be averted, since the salt tax is so serious a factor in British commerce, that any failure in its enforcement, may result in truce, followed by peace in days to come.

The Government Opium Monopoly in India

By C. F. ANDREWS

THE account which appeared in the *Modern Review* some time ago concerning the present opium situation in India, specially with regard to internal consumption, appeared to me to be a fair and just criticism of a sentence in a speech which I delivered *extempore* in New York last year. This sentence was somewhat unguarded in its praise of what the British Government had already done with regard to the external opium traffic. I spoke strongly in the same speech of what the British Government had failed to do in Assam with regard to internal consumption; and if I had known how remiss the Government officers had been in carrying out the progressive policy that opium reformers had recommended *within* India I should have referred to that as well and modified my speech accordingly. Fortunately I have been able to correct in a public manner the statement made in that speech, and have sent for publication to the Press in America a fuller account which seems to me to cover the ground which I omitted. Let me add that my time allotted for speaking on that earlier occasion was a bare twenty minutes and I only made a side reference to opium. On very many other occasions I have been asked questions concerning the opium traffic and have been able to give a much more

detailed answer. The point that has shocked most of all the Western public, which I have frequently mentioned has been the 'opium doping' of little babies with Government monopoly opium in Bombay. It has made a very deep impression in America that Lady Wilson herself condemned this crime against humanity, and that Earl Winterton contradicted her statement in the House of Commons, making an egregious blunder while doing so.

This is what I have sent to the American Press:

"The opium situation in India has already been considerably improved as far as *external* opium is concerned. According to recent reports, the reduction of the export of opium from India steadily taking place at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum. At the present moment, the revenue of the Government of India appears not to have fallen in consequence, because the price obtained for the reduced percentage of opium has been much higher than that received in earlier days when the supply was more abundant. But this increase in the price will not compensate the Government of India for long; and when the 10 per cent. reduction has gone still further, the income derived from the remainder will be much less than the previous income received by Government for external opium in spite of the rise in price. In the year 1935, this income from external opium will vanish altogether because this is the last year of the ten years during which the 10 per cent. reduction is to take place.

While this continual reduction of the sale of

external opium is all to the good, on the other hand there has been noticeable of late a slackness in the process of 'cleaning up' the 'black spots' where opium eating is excessive in India itself. It has been rightly said that eternal vigilance is needed on the part of social reformers in order to prevent the very same evil which had been expelled at one door coming back by another door. Today there is more than ever need of vigilance with regard to India in relation to its opium consumption under Government monopoly.

Let me explain in a parenthesis that all opium legally sold and consumed in British India is 'Government' opium; that is to say, it is sold as a monopoly by Government. The Indian Government in the past has continually stated its own policy in official publications. The official phrase constantly used has been 'maximum of revenue with minimum of consumption'. This phrase has continually led to false emphasis whereby more stress has been laid on maximum of revenue than on minimum of consumption. It is naturally a tempting thing for Government excise officials to think mainly of 'maximum of revenue'. They equally conveniently forget the second half, namely, 'minimum of consumption'. In addition to this Government monopoly within British India, there has always been grown in the Rajputana States a further supply of opium, called Malwa opium. This opium has been partly bought up by the Government of India, but hitherto every year a considerable portion of it has been smuggled into India through the traders who go from the Rajputana States all over India selling their goods. When I was investigating in Assam at Dibrugarh, which was an opium-sodden district, I found that it was the habit of traders from Rajputana constantly to make the highest bid for an opium shop when they were auctioned by Government to the highest bidder. They eagerly desired to become opium vendors. Sometimes these bids at the Government auctions, were so high that they precluded any profit being made by legitimate sale of the Government monopoly opium at the fixed rate which was prescribed by Government. What I discovered on inquiry was this, that in many cases at least the real profit at the opium shop in question was made on the smuggled opium, which was sold by an illicit retail traffic over and above the Government opium. For instance, a man who was on the opium register as an addict was allowed a certain portion of opium, which was registered against him. This would be entered in a book which would be shown each time the inspector came round to the shop. But the customer also would be offered, in excess, some of the smuggled opium. Out of that smuggled opium sale, the profits of the opium shop would be kept up. That is why these traders from Rajputana sought eagerly to become opium vendors.

When I was in India, before coming back to the West, the opium reformers had obtained from the Central Government the appointment of different committees which were set up to inquire into the excessive opium consumption in certain 'black spots'. Calcutta was one of these 'black spots' with an opium consumption at least twelve times the amount regarded as legitimate by the League of Nations. Another 'black spot' was Orissa, where the poorest people in India had made their own poverty still more extreme

by opium addiction. Another 'black spot' was Bombay, where mothers doped their babies every day with opium while they went to work in the cotton mills. It was estimated that 98 per cent. of the mill workers who were mothers had regularly practised this evil custom in order to keep their babies quiet throughout the day while they themselves worked in the mills. Another 'black spot' was in South India at the delta of one of the largest rivers, the Godavari river, on the east coast, where the opium habit had probably been introduced by the returning immigrants, who had gone across to the Malay Peninsula and Singapore. One more 'black spot' was in the centre of the Punjab, where for a long time past the opium evil had been very serious indeed among a very fine and virile population, doing terrible harm and breaking down the religious life of the people which prohibited both opium and alcohol.

The work done by these 'black spot' committees appears to have been on the whole unsatisfactory, with one notable exception. In Calcutta some fine work was done by a strong committee over which the Rev. Dr. Anderson presided, who has been for many years Honorary Secretary of the A. I. Prohibition League. I have not yet seen the Bombay Report, but I have heard that it has been disappointing and no remedy has yet been discovered to prevent the terrible evil of mothers administering opium daily to their little children. In Orissa, what I have seen published in the Press concerning the report of the Opium Committee only confirms my pronounced objection to the personnel of the Committee itself. I pointed out in the public press that one of the members of the Committee nominated by the Government was himself involved in the opium traffic and his family derived profits from it. I also pointed out that one of the opium reformers, an American missionary in Balasore, who had offered first-hand evidence about opium consumption in his own district had never been summoned before the Committee at all. Such utter laxity in the appointment of the Committee and also in its mode of procedure appears to me to be worthy of strong condemnation. Our protest was not taken notice of by the Bihar and Orissa provincial government. Those of us who were opium reformers in India and have made a special study of the complications of the problem had pressed upon the Government of India the absolute need immediately to get rid of the danger of smuggling which resulted from the sale of Malwa opium. We suggested that the Rajputana States should be allowed some remission of their imperial military burden on the one condition that they agreed to give up the growth and sale of opium within their own territories. It was found that a large stock of Malwa opium was still on hand which would have to be bought up if this was to be accomplished. We were told that the price would probably be \$2,500,000. While this may appear a large sum, it is a mere trifle as compared with the immense profits which have been acquired year by year to swell the revenue of British India owing to the opium traffic. We had, therefore, every right to demand that this sum should not be kept back when, if only it was utilized in order to buy up the old stock of Malwa opium, there would be then eliminated one of the most dangerous avenues of smuggling opium into British India.

Though all this was pointed out nearly two years ago, it seems that final action in this matter has not yet been taken. It is time, therefore, that the Government of India was clearly warned that opium consumption in excess, from whatever cause, is not a matter that concerns India only, but rather the whole world, now that opium has become one of the subjects dealt with definitely by the League of Nations.

One further point may be mentioned which shows how vigilance of the most detailed kind is still needed. We had recently learnt that there was a danger that the register of opium addicts in Burma which had been closed might again be re-opened. The re-opening of the register would clearly stultify the whole process of cutting down opium consumption to the narrowest possible limits with a view to ultimate prohibition. The reason for re-opening the register was declared to be the increase of illicit consumption. In reply, we demanded that whatever profits were derived from the Government opium monopoly should be used for a close inspection of opium smuggling into Burma with a view to its detection and prohibition. Partly owing to this protest and the action taken on the spot by Mr. Tyabji, the Government of Burma, which is a province of British India, decided to drop the whole question of re-

opening the Government registers. The League of Nations Commission to the Far East has recently visited Burma in order to investigate opium smoking, and those who have been steady supporters of the opium prohibition demand, such as Mr. Tyabji and others, have given evidence before the Commission.

It is noticeable that at first Mr. Tyabji's name was not presented along with others to the League of Nations Commission to offer evidence and was only included after a protest. It is very unlikely now that the Government of Burma will attempt in the future to re-open the register of those opium addicts who are allowed a limited consumption per month.

In conclusion, it may be said that while progress has been much slower with regard to the reduction of the consumption of opium within the boundaries of India than it ought to have been, nevertheless important steps have been taken and the Government of India has begun to feel the effect of outside opinion. In the end, if only we have world publicity and world support given us to the full, we may be able to reduce at length the opium consumption in India to a figure which will not be far in excess (as it is at present) of the League of Nations index ratio.

Orissa States And British Policy

BY PROF. P. C. LAHIRI, M. A.

I

THE history of the Native States of Orissa appears to go at least as far back as before the Maurya period. The areas are full of archæological interest and the legends of some of these dynasties associate them with the Aryan culture of the north. The later historical origin of the present-day states may be definitely linked with the three important dynastic groups that flourished in these areas during the Hindu period as suzerain powers: the Gajapaties, the Bhanjas, and the Haihayas. As yet no continued history has been traced to prove them as having contracted direct relations, social and political, with northern India, the seat of Aryan culture. The chief reason that lies at the root of this, is their geographical isolation from the main current of civilization.

The very same reason accounts for their lack of political importance during the

Mughal and Maratha periods of Indian history. At that time, to all intents and purposes, most of these states exercised independent authority in their secluded fastnesses, and they were only bound under the Mughals, as also under the Marathas, by fixed sums of tribute and military service when necessary. Regarding their relations with the Maratha power it may be said that, whatever the general nature of the policy followed by the Marathas in their home provinces, their administration and government of the farthest and out of the way conquered regions, except in the matter of levies, were mostly as loose and fitful as the very method of the conquests themselves.

Coming down to the British period, a peculiar nature of complicated relations between these states of various shades of power on the one hand, and the Raja of

Nagpur or Berar and the East India Company on the other, becomes apparent. These complications further developed when these principalities were assigned a place on the diversified treaty map of India under the British. To make the point clear, let us begin by quoting from the Montagu-Chelmsford report the definition of 'Native States':

"The expression 'Native States' is applied now, and has been during the past century, to a collection of about seven hundred rulerships which exhibit widely differing characteristics, which range from States with full autonomy over their internal affairs to States in which Government exercises through its agents, large powers of internal control, and even down to the owners of a few acres of land."

In these words the joint authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford report on Indian constitutional reforms describe the great diversity that characterizes the collection of territories known as Indian States. The Butler Committee divide them into three classes: I. States the rulers of which are members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right, numbering 108; II. States the rulers of which are represented in the Chamber of Princes by twelve members of their order elected by themselves, numbering 127; and III. Estates, jagirs and others, numbering 327. Among the second of these classes, the group of Oriya-speaking States, at present in direct political relations with the Government of Bihar and Orissa, is perhaps the most important in point of number, area and possibilities for future development in the economic sphere. And here again is to be found among the individual states constituting this cluster that wide divergence in size and importance which has been observed in the case of the Indian States as a whole by the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford report. For the Orissa States cover, at one end of the scale, Mayurbhanj with 4,243 square miles in area, a population of 7,54,457, and an annual revenue of 30 lakhs of rupees, and, at the other end of the scale, Tigiria with an area of 46 square miles, a population of 19,534 and an annual revenue of 32,000 rupees. The Orissa States proper, numbering 24, may be broadly divided into two groups, according to certain historical circumstances; but two more States originally belonging to Chota Nagpur and now attached to the same political agency as the Orissa States, belong for all practical purposes to the same category. It

must not be understood, however, that all these 26 states are homogeneous in point of historical or political evolution, nor is it the object of the present article to deal with the historical development of each state in detail. These states are:

Athgarh, Athmallik, Baramba, Baud, Daspalla, Dhenkanal, Hindol, Keunjhar, Khandpara, Mayurbhanj, Narshinghpur, Nayagarh, Nilgiri, Pal Lahara, Ranpur, Talcher, Tigiria, Bonai, Gangpur, Bamra, Kalahandi or Karond, Patna, Rairakhol, Sonpur, Saraikela and Kharsawan.

The first group includes states that were originally known as Tributary Mahals of Cuttack, later, Tributary States, and finally included under the general description of Feudatory States of Orissa. Treaty engagements were entered into with most of these states by the East India Company about the time of the treaty of Deogaon in 1803, by which claims over them had been renounced by the Bhonslé Raja of Nagpur. Since then these states have remained in subordinate alliance with the English. The second group of states were brought into political relations by Wellesley by virtue of the treaty of Deogaon (1803) along with the States of the first category, but were returned in 1805 to the Bhonslé Raja, to be ceded finally in 1826. This group includes those states that belonged to the Central Provinces administration from 1861 to 1905 when they were attached to the Orissa Division along with Kalahandi, one of the old Nagpur zamindaries which presents certain common characteristics with them. The last two states, Saraikela and Kharsawan, were added to the Orissa administration even later. Both of these were granted as fiefs to the junior branches of the ruling family of Singbhum (Porahat), and gradually rose into importance, from the position of subordinate chieftaincies, specially after the downfall of Porahat during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, when their services to the British Government were well rewarded. Since 1820, these two States came under the protection of the British, although no formal engagement can be traced.*

As already observed most, if not all, of these States came into formal political relations with the East India Company on the decline of the Maratha kingdom of Nagpur.

* *Bengal District Gazetteer*: Singbhum Sarai-kela and Kharswan, pp. 229, 250.

Orissa was ceded by Nawab Aliverdi Khan to the Bhonslé Raja of Nagpur in 1756, without Chakla Midnapur; and this Chakla was ceded by Nawab Mir Kasim Ali to the East India Company, along with the Chaklas Burdwan and Chittagong, in 1761. The Company was thus brought into direct touch with Orissa, and we find it, in the very first year of its possession of Midnapur, exchanging complimentary messages with the then ruler of Mayurbhanj* who was oftener than not at war with the Marathas. Of the Orissa States, Mayurbhanj was the nearest to Midnapur and served the purposes of a buffer state to the East India Company in its occasional disputes with the Marathas prior to the British occupation of Orissa.†

Bengal continued to be exposed to attack through Orissa after the British had established their ascendancy in Bengal and Behar, and the Maratha supremacy in Orissa did not enable the British to secure uninterrupted communication by land with their possessions in Madras. The opportunity of the Second Maratha War was, therefore, taken by the British to conquer Orissa in 1803. The Maratha authority had by this time become weak in Orissa, and the oppressive character of its rule had made it unpopular with the Oriya people. Thus diplomacy played as great a part in the British conquest of Orissa as arms. In a despatch, dated 3rd August, 1803, Marquess Wellesley gave detailed instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, who was in charge of military operations in Madras and was marching towards Orissa, to conciliate the people and even humour their religious susceptibilities. Referring to the rulers of the Orissa States, and zemindars under the Marathas, the Marquess observed as follows in this despatch :

"I have reason to believe that a considerable proportion of the province of Cuttack is occupied by chieftains or zemindars who have been enabled by the weakness of the Maratha government to render themselves independent of the Maratha power, or who yield to it a partial obedience. Considerable tracts of country contiguous to that province are also possessed by chieftains, who acknowledge no superior authority, or who are merely tributary to the Maratha State. I deem it necessary that such of those chieftains or

zemindars as are subjects of the Maratha government, and have revolted, should be required to acknowledge subjection to the British power. With other chieftains who may possess means of embarrassing your progress, it may be advisable to negotiate engagements on terms favourable to their interests, without requiring their absolute submission to the British authority."*

Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt, who had to replace Campbell owing to the latter's illness, also appears to have enjoined on his Lieutenants the adoption of a conciliatory policy towards these Chiefs, particular mention being made of Mayurbhanj, which was in a troubled condition owing to a dispute over succession to the rulership. †

That this policy was fruitful is evidenced by the comparative ease with which the British drove out the Marathas from Orissa. It does not appear that in the war of 1803 in Orissa, the Raja of Nagpur obtained any active assistance from the Chiefs of Orissa States, though most of them acknowledged his suzerainty. By Article 2 of the treaty of Deogaon, dated 17th December, 1803, the Raja of Nagpur ceded the province of Cuttack in perpetual sovereignty to the British; and Article 10 of this treaty runs as follows :

"Certain treaties *have been* made by the British Government with the feudatories of the Senah Saheb Soubah (i. e., Raghuji Bhonslé). These treaties are to be confirmed. Lists of the persons with whom such treaties have been made will be given to Senah Saheb Soubah, when this treaty will be ratified by His Excellency the Governor-General in Council."

A foot-note to this Article in Aitchison's *Treaties* says :

"The Raja manifested the utmost reluctance to ratify this clause, and it was only under the threat of renewed hostilities that he consented to sign the lists."

With twelve of the present Orissa States were treaties thus made by the British in November, 1803. These are Athgarh, Baramba, Daspalla, Dhenkanal, Hindol, Khandpara, Narsinghpur, Nayagarh, Nilgiri, Ranpur, Talcher, and Tigeria. They satisfied the condition laid down in Article 10 of the Treaty of Deogaon inasmuch as their treaties were concluded before the treaty of Deogaon. But it appears that a determined attempt was made, not without some amount of success, to extend this Article so as to include even loose agreements subsequent to the conclusion of peace with Raghuji Bhonslé.

* *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, vol. I. Nos. 1020 and 1021.

† *Midnapur Records*, vol. II. Nos. 366, 378 and 442. Also see "The Ring-Fence System and the Marhattas" by K. M. Panikkar, *Journal of Indian History*, vol. viii, Part iii.

* *Wellesley Despatches*, by Martin, Vol. III, p. 268.

† *Notes on History of Orissa*, by J. Beames, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1883.

And we find Major-General Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) bitterly complaining that his brother, the Governor-General, should countenance such an act of bad faith towards the Raja of Nagpur. Thus we find him writing to the Marquess of Wellesley on the 10th February, 1804 :

"The cases of the Rajahs of Sohnpoor (Sonepur), Boad (Baud), and Ramghur (now a zemindary) are similar...It does not appear that any of these Rajahs have entered into any such agreements; although I am well convinced that, having witnessed the effects of the Company's power, and having reason to expect benefit from the protection of the British government, they will now readily enter into all the stipulations required. But that is not consistent with the letter of the treaty with the Raja of Berar, much less with my promise to the Raja's ministers that this article should not be made to extend farther than was necessary to preserve the good faith of the British government, or with your Excellency's policy."

Again, writing to his brother, the Hon'ble Henry Wellesley, on the 13th of May, 1804, the Major-General continued in the same strain :

"The Rajah (Raghuji Bhonslé) has been called upon to confirm, under the 10th article of the treaty of peace, verbal offers (I may call them) which were scarcely accepted, and on which treaties were not concluded till ten days after Colonel Harcourt had received from Calcutta the intelligence of the peace, and nearly twenty days after he had received private intelligence of it from me. After all, the treaties were not concluded with the real feudatories, who were in confinement at Nagpoor, but with their ministers in some instances, and their wives in others...The system of moderation and conciliation by which, whether it be right or wrong, I made the treaties of peace, and which has been so highly approved and extolled, is now given up. Our enemies are much disgusted and complain loudly of our conduct and want of faith; and in truth I consider the peace to be by no means secure...In fact, my dear Henry, we want at Calcutta some person who will speak his mind to the Governor-General. Since you and Malcolm have left him, there is nobody about him with capacity to understand these subjects, who has nerves to discuss them with him, and to oppose him when he is wrong."

The result of this policy was that, among other tracts, the Parganas of Sambalpur and Patna including the present States of Patna, Sonepur, Bamra, Bonai, Gangpur and Rehrahkhole, as also Baud together with its tributary Athmallik were treated as ceded by Raghuji Bhonslé to the British, in spite of the opposition of the Marathas and the protest of

General Wellesley. Marquess Wellesley in his despatch dated the 13th July, 1804,* to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, stated that the British Government was prepared to restore the aforesaid Parganas of Sambalpur and Patna, as also the similarly situated States of Sonepur, Baud and Ramghur to the Maratha Government. But as the Chiefs of these areas were disinclined to return under the authority of the Marathas, the British authorities offered the Maratha Government an annual payment equal to the revenue derived by them from these areas, together with "a reasonable compensation for the loss of power and dominion occasioned by the alienation of those territories." This offer was declined by the Maratha Government, with the result that the areas affected continued to be under the British. In 1806, however, by an engagement dated the 24th August, Sir George Barlow, Governor-General, restored to Raghuji Bhonslé "all the territory of Sumbulpore and Patna which was ceded by the Maharaja to the Hon'ble East India Company...the Maharaja shall possess the same degree of sovereignty over them as he possesses over the rest of his dominions." And in the schedule to this engagement we find Patna, Sonepur, Bamra, Rherakhole, Bonai and Gangpur, among others, as comprised within the territory thus ceded. They were subsequently by the treaty of 1826, between the British and the Bhonsle Raja of Nagpur, ceded once more and finally to the former.

Mr. Gurmukh Nihal Singh in his recent book *Indian States and British India* says :

"It was a clever device adopted definitely by Lord Wellesley of pushing the defence frontier to the extreme boundary of the next state and of shifting the main cost of defence to the shoulders of the neighbouring chief."

It is difficult to say whether Lord Wellesley was acting in pursuance of this policy when in his engagements with the tributary States of Orissa he included, in spite of protests of the Raja of Berar and General Wellesley, other States which did not contract relations with the Company prior to the date of the Deogaon treaty. Was it that the entire group of tributary States under the authority of Nagpur had to be brought *en masse* under the influence of the East India

* Owen's *Wellington Despatches*, No. 212; See also Nos. 213, 214, and 222.

† Owen's *Wellington Despatches*, No. 225.

* *Wellesley Despatches*, by Martin, Vol. iv. No. xxxiii

Company so that there could not be in future any new complications regarding the relations of these States with one another? Or, was it from the purest idea of conquest and alienation, as Wellesley himself lays down in his own despatches on the subject of these very States? Thus:

"The conquest or alienation to the greatest possible extent of the territories composing the dominion of the enemy, constituted a necessary object of the operations of the war, without reference to the future policy of annexing such territory to the British possessions, or of distributing it among the allies or of restoring it to the enemy."^{*}

All these States (outside the provision of Article 10) were, with the exception of Baud and its tributary Athmallik, restored by Sir George Barlow the Governor-General, in 1805, as a result of his "feebly economical policy" on the ground that "a certain extent of dominion, local power, and revenue, would be cheaply sacrificed for tranquillity and security within a contracted circle, and we could withdraw from every kind of relation with the Native States, to which we were not specifically pledged by treaty; and the minor principalities adjacent to or intermixed with the Maratha possessions were left to their fate."[†] It is difficult to say whether the moral considerations urged by General Wellesley influenced the decisions of Sir George Barlow in any measure when he restored the above States to the Raja of Berar.

^{*} *Wellesley Despatches*, edited by Martin; Vol. iv, No. xxxiii.

[†] Sir Alfred Lyall: *The Rise of the British Dominion in India*, 1893.

In his despatch, dated the 13th July 1804, quoted above, Marquess Wellesley separately mentions two other states which entered into alliance with the British Government without reference to the Maratha power and obviously unaffected by Article 10 of the Treaty of Deogaon. One is Keonjhur, "a powerful Chieftain, whose territory is situated on the northern frontier of the province of Cuttack, and who has always been considered to be independent of the Maratha power, although at the period of the war that Chieftain rented a portion of the province of Cuttack." Pal Lahara presumably went with Keonjhur as its then tributary. The other State mentioned is Mayurbhanj, engagements with which apparently continued on an informal footing till 1829 when a formal treaty was concluded with it. Apart from its extensive territory, its ruler had also been holding a zemindari under the British in the district of Midnapur, from 1767, and thus occupied a dual status with reference to the East India Company. These circumstances may have been responsible for the omission to conclude a formal treaty with this State for a quarter of a century after the British conquest of Orissa.

The effect of the engagements with all these States has thus been summarized by Marquess Wellesley:

"A barrier has been established between the province of Cuttack and the Raja of Berar's remaining territories, composed of petty States, exercising an independent authority within their respective territories, under the protection of the British Government."



The Day of Crucifixion

By Miss J. GANGULI, M.A.

IT was the evening of the day of Christ's crucifixion, a day for the Christians to remember mostly of the qualities of mercy and love and to understand pain.

The afternoon sun was shedding its softlier glowing light on a thousand heads of the villagers assembled near the volunteers' tent at Narghat, a village near the ancient port of Tamluk in South Bengal. They were eager to see and hear the woman that had come to preach about the great *Ahimsa* war waged by their Gandhiji against the Government that heeded not the cry of the people who suffer from year to year of privation, ill-health and illiteracy.

This war that will not spill the blood of those against whom it is waged but will spill only the blood of the soldiers who are waging it, is a new message to the world, and the villagers, illiterate and ill-clad as they are, but proud with the heritage of an age-old culture, understand it and accordingly worship these *Satyagrahi* volunteers, *i. e.*, the soldiers of the nation as men of a finer calibre than their own selves.

Undaunted by the presence of a number of police and excise officers as well as the magistrate of the district and the superintendent of police—the two great officers of the executive and judiciary—they waited our coming.

We were told that Sec. 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code was in force there and so there could be no gathering of people nor any addresses to be given. There were expectancy and determination writ large over all the faces. They waited with bated breath to see what we would do. I stood on the car and told the people of the order and asked what they wished—to obey the order and so send us away, or for us to remain and defy the order, if, to them the order was not justifiable. They, specially the women, all declared their wish for us to remain.

The women, about 300 in number, squatted on the high bank where the tent for the volunteers' night rest was pitched and low down on the rice-fields from which the harvests were already gathered, sat quietly the

men. It was a most peaceful scene, with the blue sky bending benignly overhead,—the playful breeze, and the eager faces of the men. And suddenly, with the charge of the police with *lathis* a disturbance grew. The women jumped down from the bank before the force and tried to prevent the *lathis* being used on their men folk and the men grew into a solid phalanx of human wall which could neither be moved nor broken. For nearly a quarter of an hour the police tried, but in vain. Then they promised to withdraw if the crowd would disperse quietly. My speech was delivered, and the 2,500 odd that had come there to listen to me expressed a desire to have a look at the volunteers breaking the salt law. These soldiers of our unkillings war were preparing duty-less salt in contravention of the existing law of the present Government in a place about a hundred yards away from the place of our gathering. The men marched in a line towards that place with the intention to make a circle round the ovens and the pots, sacred to them as the altar fires in the temples of their gods, and then wend their way home as quietly as they had come.

The police with the magistrate and the Superintendent of Police at their head ran after them and belaboured them with sticks and *lathis*. I met the Superintendent of Police pursuing men who evaded his stick one way and gathered round the other way again to continue their march. As I was exhorting them to be quite peaceful and act as if nothing untoward was happening and thus go away home, the S. P., a Mr. Kidd, showed me his stick and said in the mincing and affected Bengali they use, "They will not listen to you but they will to this stick of mine."

I replied, "No, shahib, you are mistaken. They will listen to me and not to your stick. Please wait and hear."

And then I asked the crowd whom they would listen to and the answer came, surging through all the throats, "Mother, we will listen to you, we do not fear his stick."

Meanwhile the chief representative in the

district of the powers that be, the district magistrate had with his hunter beaten a small boy of ten in such a way on the head that he had fallen senseless on the ground and was bleeding profusely from a deep cut on the forehead and from the nose.* He bent down to tie his silk handkerchief on the bleeding wound. Perhaps the face of the One wearing the crown of thorns was reflected in the halo of the evening sun shedding tears of blood at this sight—who knows and the Christian remembered the day! But the volunteers and the women rendering first aid to the boy refused the silk handkerchief of the mighty one.

He came with his hat raised to me and asked me to grant him permission to take the boy to the hospital.

"Sorry, but I am afraid I cannot give such permission as the people here will not allow me to do so."

"But if you say yes, they will not go against that. Please do give the order. These people here will listen to you implicitly and to nobody else."

"But, Sir, I cannot give that order."

"My car is a powerful one and I can take him to the hospital within fifteen minutes."

"We have doctors here to attend to him. If it is necessary I shall myself take him to the hospital."

"But it is better to take him in a car and not in a bus."

"I have a taxi-cab with me."

"I leave my car at your disposal, it is a better and a swifter one."

"Thank you, but I am sorry I cannot avail of it."

The half-clad and half-fed villager who used to bow down to the dust before a magistrate the other day, as it were, had spoken through me his grim determination

to refuse from the hands of the autocrat, scraps of mercy which looked like disdain heaped upon injury and wrong.

About ten others were hurt,—some slightly and some with grave injuries on their body, and we removed them all to the camp and brought the boy to our own private hospital under the Ramkrishna Mission at Tamluk. On our way there the boy regained consciousness and when told that he would soon get better, replied, "Yes, and then I will come again where our soldiers prepare salt, and if the Shahib comes to beat me once more I will say 'Shahib, I have come and so if you will, beat me again.'"

It was Good Friday and he had bled at the altar of the great temple of our Motherland and was it Christ himself who spoke through the child—was it the promise of the saviour's ascension—the promise of His coming again to save mankind from Sin?

The Man of Sorrows has awakened in the bosom of us, Indians, and so all the atrocities that are committed today by those who are in power—the arson, the loot, the flogging, the scalding, the tortures of the bayonets and the boots—all form the crown of thorns we have to wear and the nails we have to see driven through our flesh so that we gain for our future generation the birth-right of a human being—his freedom.

The twenty-year-old boy whose rib is broken through the trampling of the boots over his body, the still younger one whose body was scalded with boiling salt-water from waist to ankle, the other one with all his teeth dislocated and all those who have been mercilessly flogged and beaten still wear a smile and still say while being sent home or hospital on sick-leave,—“I shall come again.”

Saviours of our country! Verily, it is true that ye shall rise again and so there is no need for us to sorrow and lament but get ready for the day that is to come.

* The photograph of this boy lying senseless on the lap of Miss Ganguly and two of her companions is published on another page of this issue. Ed. M. R.,



Swami Vivekananda on Child-marriage

Among three unpublished writings of Swami Vivekananda published by the *Prabuddha Bharata* in its April issue, there is one letter in which the great religious leader of modern India expresses his strong condemnation of child-marriage. Not all the followers of a great man or reformer are men of equal faith, devotion and strength of character; Swami Vivekananda, it seems, refers to one of these back-sliding disciples and goes on to say :

As for X, I don't care who takes money or not, but I have a strong hatred for child-marriage. I have suffered terribly from it and it is *the great sin* for which our nation has to suffer. As such I would hate myself if I help such a diabolical custom directly or indirectly. I wrote to you pretty plain about it and X had no right to play a hoax upon me about his "law-suit" and his attempts to become free. I am sorry for his playing tricks on me who have never done him any harm. This is the world. What good you do goes for nothing, but if you stop doing it, then, Lord help you, you are counted as a rogue. Isn't it? Emotional natures like mine are always preyed upon by relatives and friends. This world is merciless. This world is our friend, when we are its slaves and no more. This world is broad enough for me. There will always be a corner found for me somewhere. If the people of India do not like me, there will be others who will like. I *must set my foot* to the best of my ability upon this devilish custom of *child-marriage*. No blame will entail on you. You keep at a safe distance, if you are afraid. I am sorry, very sorry, I cannot have any partnership with such doings as *getting husbands for babies*. Lord help me, I never had and never will have. Think of the case of Y! Did you ever meet a more cowardly or brutal one than that? I can kill the man who gets a husband for a baby. The upshot of the whole thing is—I want bold, daring, adventurous spirits to help me. Else I will work alone. I have a mission to fulfil. I will work it out alone. I do not care who comes or who goes. X is already done for by *Samsara*. Beware, boy! That was all the advice I thought it my duty to give you. Of course you are great folks now,—my words will have no value with you. But I hope the time will come when you will see clearer, know better and think other thoughts than you are now doing.

The Work of the Royal Commission on Labour

How far Indian Labour will benefit from the work of the Whitley Commission is a

question which no one can forecast at this time, though the history of previous commissions does not inspire us with much hope. There is an estimate of their work in *The Indian Labour Review* :

By the time the March number of the I. L. R. reaches some of its readers, the Royal Commission on Labour will be on its way to England, carrying with it, doubtless, stacks and stacks of evidence and memoranda; all of which, plus personal investigations made, have now to be sifted and sorted and weighed and synthesised and used as material on which to arrive at certain conclusions and recommendations. That is the biggest, most important, and in some respects the most difficult part of its task and must take many months, and probably another visit to India, to complete.

A resume of the press reports of the Commission's work, as well as the impressions we received at the various sittings of the Commission we attended, make it fairly clear that one of the chief difficulties with which the Commission will have to contend is the conflicting evidence that has been tendered on the same subjects by various representatives of labour, even in the same presidency and town. One representative is for compulsory arbitration in industrial disputes; another against it. With possibly a few exceptions there does not appear to have been any agreement between the different Unions with regard even to such a vital question as the minimum living wage. For the most part each organisation has acted independently, though of course in the matter of well-known facts, as distinct from opinions, there is more unanimity.

This is true also of employers' representatives and employers' organizations, but to a lesser degree. But perhaps this is all to the good in that it will give the Commissioners a more correct idea of the actual state of affairs.

The Commission as a whole appears to have created a favourable impression wherever it has gone, especially on the points of impartiality and a gift for getting at the facts genially. It is a pity though that an Indian woman was not included in the personnel, as Miss. Power's questions invariably showed the value and necessity of a woman's point of view in such an important enquiry. This is a defect which we hope will be remedied in future. The various Women's Organisations in India should see to this.

Physical Culture for Women

Stri Dharma publishes the following note on the lead given by Nagpur to the promotion of physical culture for women :

Nagpur is taking the lead in a most important aspect of women's life. We wish their demand speedy fulfilment, and hope every town will follow their example.

An association consisting of representative members connected with the various institutions for girls and women of Nagpur has been formed for the purpose of encouraging and properly organizing games, playgrounds, etc., necessary for the physical culture of the girls and women.

At a well-attended meeting in the Nagpur Seva Sadan, the following resolutions were passed: (1) That the local Government authorities and Municipal Committee be asked to grant proper playground for the institutions of girls and women.

(2) That these bodies be also requested for grant of funds to enable the Association to carry out its aims and objects.

(3) That a public fund be started and the public be invited to donate or subscribe towards the fund.

(4) That an application be made to the Municipal Committee requesting it not to establish any market on the present Patwardhan High School playground inasmuch as such a market will be a nuisance to the scholastic institutions in the vicinity and as the land in point is absolutely necessary as an open-air playground for girls and women.

Gokhale on the Depressed Classes and the Indian States

There is a very interesting article on Gokhale in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon*. Among the many reminiscences contained in it there is one about Gokhale's views on the "depressed" classes and the Indian States, which incidentally illustrates his deep sense of honour where questions of national self-respect were concerned:

Gokhale felt deeply about the position of the "depressed" classes and earnestly called upon the higher castes to adopt every means in their power to promote their education and facilitate their admission to honourable employment as the most important means of elevating them in the social scale. He would surely have sympathized with their claim for fair representation in the Legislative and other Councils. As regards Indian States, Gokhale's attitude was one of complete abstinence. This seems to have been the result not merely of political considerations but also of Gokhale's personal temperament. He once told me that he had made it a rule not to set foot in any Indian State and this feeling was somewhat aggravated when a late Dewan of Mysore issued an order prohibiting Mr. Srinivasa Sastri from a making a speech at a public meeting in Bangalore. The Dewan made one or two attempts afterwards to meet Gokhale, and explain his position but Gokhale, I think, did not countenance them. Another occasion in which Gokhale acted similarly was one in which I was myself an intermediary. Mr. Lovat Fraser, perhaps the most brilliant English journalist who ever came out to India, expressed

to me, when he retired from the *Times of India*, a wish to see Gokhale. Fraser was a staunch supporter of the Curzon regime and had not spared Gokhale who was its most powerful critic. Fraser said to me, "You know we are often ashamed to read in the morning what we dash off in the night," and that he would like to make up with Gokhale, for whom he had a sincere respect before he left India. I duly conveyed the message to Gokhale and his reply was characteristic. "I have no sort of dignity or sense of humiliation in approaching any Indian but as regards Englishmen," he said "in the present circumstances of the country I must stand on my dignity. I will not call upon Mr. Lovat Fraser." The two men, however, met later in London and Gokhale told me that Fraser who was then influentially connected with the London *Times* and, besides, was in close touch with Lord Morley, was extremely helpful to him in getting into touch with leading English publicists.

A Government Report on Public Instruction

The Director of Public Instruction of the Bombay Presidency has published a report on the public instruction in that province in which some invidious distinctions have been made between Government and private institutions. A writer in *The Progress of Education* exposes and criticizes these fallacies:

One feature of this Report like that of its predecessors which is most noticeable is the studied differentiation between Government and non-Government institutions particularly the secondary schools. The Directors of Public Instruction appear to believe that the Department of Education exists in the first instance for the Government schools, and to the non-Government schools the Department will extend what patronage it can. They would not admit any responsibility for the expansion of secondary education and would not consider private bodies as willing agents who would and lighten the burden of that responsibility. They look upon the grant-in-aid to private schools as doles distributed to the needy, not as the minimum that the Department can give to the institutions which are doing part of its own work.

This is an unfair attitude and leads to individual comparison between the Government and non-Government schools. Thus on page 49 of the Report we find: "There is little doubt that with the exception of a small number of schools under specially capable management, Government high schools are superior to other schools, as should be the case from their teaching staffs being as a rule far better qualified." This is a true statement no doubt, but it should not be for the Department a matter of congratulation. If the 25 Government high schools absorb nearly as much of the public revenue as is doled out to 180 non-Government schools and if a Training College was conducted for more than fifteen years for training the staffs of the Government

high schools only, what is there to be proud of in those schools being "superior to other schools?" and "their teaching staffs being as a rule far better qualified?" It ought to be the D. P. I.'s ambition to be able to report that "not only are the Government high schools efficient and ably staffed but the Education Department can note with pride that with the help of public-spirited private agencies it has been possible for it to maintain high efficiency and qualified staffs even in those schools which are not directly managed by the Department of Education."

Lancashire Cotton Trade in 1929

Not a very hopeful picture of the Lancashire cotton trade during the last year is drawn in an article in *The Khalsa Review*.

At the beginning of 1929 there were hopes that cotton spinners and manufacturers in Lancashire would experience relief from the severe depression which had existed, for several years, but another twelve months have gone without any definite signs of better conditions, and in many respects the past year has been the worst period since the boom of 1919-20. Throughout the year it was impossible for spinners and manufacturers to run their machinery at full stretch. There was a considerable amount of short time and irregular working, with serious unemployment for the operatives. The financial position tended to become worse; cases of "difficulties" increased in number, and there was evidence that trade is still being lost to competitors.

It cannot be said that the year 1930 has started with any feeling of optimism in Lancashire with regard to the immediate future. The facts of the situation must be recognised, and so far very little has been done to reduce production costs so as to enable Lancashire goods to compete successfully against the products of other countries. This is the problem which faces Lancashire to-day. Unless means can be found whereby goods can be placed in distributing centres abroad at the same prices as competitors, no improvement can be expected. Since standing charges and overhead costs are fairly well fixed, the cost of producing each pound of yarn and each yard of cloth can only be reduced by increasing the output and spreading the charges over a wider basis. A development of this kind can only be achieved by the establishment of a two-shift system, and later by the use of a larger number of automatic looms. With regard to markets abroad, the trade outlook in India and China is far from bright, and in other parts of the world higher tariffs are adversely affecting Lancashire trade. Great things are expected from the amalgamations which are now taking place in the industry. These will certainly result in many economies and more efficient marketing, but it may be some time before these organisations can make any definite impression upon the competition from other countries, and especially from Japan.

Private Enterprise and Rural Reform in Bengal

In the course of an article on the land-holders of Bengal, in *The Calcutta Review*, the conclusion is advanced that the work of rural reconstruction in Bengal can only be solved by state enterprise:

One thing is certain. Private initiative or the working of natural forces cannot be trusted to remedy the evils of rural Bengal. As it happens, the Province does not seem to be very happy in voluntary efforts in matters agricultural. Hardly any effort has been made in large-scale farming on modern lines even where there is ample scope for it, such as in lands in the private possession of zaminders or tenure-holders. Besides, there are many reasons why the intervention of the State is essential. No private organisation would create the same confidence in the agriculturist, in matters where confidence is so vital, as the Government departments would. Neither has any private organisation the same resources or the expert staff to carry on the work. As we have seen, at any rate, at the initial stages, state help and encouragement is a necessity. Moreover, many of the agrarian reforms would effect legal rights and valuable interests, and legislative enactments will be necessary. The experience of European countries also teach us that in experiments like consolidation of holdings, though voluntary efforts played an important part, very little could be achieved, until the State actively intervened.

The danger of leaving matters to adjust themselves is not imaginary, specially in India. Not unoften, it is believed, . . . that for a general increase in the size of holdings, we must look to the working of economic forces—such as the growth of urban industries, which, by reducing the pressure on the soil, would facilitate the transition;—rather than to legislative action." In connection with the often repeated suggestion that the redundant labour on the land may be absorbed in industries, it is not always remembered that in Bengal the percentage of industrial (including mines) to district population is only 7.8. As the Fiscal Commission remarked, "even if the development of industries in the near future is very rapid, the population withdrawn from the land will be but a small proportion" (Report, p. 27). These considerations represent a strong case for a bold and active policy of agrarian reform on the part of the state.

The New Biography

"Dealer in smart sayings: bad character:" Pascal once said of the professional wit whose business it was to be clever anyhow and not to insist too fanatically on truth. One is tempted to apply the saying to the writers of new biographies, which are becoming almost as clever and as commonplace as the new woman or the new novel. A

propos of Emil Ludwig's *Goethe* Sir Denys Bray discusses the value of these biographies.

By what criterion should one judge these volumes? If the criterion is the voraciousness of readers in Germany and the rapidity with which the first English edition was exhausted, criticism must be silenced. But are we really to abandon all attempt to rate a book by Milton's magnanimous standard and sink effortless from idealism to the level of the largest circulation, the level of the greatest ephemeral happiness of the greatest number?

It seems unlikely that I for one shall long give these volumes board and lodging in my shelves. They are too journalistic, too impressionist, too dangerously picturesque, to find a secure and permanent home in an old-fashioned library so tiny as mine. The epithets are not far off the mark, I think. Journalistic? Take Ludwig's very headings—I had almost called them 'captions.'

And at this stage in Goethe-criticism was it really necessary for Ludwig to dwell so much in such detail, with such warmth of colour on Goethe's unending roll of amorous adventures? True, but for Lotte and Lili and Kathchen and the rest, the world would have been the poorer by some of its best known poems. But after a hundred years and more, one may fairly look to a literary critic to spare us details of the particular experiences, often commonplace, sometimes not very creditable which were the stimulating cause of Goethe's literary work and to concentrate on the worth and meaning of the work itself.

And yet—And the hesitation brings me back at the close to the question with which I started. By what criterion ought one to judge two heavy volumes of literary criticism so eagerly bought up as this? There is one criterion in which I myself believe profoundly; and it seems to run counter to nearly everything have so far written. The highest service a literary critic, can render is to re-kindle interest in the works of each great author he criticizes. And if Ludwig drives us to read or re-read Goethe's immortal works, he surely deserves well of us all. Even as I write, my eye falls longingly but conscience-stricken, on that long line of shabby volumes on my bookshelf acquired many a year ago in Stuttgart, in Oxford, in Dusseldorf, in London, fitfully, laboriously, one by one as the odd shillings or marks were saved up, once, well thumbed, since the outbreak of the War neglected. Thanks to Ludwig, they shall lie neglected no longer,

Rationalization in Industry

Rationalization, the discovery of America, and zealously pursued both in America and Germany, is the last word in the field of industrial organization. Its scope and general principles are discussed in an article in *The Insurance and Finance Review*:

Rationalisation is the organised attack of an industry upon these wastes which are incidental to defects in the organisation of an industry as a whole. The attack is directed simultaneously upon several flanks...

The industry requires first, accurate statistics of the conditions of demand and supply and the rate at which they are changing, and secondly, a concerted plan amongst owners to subordinate the output of their firms to the general policy indicated by these statistics...

Closely connected with the problem of instability and manufacturing over-capacity is the question of existence of inefficient firms. That an appreciable percentage of total supply on the market is done by ultramarginal firms—has been statistically demonstrated. These firms are the worst enemies of an industry. They drag down prices below the profit-earning level and contribute to the partial unemployment of efficient firms. If the worst firms could be shut down and the rest worked full time there would be a double saving. The policy or lack of policy in unorganised industries is to leave these firms to be starved out of existence. But bankruptcy as a method of eliminating weak firms has been outmooted under Rationalisation...

Then here is the problem of duplication of activity. A large number of firms are each producing every one of several varieties or sections of of the same commodity... This policy of individual firms is against the common welfare of the industry and hence ultimately against the interest of particular firms. For, with modern industrial technique, the greater the concentration of production, the larger the economies reaped through specialisation and continuous working. If an agreement could therefore be made to distribute the orders among different plants in such a way that each would have the most continuous work on the smallest number of types or sections of a commodity, there would be a substantial saving...

Next we come to a similar problem *viz.* overlapping of markets. Under free competition, firms in the North are supplying the wants of the South, and firms in the South are meeting the needs of the North. The consumers pay for this pig-headed extravagance of competitive industry in the shape of higher prices to cover heavy unnecessary charges for salesmen and for transit. A common marketing organisation or even a simple arrangement amongst firms dividing the market with reference to their localisation would eliminate this waste...

Finally, progress under competition follows an extremely tortuous course. Each firm is left to explore its own way, and though a certain amount of speeding up results from the keen search after profits of individual firms the industrial process does not develop in an orderly, intelligent manner... One of the aims of Rationalization is to secure a simplification of these processes and to make the simplified processes the common property of the whole industry... Practical difficulties can be classified under two broad heads:

- (a) Financial
- and (b) Personal.

(a) Though we might agree as to the ultimate benefit of Rationalisation, there is no doubt that, in most industries it would prove an expensive proposition in the beginning. The rationalised industry requires a large capital to meet the realised loss on the purchase and closing down of inefficient firms, whether badly equipped or uneconomically situated. A further amount is

necessary to modernise plants in the firms which continue in existence. Finally, to save itself from the danger to which standardised mass production is especially exposed *viz.*, a certain resistance to changing conditions, firms in a rationalised industry must have strong reserves so that they will be able to meet changes in the industry may be always backed by adequate financial resources.

(b) The personal difficulties are much more important, the vested interests of those in power, jealousy and mistrust among people at the top of various concerns, a traditional leaning towards secrecy and individualism amongst industrialists, which account for the slow progress of rationalisation.

There is another difficulty in connection with the personnel of industry which deserves careful handling: Reorganisation of industry, an increase in its efficiency, is bound to benefit the workers ultimately, both as consumers and as wage-earners. But the period of transition is always painful and sometimes tragic. Those who remain in work after the reconstruction get higher wages. But the closing down of inefficient firms, and the extension of labour-saving devices throw out of employment a certain number of workers for no fault of their own. Here we touch upon one of the most vital facts of our economic structure...

Rationalisation can succeed in any country provided the true type of industrial leader is forthcoming, the type that has a wide outlook, a power of grasping the general problems of industry, and the tact and energy necessary to organise a loose collection of generally conservative businessmen into an earnest band of industrial reformers.

The Industrial Development of India

Though the cry for State intervention in all the affairs connected with life of a community may be pressed too far and in the end prove to be disastrous to individual initiative, there is no denying that it is in the air and strongly justified by the necessities of the times. The industrial life of a community has become so vast and so complex that unless it is co-ordinated, controlled and guided by some central authority, it is more likely to result in anarchy than in progress. A plea for State initiative in Indian industry is put forward by a writer in *The Hindustan Times* :

The problem of industrial development in India is not an insignificant one but has huge dimensions : it cannot be solved easily and in a very short time, but requires intense efforts, immense initiative and patriotic co-operation. Above all, it requires a sympathetic National Government, which has the interests of the country at heart and strives to pursue these interests with a single-minded purpose, undeterred and uncowed by considerations of commiseration towards the unholy desires and

intentions of foreign interests. We have, no doubt fiscal freedom of a sort ; but is not freedom which is adequate enough to carry us very far, for at every turn we are faced with the wholly discouraging prospect of having to overcome the opposition of foreign vested interests, which a Government, constituted as it is at present, cannot be expected to combat and defeat, however well-intentioned particular Viceroys may be towards Indian aspirations. This is a serious enough matter, when we take into account the large amount of work there is in our country which can be successfully accomplished only by the State. For protecting Indian industries by the imposition of import duties, we have to seek the assistance of the State ; for expanding the banking facilities and encouraging industrial banking and Indian banking generally, we look up to the State ; for leading financial and other help to the tottering, indigenous industries for encouraging the policy of village reorganization and the development of village handicrafts, we require Government initiative ; for providing educational facilities and to dispel the vast mass of ignorance that pervades the people, we again have to depend upon the State and so on. But, if in spite of the necessity for all these reforms, the Government do not follow a consistent and comprehensive line of policy of national advancement it is but inevitable that progress should either be very very slow or that there should be complete stagnation all over.

The Right of Intervention

The right of intervention in the internal affairs of the Indian States claimed by the British Government in India has been questioned by some of the princes. Their opposition is due less perhaps to their desire to safeguard their legitimate rights than to retain their autocratic powers, which are threatened by the progress of democratic government in British India. There is an editorial note on this question in *The Feudatory and Zemindari India* :

The report of the Butler Committee regarding the relations between the paramount power and the States was severely criticised by the Maharajas of Patiala and Bikaner. They resented the statement in the Butler Committee's Report that the Viceroy could intervene 'when there is a widespread and popular demand for a change in the form of government and suggest such measure as would satisfy that demand without eliminating the Princes.' The Indian Princes want complete independence in the internal administration of their States, including absolute power to determine the form of government. But at the same time they also claim that 'it is a duty of the British Government to protect the Princes against a popular agitation was if such agitation not due to misgovernment.' This position of the Indian Princes that, while they can compel their subjects to accept any form of government which they (the Princes) choose to prescribe for their States, however despotic it may be, it is the duty of the British Government to come to their rescue against their subjects, if the

latter show any signs of discontent at the existing form of government, is, to say the least illogical and inconsistent. If the Indian Princes want complete independence in the internal administration of their States, they cannot claim any help from the British Government in their relations with their subjects. For, in that case, the subjects of the Indian States can have no possible change of political advancement on modern lines. It will be in the interests of the Princes to keep their subjects in a state of perpetual bondage; and they will have the mighty arm of the British Government to help them if their subjects show any signs of discontent with the existing state of things. It is strange that, while the Indian Princes have shown whole-hearted sympathy with the aspirations of British India for Dominion status, they are so reactionary as regards the rights of their own people. Consistency would require that if the Indian Princes want complete independence in their internal affairs, they should not ask the British Government to intervene in any matter affecting them and their subjects. Let us hope that the representatives of the Indian princes will be more consistent at the coming Round Table Conference, and either claim complete independence in the above sense of the term or concede the right of the suzerain power to intervene if there is a genuine demand by the people of any Indian State for a popular form of government.

Co-operation in India—A Foreigner's View

An editorial note in *The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* summarizes the opinion of a foreign observer about co-operation in India. The editor says:

It should always be a thing of interest to us to know what foreign students think of Indian co-operation. In fact it often happens that when such a study is made by a competent foreigner with a detached mind, that study comes to be regarded as more authoritative than even the best study by a local scholar. The best criticism of Shakespeare is said to be written by a German and for a long time now the Constitutional History of England by a German Professor has been regarded as even superior to Dr. Stubbs' most learned volumes. It is from this point of view that we welcome a small pamphlet of about 40 pages on "Co-operation in India" by Mr. A. W. Paterson, Head of the Rural Economics Division, Department of Agriculture, Gold Coast. Mr. Paterson was in India in April to June last and even within the short time at his disposal, he was able to carry on an intensive study of the co-operative movement in this country. His account of the rise and growth of co-operation in India and his lucid description of the whole organization in all its parts, will repay a careful perusal. There is not much new therein to an advanced co-operator but the arrangement in the booklet and the handling of the subject are exceptional. Within these 40 pages everything that is essential to know about co-operation in India, is brought together in a concise and intelligible form. We

would strongly recommend that the Co-operative Institutes throughout India prescribe this pamphlet for study by beginners and they may even reprint the pamphlet for their own use after taking special permission from the Gold Coast Government. There is of course little of criticism in Mr. Paterson's study, but his description and analysis have had the advantage of well-trained perspective.

Mahatma Gandhi's Accounts

The following extracts from the extremely vivid article by Mr. Sri Prakasa on Mahatma Gandhi's tour in the U. P. and Bihar, in *Triveni*, shed an interesting sidelight on the great leader's character:

When some one would laughingly complain about his strict insistence on accounts, he would tell him how careful he had been about accounts since early childhood; how he would take vouchers even for sodawater bottles when acting as the secretary of a deputation; and, above all, he would talk of the solitary penny he has never been able to account for in his life and which he still remembers. He had purchased fruits at Tottenham Court Road in London for two pence; but perhaps paid three pence by mistakes. What the balance would not tally at home, he rushed back to the fruit-seller for the overpaid penny, but never got it back. I said to him: "You would be an ideal candidate for a Council election in the matter of returning election expenses. But if you did that, you would be debarred." "I know, I know," he replied, "and among other reasons why I am against these elections, is this also. We have have not sufficient numbers of really good people to go to these Councils." Now he keeps no money himself; but his assistants are always hard put to accounting for every pie received. It is no joke keeping these accounts, as sums (particularly small coin) come pouring in constantly and moneys have to be counted up in moving trains and cars...

In fact he is embarrassingly economical. I believe a rich man can be safely defined as one who can afford to waste with impunity and a poor man as one who cannot. As Mahatma lives the life of a poor man deliberately, he simply would not waste anything. He preserves all pins, and half-sheets of blank papers from letters for use, and writes on the backs of papers written or printed on the other side. I witnessed a scene worth recording: His handkerchief had gone astray. He started furiously searching for it all over the place. We all joined in the hunt. He would insist on having that and would let us bring another, though he was in a hurry to go to a meeting. Well, at last he went without it, and then discovered it tucked to his shoulder—for he has no pockets—when he retired to bed at night, as he put aside the piece of cloth that lies round his shoulders fastened by safety pins! He would waste nothing. The world, of course, knows that he travels in third class; and though railway officials invariable to try to provide comfortable accommodation for him, this is not always possible. Very often he may be found cheerfully seated in the most crowded compartment.

The I. M. S. & Medical Research in India

In his presidential speech before the All-India Medical Conference, reproduced in *The Calcutta Review* Dr. B. C. Roy vigorously disposed of the argument that the lack of progress in medical research in India was due to lack of initiative on the part of Indian medical men :

We have been blamed because there is no record of research to the credit of the Indian medical practitioner. What is the real root cause ? Are Indians incapable of research ? Sir J. C. Bose, Sir P. C. Ray, Sir C. V. Raman, Dr. Meghnad Saha, Mr. Ramavajan have won world-wide reputation in research without any guidance or tuition from Westerners. Why cannot the Indian medical practitioner equally succeed ? In the case of medical research it is necessary not only to be provided with laboratories but hospital facilities also have to be secured. Till within recent years all the larger hospitals in the country were manned by members belonging to the Indian Medical Service. All the research appointments were and still are being held by the service officers. The process of exclusion has been carefully, may I say shamelessly, planned and manipulated that even no Indian of established repute has any chance of getting into the group. As regards the management of large hospitals and

institutions, the question of the inefficiency of Indians does not arise, because no opportunity was given to Indians to manage any of the hospitals. The indisputable fact remains that in spite of such obstructive methods and in spite of the handicap due to paucity of funds, two large institutions, one in Calcutta and another in Bombay, have been developed and managed entirely under Indian supervision. It is a decisive argument against the charge of inefficiency attributed to Indians. Studied carelessness on the part of I. M. S. officers in discharging the responsible duties cast upon them, namely, that of developing an Indian medical profession, the pre-arranged method of keeping the Indian out of every opening where they could develop themselves, have been responsible for the present state of affairs. Knowledge gives vision to the blind. But perverse attempts have been made to perpetuate the infirmity....

Most of us have been trained in the allopathic system. Let us frankly admit that our teachers have not given us that broad outlook, that deep insight into the medical lore which every teacher ought to inculcate in his pupil. Why do I say that ? There is a simple test. No professor belonging to the Medical Services has, ever to my knowledge, trained an Indian student in such a way that he may prove capable, in time, of occupying the chair of his teacher. It has all along been a process of safeguarding the interests of a trade union.

LESSON TO INDIAN MILL-OWNERS FROM ANGLO-JAPANESE COMPETITION IN COTTON TRADE

Japan is beating Lancashire in the cotton trade not only in the East, but even in Ireland and Britain. This should open the eyes of Indian cotton-mill owners, whose country grows cotton, which Japan does not. The following extracts from a London *Times* report of the proceedings of the Calico Printers' Association, Ltd., Manchester, show among other things, that Japan's achievement is due to superior methods and organization :

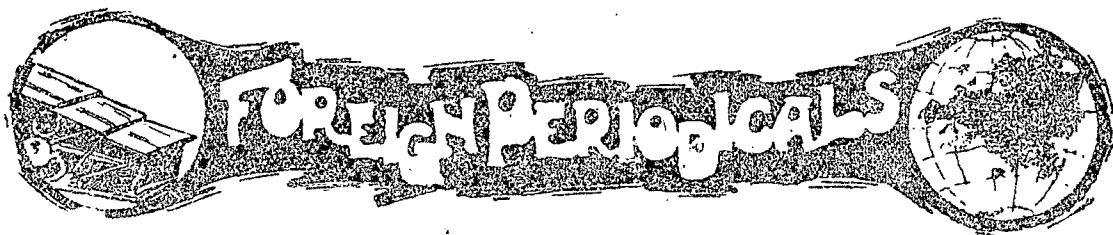
In a report dated September 9 of last year the British Consul at Osaka, speaking of the Chinese market, states that the large difference in cost between Lancashire and Japan does not lie in manufacturing costs so much as in the superior trading organization of the Japanese industry.

If the unions can stop two or more shifts being operated in Japan and induce the Japanese to raise their standard to ours, we can compete with success, but the day has passed when our skill as operatives is so much greater than that of other nations that we can afford to insist on a standard of living for all concerned so much higher than theirs.

Distribution as well as production must be rationalized, and the two functions, reorganized and brought to the highest state of efficiency, must be so co-ordinated as to dovetail one with the other.

On the other hand, if present methods are allowed to continue, then in my opinion, the cotton trade of this country must be prepared to see the more modern and economic methods of our foreign competitors secure a still larger and increasing share of the world's markets.

If we are to fight foreign competition intelligently our industries must adjust themselves to the new situation, scrap their antiquated machinery, remodel their trading system, and keep pace with scientific discovery. When, with a full spirit of co-operation existing between all concerned, and abandoning our mutual jealousy and mistrust, we adopt a broader sense of responsibility to others running through all branches of the cotton industry—spinning, weaving, bleaching, dying, printing, and last, but not least, merchandising—we should render possible what may be called better steering for all of us with the result that our efforts would be directed to greater invention, greater elimination of waste, larger and cheaper production, and better distribution.



Economic Unity of the British Empire

Lord Beaverbrook's ideas about the economic unity of the British Empire have become fairly widespread, though an attempt to create a new political party on the basis of these doctrines has met with complete failure. But can such economic unity be at all brought about? A writer in *The Empire Review* has no hesitation in saying 'no'. He rightly argues that the economic and political tendencies in all the Dominions and India make these plans an almost idle dream. The writer says:

Again, Chamberlain's plan forgot the farmer and forgot India; the same oblivion attaches to Lord Beaverbrook's plan. Obviously, the English farmer would not benefit from a great influx of Canadian wheat, nor by foodstuffs from Australia and other dominions. As for India, fifty years ago it might have been possible to bring her in, but now that it is the fashion to encourage her 'intellectuals' (the most bigoted protectionists in the world) to play at ruling, the thing is manifestly impossible. A minor matter is Ireland. When the Free State will not even submit to the Privy Council: when it roots out any device of coin or flag, even the very language, if it were possible,—anything that reminds it of England,—it is hardly probable that such a country would make any sacrifice for the Empire.

These facts make against Lord Beaverbrook's hope of a 'reasonable response' from the dominions. But, of course, he has chiefly in mind Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa. Here is hopeful ground, and here, to some extent, we have reciprocal preference. We may look for great results if patience and tact be used. Australia and New Zealand, in particular, are splendid customers, and they and the other two might indefinitely increase their imports and exports to us.

But Lord Beaverbrook has not convinced us that they want the same thing we want. We should like our manufactures to go into the dominions untaxed. Does Lord Beaverbrook affirm that they desire this? Would not such a proceeding destroy nearly all the manufactures which give a comfortable livelihood to their large town population? He must know that both answers will be unfavourable to us. The colonial politicians desire, as he says, a tariff on foreign goods; they have got it, but they desire an almost equally high tariff on British goods, and this also they have got.

Imperialism and World Economy

Nikolai Bukharin is the leading theorist of the Communist movement in Russia, and was till a few months ago the Secretary of the Third International. His essay on the economic aspect of Imperialism has recently been translated into English. Its main conclusions have been thus summarized in *Current History*:

The anarchy of capitalism has been raised to the international level, where the industrial and commercial conflict is waged with a greater intensity, a more ruthless disregard for any other end or purpose than profits than was possible within the narrower limits of a single national economy.

The competitive struggle is assuming the character of a relentless struggle between vast trusts which have expanded both horizontally until they practically control the entire production of a commodity, and vertically until they likewise control the sources of raw material and the processes of marketing and exchange. These great capitalist trusts are nationally determined, and have gained such dominance over the agencies of national governments as to be able to wield the entire power of the State in the furtherance of their ends. They are in effect State capitalist trusts, and their rivalry and competition is thus easily transformed into international political conflict with the certainty of an eventual issue in international war. The competition between these great aggregations of capital and political power takes three forms—a struggle for raw materials, a struggle for markets, struggle for investment concessions. It is in the backward and undeveloped areas that the first fierce conflict takes place. This is the colonial aspect of imperialism. But it passes on to a second phase in which the smaller States of advanced civilization become the bone of contention, and eventually fall under the financial, industrial, commercial and substantially the political control of one or other of the great State capitalist trusts. The author suggested that Belgium had by 1914, practically fallen into the status of a dependency to Germany. The elimination of small States is an inevitable prospect of the imperialist struggle. A continually increasing militarism is a necessary consequence, and wars waged on an ever larger stage and becoming ever more destructive and terrible can be predicted with the utmost certainty. There is no possibility of an eventual amalgamation of these fiercely competing State capitalist trusts into a world capitalist State, because composition would then cease, and competition is an essential element of capitalism. Only by

destruction of capitalism itself through the rise of the proletariat; only by the victory of communistic socialism will the anarchy of the present system be brought to an end.

India, Mahatma Gandhi, and the Labour Government

Foreign comment a month old will hardly fit the rapidly developing political situation in India. But the following notes in *The New Republic*, except for the mistake of regarding the breaking of the salt laws as a mere ritualistic act, show an intelligent appreciation of the British as well as the Indian aspect of the problem:

The difference between the East at its best and the West at its average was never more strikingly displayed than in Mahatma Gandhi's march to the sea, where he and his little band of followers will make salt in defiance of the British monopoly. In no other country, in the twentieth century, would millions of people who are seething with hatred of the foreign invader, be willing to stand by while this ritualistic and symbolic pilgrimage took place. Even in India it is only made possible by the personal power of Gandhi, one of the few great religious leaders of all time. His disbelief in the use of force does not rest on mere expediency. Among the Hindus there are however, thousands of persons who are not satisfied with his non-resistant philosophy, who feel that the force of the English must be answered with force of their own. If Gandhi should be imprisoned, or should die as a result of some incident in connection with his present campaign, the tidal wave of hatred would break, with consequences which it is impossible to foresee.

Those who expected great thing from the Labour Government in regard to India have been disappointed, but it was probably inevitable that this should be so. It must be remembered that MacDonald has only a minority in the House of Commons, and that the subject of India is one which arouses automatic and violent response, on a basis of pure prejudice, in the breasts of thousands of Englishmen. It must also be remembered that while governments, Conservative, Liberal and Labour, come and go, the permanent bureaucracy continues to run the British Empire. Even with these allowances made, however, the Labour government has done badly in regard to India. It has continued the historic policy of making concessions, but of never doing so until it is too late. A few years ago, an offer of Dominion status might have stabilized the situation in India for a generation to come. Today, England is at least half-heartedly willing to give Dominion status, and India, angered by the delay and by the well ground belief that the politicians promise more than they mean, turns toward complete freedom.

Torture in America

That some sort of torture, as much psychological as physical, is practised all

over the world in order to obtain evidence from undertrial prisoners has long been suspected. But that this widely flourishes in the United States of America comes as a rather startling revelation. *The New Republic* writes:

Legally, torture for the punishment of crime or the procuring of confessions has been extinct in the United States and Great Britain for at least two centuries, and in other civilized countries for more than a century. Actually, as everyone suspects and as an editorial article in the *Harvard Law Review* for February pretty conclusively demonstrates, it is still a common practice in the police systems of our own country. The chief difference between the modern variety and that which was employed in olden times are that torture now has no standing in law, that care is ordinarily taken not to leave marks which might convict the torturers, and that a new name has been given to an old abuse. But that the "third degree" is torture and that the motives behind it are no different from those which animated the police of Queen Elizabeth or le Roi Soleil cannot be questioned.

It should not be necessary to argue the worthlessness of evidence obtained by any kind of torture. That point was settled, to the satisfaction of reasonable persons, long ago. It should be still less necessary to demonstrate its debasing effects upon all who have anything to do with it. Our penal codes still sanction psychological torture, for a term in the average American penitentiary is that. But Senator Baumes himself would be hard put to it to justify the maltreatment by officers of the law of persons not proved guilty. Why, then, does the practice survive? Men of refined and sympathetic natures do not ordinarily become officers of the law, yet policemen and sheriffs are obviously not all brutes. Why do the more civilized ones among them tolerate brutality, as they obviously do? It is not a question that it can be answered in a few words. We merely suggest here that police work in some American communities has degenerated into a species of gang warfare, in which the police gang differs from the other gangs not so much in its methods as in being on better terms with the constituted authorities.

It is clear that we have not yet reached the point where we can do without police. Probably even a corrupt and brutal police force is better than no police force. If there is a remedy for the third degree and similar violations of law and justice, it will involve two measures. Additional machinery must be set up to safeguard prisoners' rights—perhaps a public protector as well as a public prosecutor. Some cities already have public defenders, though we do not hear of their defending anyone against the third degree. Secondly police service must be made attractive to men of intelligence and integrity. One would like to hear from the American Bar Association on these points. Certainly we cannot rely upon the public to respect the law unless those who enforce the law also respect it.

Turkey Without Books

The temporary book crisis with which Turkey is faced, as a result of the sudden introduction of the Roman alphabet is thus described in *The Christian Register*.

Keinal Pasha's introduction of the European alphabet into Turkey has brought about temporary chaos. For the present, all books are suppressed and the Turkish nation is without literature. A German writer says:

"This is the unavoidable result of suppressing all books printed with Arabic letters. It is true that the purchase and sale of these books have not been legally prohibited, but henceforth booksellers will not dare to offer them and the public takes care not to demand them.

"In Constantinople alone, about two million books will have to be destroyed. Booksellers and publishers have already claimed damages from the Government. It is no longer permissible to print books with Arabic letters.

"Still, there is on the book market at present just one specimen that has been printed in the new Latin alphabet. It is a volume of poems written by a member of Parliament and called 'Damla Damla' ('Drop by Drop'). This is the only book that for the present may be awarded as a prize to brilliant pupils in educational institutions.

"The Government Printing Office has its hands full with preparation of school-books. It has already published some very attractive primers in the new type, and some children's books with verses, interpreting popular pictures in colour. There is a heavy demand for these books—the joint work of the Director of the Editorial Bureau at Angora and a Turkish lady.

"The European alphabet has already exercised a strong influence upon the language, which is taking on a much simpler form. Its new garb makes many old idioms and expressions unsuitable. All Arabic and Persian elements are constantly eliminated.

Mussolini and the Crown Prince of Italy

That there is not much love lost between the Crown Prince of Italy and the Duce has long been known. At the wedding of the Prince, this coldness, it would seem, came out rather conspicuously in the ceremonial arrangements. This has already given rise to some speculation about the political implications of the rivalry. A writer in the *Pester Llyd*, the Budapest daily says:

Fascism or Monarchy? Is Mussolini's star setting and is the star of the House of Savoy in the ascendant? Among the many hundred thousand foreigners who poured into Rome to witness the Royal marriage ceremonies a few reflective spirits detected certain manifestations that raised this question in their minds, a question that not only concerns Italy's destiny but that is also being eagerly discussed by the man in the street. To put the situation in a nutshell, Mussolini played second

fiddle to the Crown Prince, and indeed, was reduced to such a minor part that he could hardly be noticed at all. The mighty Duce seemed to be nothing but a mere prime minister.

The student of politics could have wished for no more welcome occasion that this royal wedding to observe the peculiar division and separation of power that exists in Rome and to study how the papal tiara, the royal sceptre, and the bundle of lictors that symbolizes the Fascist Party each played its part. It was more than obvious, for instance, that court etiquette made no attempt to adapt itself to the political powers that be, and the confusion that resulted seemed almost dangerous....

The only question, therefore, is why the most powerful man in the country took this course, and why for the first time he allowed his 'rivals' to receive such homage.

Now it is well to recall that Mussolini once told Parliament that if the King should demand his withdrawal, he would salute and disappear. Shortly afterward, however, he took an entirely different course when he detected that the will of the people and the will of his political opponents were the same, and that the people were invoking the constitution. With a single motion Mussolini inserted himself between the throne and the constitution and erected the Grand Fascist Council, without whose consent the throne cannot change hands. Before Crown Prince Humbert becomes King the Duce must therefore pass upon his accession. The law and with that law Fascism will stand or fall. But who of the initiators who are always gossiping about the tension between the Crown Prince and Mussolini knows whether the young prince is hostile to the Fascists at the present time, and, if he is whether he will maintain this attitude as he grows older?

One thing only is certain. Some time before these celebrations occurred, Mussolini succumbed to a spirit of tolerance. He is restraining the more radical elements among his followers with an iron fist and that same iron fist still holds, as it has for some years, the key to the government of the country.

A Hitherto Undiscovered Source of Power

The rapid exhaustion of the coal and oil resources of the earth has set scientists furiously to think about the future sources of power. Sun's heat has been suggested. Now comes a French scientist with a new suggestion. He writes in *The Scientific American*:

We think of the Arctic primarily as cold, but this is only because we customarily deal there with the atmosphere, its temperature being very low—about 40 degrees below zero. But by comparison with the atmosphere the big bodies of water in the arctic—the sea, rivers, and lakes—under the ice remain always unfrozen and their temperature is therefore above 32 degrees. This, when compared with the arctic atmosphere, is warm. The anomaly is due to one of the physical properties of ice—it is a splendid insulator of heat. Thus it prevents the leakage of heat from the water beneath it to the much colder atmosphere; provided, of course, it is

thick enough. One recalls the igloo of the Eskimo where, under cover of ice walls comfortable refuge can be taken from the most intense cold.

The heat thus retained in unfrozen water is enormous: it corresponds, in fact, to the latent heat of solidification, and thus one cubic meter of water when freezing can liberate the same amount of heat as the combustion of two gallons of petroleum. Such a form of heat can be utilized in the arctic because the atmosphere is cold enough and because this cold makes available an immense amount of potential energy which can be utilized to generate power. It has been proved, in fact, that with a thermodynamic efficiency of only 4 per cent—although theory allows double that amount for an atmospheric temperature of five degrees below the Fahrenheit zero—a volume of water obtained from beneath the ice pack can produce the same amount of mechanical power as an equal volume of water falling from more than 4000 feet. There is no Niagara which is as powerful as this one, and it is available in the Arctic on the shore of any river or any lake. Since the energy can also be generated from sea water, power in this form appears to be as unlimited as the oceans.

Persecution of Religion in Russia

The furious campaign which is being carried on the European Press against Soviet Russia on the score of religious intolerance is in reality a political move. *The Manchester Guardian* made some investigations on this question, and its conclusions as summarized in *Unity* are given below:

The *Manchester Guardian Weekly* reports that in Paris, which with Riga and Berlin for years have served as centres for false reports concerning the Soviet Union, no secret is made that the present objective of the anti-Russian campaign in its religious phase is the severance of diplomatic relations while the ultimate goal is the overthrow by arms of the Soviet Government.

At this juncture the *Manchester Guardian*, which the world over is recognized as pre-eminent, motivated by the truth complex, has been moved to set at work its organization to ferret out the exact facts relative to religious persecution in Russia. It finds, first, that prominent in this movement are a number of men "who have been active in political hostility to the present Government of Russia." Despite the protestations of the English Archbishops the very atmosphere of the two recent Convocations was charged with the veiled threat of political action. Again the *Guardian*:

There is no evidence that the Bolsheviks are doing more now to discourage religion in Russia than they have done in the past, and it is difficult not to suspect that persons whose interests are more political than religious have set themselves to make use of the Church.

As to the facts of alleged present persecution in the Soviet Union the testimony of the Acting Patriarch Sergius of the Russian Orthodox Church, is direct and explicit. "There remain 30,000 religious communities in Russia, with one or more priests for each," and "163 archbishops in

canonical submission to him;" "abolition of Sundays and holidays has only slightly affected church attendance;" "millions of active church goers are working people, enjoying all their rights, including franchise." "They support us materially and we do not need any kind of assistance, and especially no foreign interference." These utterances were at once denounced outside Russia as forced from the Patriarch by the Government, but at an interview between the Metropolitan and foreign press representatives Sergius solemnly reiterated them and declared them to be his convictions.

The Paris correspondent of the *Guardian* reports an interview with Monsignor Evlogi, the Metropolitan of the Russian Church in western Europe, to whom the interviewer showed a statement in the *Morning Post* detailing horrible atrocities committed upon priests. The statement was translated to him, paragraph by paragraph, and at the close of each he was asked whether he could confirm the alleged outrages. He replied that the only case cited of which he knew anything concerned the Archbishop of Perm who was murdered by a mob of factory workers in 1918. The reporter adds:

He had no information at all about the other cases, and if the events described have occurred he did not think that they were of recent date. Monsignor Evlogi said that there had been cases of this sort in the early days of the Revolution, but they had been much less frequent of late years.

The Indian Crisis

In the *Unity* also, (it should be remembered that *Untty* is the organ of Mr. John Haynes Holmes) occurs the following penetrating note on the situation in India:

Gandhi is pushing the independence movement in India with a persistence as steady as it is prudent. Armed with full powers of resistance to the British *Raj*, the Mahatma withholds his hand, that the Empire may be given every opportunity to find the way of peace. Thus, in his most recent public utterance Gandhi announces that the campaign of civil disobedience, authorized by the Lahore Congress, may be avoided, but on conditions! These conditions, as listed by Gandhi in *Young India*, make a document of historic significance. They are as follows.

- Total prohibition of liquor.
- Reduction of the value of the rupee to 32 cents.
- Reduction of land taxes by at least half, making them subject to legislative control.
- Abolition of the tax on salt production.
- Reduction of military expenditure by at least half.
- Reduction in salaries of the higher grade civil service to one-half or even less, to suit reduced revenue.
- A protective tariff on foreign cloth.
- Passage of a coastal shipping reservation bill.
- Discharge of all political prisoners except murderers or attempted murderers.
- Withdrawal of all political prosecutions.
- Abrogation to all Indian exiles to return.

Abolition of the Criminal Investigation Department or its control by popular methods.

Issurance of licenses to use firearms for self-defense, subject to popular control.

"If he (the Viceroy) satisfies these vital needs," says Gandhi, "the Indian National Congress will heartily participate in any conference where there is perfect freedom for expression and demands." Here the way is opened wide for the very round table gathering that Ramsay MacDonald presumes to want. Yet it is the unanimous judgment of newspaper correspondents, so far as we have seen that nothing will be done along these lines of reform. "There is little chance," says the Associated Press dispatch, "that the demands will be even considered, let alone granted." Thus does the crisis in India drift on to its inevitable upheaval. The Indians exploring every way of peace consistent with the ends they seek, the English silently and sullenly relying upon the armed force at their disposal! We still have hope, because we still have confidence in MacDonald and in Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, as well as in Gandhi, but we have to confess that this hope is growing thin.

Is War a factor for Social Progress ?

It is not, Dr. R. Broda argues in the *World Unity Magazine*. Dr. Broda surveys the evidence offered by the Great War, and arrives at the conclusion that on no account can war be regarded as a creative social force :

The recent war has cleared the way to progress by *concentration of efforts*, (in the case woman suffrage and prohibition) by *breaking down oppressive machinery* (in the case of autocracies, oppression of subject peoples, and resistance to Socialism); but the war could *create* only, in so far as breaking down of resistance is progress and creation. The war atmosphere was propitious for doing away with certain obstacles to progress but it was not propitious for constructive work, necessitating skill and refinement.

This thesis can be verified in particular cases. No skill in social engineering was needed to realize women's suffrage. Striking out the word "men" as a qualification for suffrage was sufficient. No particular machinery seemed at the outset to be necessary for prohibition. Enforcement by police measures was sufficient, and war time rigurs favored application of police force. Later developments only showed difficulties.

Breaking down autocracies and national oppression was again negative and needed no constructive skill.

Building up new republics needed skill. But the war did not furnish that skill to Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, to Germany and Austria. Self-governing institutions had developed it through long years of peace. The building up of Socialism again needed skill and for that very reason no success was achieved during war time. It took several years of peace to give a better turn to developments in Russia.

The recent war has accumulated no evidence

for the thesis that war can create and construct. It has shown only that war, which by its essence kills and destroys, kills and destroys not only human beings, human happiness, art, culture, refined feeling, but kills and destroys also vested interests, governmental machinery, obstacles to progress. The price of death and misery mankind had to pay for these demolitions was too heavy indeed. It should not be forgotten that there is less need today to demolish the new freer institutions of the post-war period than there was to demolish those of pre-war times. The new democracies give better elbow space for reform movements; a new World War would find fewer opportunities for useful destructive work to be accomplished. But the potentialities of a new war for destroying life, wealth, happiness, and culture would be even greater than in the time of the World War, because the technique of war has become more deadly than before.

Having impartially enumerated the social advances due to war, we are unable to conclude that modern war can be considered as a permanent factor for social progress.

Japanese Education

A distinction between the old and new system of education in Japan is drawn by a writer in *The Japan Magazine* :

Modern Japan, in all its spirit of progress and achievement, may be said to represent the result of the national system of education. The new Japan differs from the old just to the extent that the new system of education differs from that of feudal days. The new education is, of course, superior to the old as much as the new Japan, is superior to the old Japan, though the old had its virtues no less than the new; for a system that produced such great men as the makers of the Meiji Era must have had virtues which the new finds it difficult to surpass and sometimes even to equal.

But the old education was narrow, restricted in outlook from almost every point of view, and was within the reach of only the select few. Though the masses had no education in the modern sense, save what the more fortunate may have got in the temple schools, they came under the stern discipline of the feudal regime and were dominated by regimentation and convention. In so far as the old culture was based on art and letters, it was limited to the chosen few; it was the privilege of a class.

But all classes had to submit to the rigours of feudal government. Individuality was suppressed in the interests of superiors and their class. The new education, on the contrary, is universal in aim and scope; it embraces all citizens and classes alike. It is representative both in nature and object. Its conception of loyalty is national rather than local or of the clan. It aims to put truth and right and justice before family, or party and mere self-interest. Bushido is to-day no mere samurai code, but a national ideal.

Humanizing War

Last month we published a short comment on President Hoover's proposal to exempt foods-hips from blockade from *The Century*. In the same paper, the writer concludes by saying that we cannot humanize war. The only way abolish the suffering that it involves is to abolish it altogether :

Enough for the internal inconsistencies of Mr. Hoover's suggestion. It is, of course, in certain circumstances possible to limit the horrors of war. Where a given instrument or method of warfare would be sure to increase the suffering almost equally on *both* sides, while at the same time it would not help to bring the war to a decision—agreements are feasible which have a fair chance of being respected. It was this condition that made it possible, for example, to outlaw dum-dum bullets ; and which reasonably assures that prisoners of war are not killed or tortured. It is the same prospect of equality of gain that makes possible the discussion of mutual reduction of naval armament.

This prospect does not apply to Mr. Hoover's proposal. A dominantly industrial nation, with a moderate navy and a large standing army, would stand to gain appreciably, perhaps vitally, by it ; an agricultural or fully self-contained nation, or one with a large navy and a small army, would relatively lose by it. The proposal would allow the effective use of armies but not of navies. It would, in fact, make naval superiority almost worthless.

There are practical objections to the plan which need not be expanded. It could easily lead to the indefinite prolongation of a war. It would permit the diversion of a large part of the agricultural population of a warring country into munitions making. It would raise serious problems in regard to munitions ships masquerading as food carriers. It would enormously reduce the effectiveness of any 'economic blockade' against an aggressor nation. Such blockades are provided for in the Covenant of the League of Nations ; and they would perhaps be required to give effectiveness to the Kellogg pact.

A food blockade is not aimed specially against women and children. It is aimed at a nation as a whole, and women and children suffer along with men. It is deplorable that this should be so. But is it any more deplorable than the direct shooting, gassing and bayoneting of men in trenches ? And does Mr. Hoover believe that it is possible to modern conditions to have a war in which women and children will not suffer ?

When will statesmen finally acknowledge that "civilized warfare" is a greivous contradiction in terms, that our only hope lies, not in tinkering with the rules and regulations, but in abolishing the game itself ? The next real step in that direction is for the Senate to ratify our signature to the World Court protocol, embodying the Root formula. Failure to ratify would now be without a shred of excuse. If we, who are always lecturing Europe on its duty, cannot consent to settle our own international disputes by judicial means, before the only permanent court that exists for that purpose, then Europeans may be excused if they dismiss all our talk of world peace as pious hypocrisy.

The Fascists and the Erring Landlord

The absentee landlords were a great factor in the French Revolution. They were a nuisance in Ireland. They are becoming common enough in India, too, in these days. But in Italy, they deal drastically with landlords who neglect their duties. Dr. Mario Menotti, who owned a large estate has been dispossessed on the ground of neglecting it. We publish extracts from the decree and some comments on the procedure, from *The Countryman*, a monthly paper devoted exclusively to the interests of the countryside :

"Whereas, for the past six years the owner, Dr. Menotti, has gone abroad, constantly travelling in different distant countries, so that for long periods it has not been possible to get in touch with him ;

"Whereas, it has been definitely ascertained by enquiries on the spot that it is solely due to the neglect and indifference of the owner, consequent on his continued absence and lack of interest, that the estate has fallen into a most shocking state of neglect, left to the tender mercies of a muddled administration, and yielding no appreciable returns from the agricultural standpoint, while the agricultural workers of the district are driven, by lack of adequate lands available for cultivation, to a permanent state of agitation, constantly endangering the social peace of that small locality ;

"Whereas, this normal state of affairs, evidently injurious to the private interests of the owner, and still more so to the public interest, is anti-economic, anti-social, anachronistic, in entire contradiction with the vast, renewing and vivifying activities which the Fascist Government firmly desires and pursues in the interests of the individual and still more in those of the public and of the nation, with a view to ensuring more profitable return and larger yields from agriculture, and is moreover, in striking contrast with the duties implied by the wise legislation, on agricultural land reclamation, which make it a civic duty to reclaim inch by inch the national soil so as to secure more scientific and profitable farming ;

"Whereas, faced by such a deplorable state of affairs, the political authorities cannot look on passively at the impoverishment of large and important estate, which could, under wise management, earn a very big income for its owner, and which cannot therefore be a matter of indifference to the economic life of the community with which it is connected ;

"Therefore in accordance with article 7 of the Act of 1865, on administrative litigation, and of article 3 of the Communal and Provincial Act sanctioned by Royal Decree of 1915, we hereby decree that the Hon. Orsolini Cencelli shall act as administrator of the estate in lieu and place of the delinquent owner.

The law authorising the action which has been taken is more than twenty years old, but no Government before Mussolini's was strong enough or sufficiently independent to enforce it. Estates in Sicily and Rovigo have been similarly dealt with.

The present regime has proclaimed in the Labour Charter that property implies duties, and that if owners do not make good use of their landed possessions, so that these possessions shall play their part in promoting national prosperity,

the State intervene. The idea is that, in modern life, the fact, that a man, because he has inherited or acquired lands, can deprive the community of the wealth they represent is preposterous.

Comment and Criticism

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, The Modern Review.]

Action for Defaming King George V

May I respectfully point out a slight error that has unfortunately crept into your well-written article on 'Shocking Allegations Against Indian Chancellor-Prince' in the April number of the *Modern Review*? The little inaccuracy, however, does not affect your argument in the least. But as you are always correct even in minute particulars and religiously insist on accurate statements, I take this liberty of bringing this to your notice. Referring to the action for defaming His Majesty George V, you have written in the first paragraph of your article: "The King personally took his stand in the witness box, took the oath and gave evidence." The reference is obviously to the case of *Rex vs. E. F. Mylius*, reported in 15 C. W. N., page 101 (Short Notes). It can also be seen in English Reports. The defamation against the King amounted to seditious libel, but the man was prosecuted, not for seditious, but for ordinary, libel. This was done with a view to allow him an opportunity to prove justification, since this form of defence is not

allowed in a case of seditious libel. The accused objected that were it to be an ordinary libel, the King should have come to the Court and given evidence as a private prosecutor. His objection was, of course, overruled, as under the English Constitution His Majesty the King cannot appear in Court as a witness. After the trial was over, the Attorney-General, Sir Rufus Isaacs, as Lord Reading then was, said: "I am authorized by His Majesty to state publicly that he was never married except to the Queen, and that he never went through any ceremony of marriage except with the Queen, and, further, that he would have attended to give evidence to this effect had he not received the advice of the Law Officers of the Crown that it would be unconstitutional for him to do so."

ANILKRISHNA SARKAR

EDITOR'S NOTE.—We thank our correspondent for this correction. We wrote from memory. Not being lawyers and so not having easy access to Law Reports, we could not verify the details.

FINANCIAL NOTES

Indian Public Finance

Present and future

NEW TAXATION.

It will be convenient to begin a study of the Indian public finance with the Indian budget. After several years, new taxation proposals have been made and they, therefore, deserve a special scrutiny. In justification of the taxation proposals, it has been said that there have been recurring deficits since 1927-28 when the actual deficit amounted to Rs. 2,21 lakhs, which, however, was entirely met from the Revenue Reserve Fund specially created for the purpose ; in 1928-29, the deficit amounted to Rs. 1,06 lakhs, which wiped off the balance of the Revenue Reserve Fund and left an uncovered deficit of Rs. 32 lakhs ; in 1929-30, a deficit of 1,56 lakhs was averted by a wind-fall in the shape of a credit of the same amount from the German Liquidation Account. In actual fact, it will thus appear that in one only out of the last three years, there was an uncovered deficit of Rs. 32 lakhs, which is not very much, considering that the annual budget is in the neighbourhood of Rs. 130 crores.

The real justification of the taxation proposals must, therefore, be sought more in a consideration of the expectations of the future than of the happenings in the past. The Hon'ble the Finance Member has summarized the anticipated gap to be filled in 1930-31 as follows :

Deterioration in the main Commercial Departments, Railways and Posts and Telegraphs	Rs. lakhs
Essential new services and demands	99
Net addition to interest on dead weight debt	1,46
Special provision for bonus on Postal Cash Certificates	1,07
Increase in the provision for the reduction and avoidance of debt	88
Budget deficit for 1929-30	27
	90
	5,57
Against which the net estimated improvement on the main revenue heads is only	5
Total gap to be filled	5,52

POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS

It is rather surprising that no steps appear to have been considered for effecting an improvement in the financial condition of the main commercial departments. Taking the smaller of the two departments first, the Posts and Telegraphs, the situation seems to be growing worse every year. In 1927-28 it showed a loss of Rs. 4½ lakhs, which was increased to Rs. 29 lakhs in the succeeding year mainly due to two facts : (1) the reduction in the rate for foreign telegrams was not counter-balanced by a corresponding growth in traffic and (2) the effect of the revisions of pay and other concessions to the staff was underestimated. In 1929-30 and 1930-31, the loss is estimated at Rs. 50 and Rs. 48 lakhs. Obviously a commercial department, worthy of the name, which runs at a recurring loss, should take steps either to increase revenue or cut down expenditure, so as not to cause a recurring burden to the general taxpayer. But it is disappointing to find that this aspect of the matter has not been considered at all.

RAILWAYS

On a proper consideration, the working of the Railway Department does not appear in any better light. Sir George Schuster is entitled to credit for bringing out in its true colours the real nature of the contribution made by railways to general revenues. This contribution amounts to less than 1¼ per cent on the loans raised for railway purposes. Government are now making a provision at 1¼ per cent annually for the reduction or avoidance of debt. Railways, therefore, pay less than their proper share of the cost of the amortization of the public debt, far from making any contribution in aid of general revenues. It is pertinent to remark here that in his first budget speech Sir George Schuster drew attention also to the fact that the commercial departments were not charged previous to 1929-30 with their share of the loss, estimated at Rs. 59 lakhs in that year, which the general revenues suffer through the tax free concession attached to certain portions of the rupee debt. Thus, the prosperity of

railways is a matter of financial jugglery. Under the impression that the railways are more than paying their way, the general taxpayer has not concerned himself with the dissipation of railway funds in extravagant projects, such as the building of the Lucknow railway station or the constant multiplication of the superior staff, which has been going on since the separation of railway finance from general finance. The Standing Finance Committee for railways do not appear to have been able to control, in any appreciable manner, the expenditure of the department committed to their charge. It has been emphasized by an American authority on budgeting that "departmental committees became partisans of the particular department committed to their care through focussing their attention on one set of Governmental activities and through constant exposure to the point of view and propaganda of the administrative officials in charge of the service in question." (W. F. Willoughby. The National Budget System, p. 41). The failure of the New Capital Committee to check the extravagance in the building of New Delhi also illustrates the wisdom of this dictum.

Instead of quietly accepting the financial deterioration in the commercial departments as a settled fact, the Hon'ble the Finance Member should have pressed for effecting economies in the working of the commercial departments particularly the Railway Department. It seems that the latter has grown too powerful even for the Hon'ble Members, and the members of the Assembly should take the initiative in setting up a retrenchment committee to investigate the working of the railway administration. The need of it is the more insistent as the activities of this department are spreading much faster than those of civil departments, and are usually much less open to public criticism owing to the prevailing ignorance of railway matters.

NEW SERVICES AND DEMANDS

New Services and Demands amounting to Rs. 1,46 lakhs appear to have been

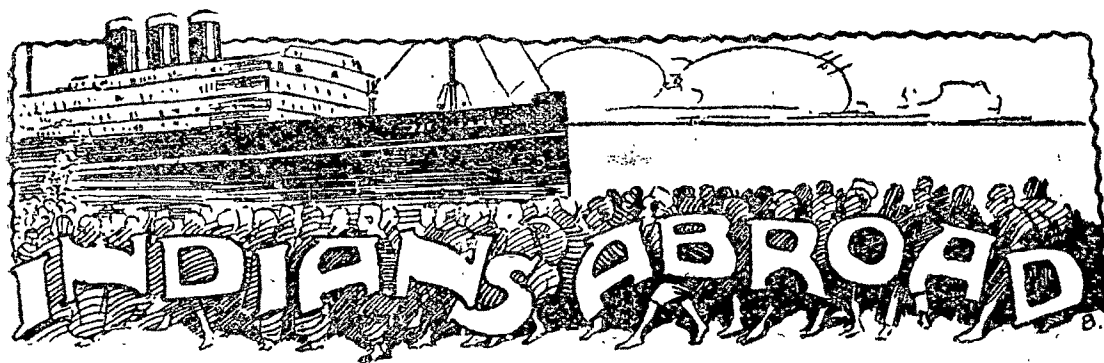
carefully selected, beneficial services having been given their proper quota. It has to be pointed out, however, that practically the entire amount will be met from savings to the extent of Rs. 62 lakhs in civil expenditure and Rs. 80 lakhs in military expenditure. The former saving having been effected by the omission of certain items of non-recurring expenditure, it is not understood why the saving was not taken as a provision for special expenses, and the amount accordingly deducted from the list of new demands to be financed by the imposition of new taxes.

ARMY DEPARTMENT

The Army Department was allowed, as a special case with effect from 1929-30 to utilize savings, on the basis of a budget of Rs. 55 crores, for the modernization of equipment at an estimated cost of Rs. 10 crores. This concession would last up to 1931-32. Savings amounting to more than a crore of rupees were counted upon as a result of the reduction in the pay of British troops. The balance of the savings required, the Army Department undertook to find, by a special economy campaign. It may be remarked here, by the way, that *the Army Department are able to economize when it suits their interest*, but when savings are desired in the interest of the general taxpayer, they adopt an attitude of indifference, if not of active hostility. In any case, it is clear that due to the reduction in the pay of British troops, there may be expected a recurrent saving of more than Rs. 80 lakhs, which is all that the Army Department have spared for civil expenditure this year.

The justification of providing for the payment of extra interest on dead weight debt and of bonus on cash certificates at a cost of Rs. 1,46 and Rs. 88 lakhs respectively will be examined in a separate article in which the loan policy of Government will come under review. The consideration of the merits of the taxation proposal will form the subject matter of a third article.

H. C. SINHA



Indians Emigrants' Conference

The first session of the Indian Emigrants' Conference was held during the Easter holidays along with the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Gurukula at Brindavan. In the absence of the elected president—Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi, who had been sentenced to two years simple imprisonment with a fine of three hundred rupees on account of his propaganda work in connection with the Satyagraha movement, Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi had to work as the President of the conference. Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi had, however, taken care to write down his speech before he went to jail and this speech was read out by the acting President.

Messages from Indians abroad :—A large number of messages were received from Indians abroad, prominent among them being Raja Mahendra Pratap, Kabul, Afghanistan ; Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Secretary Indians Overseas Association, London ; Mr. D. G. Satyadeva, Secretary Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Natal ; Mr. Daljitlal, Secretary Arya Pratinidhi Sabha Mauritius ; Kumari Dharma Devi, Secretary Ladies' Aryasamaj, Pietermaritzburg ; Secretary Aryasamaj, Durban, Secretary, Ramagyan Sabha, New Castle, Natal ; Secretary, Yuvak Mandal, Sea-Cow-Lake ; Secretary Youngmen Aryasamaj, Durban, and also from several individuals like Mr. Vishnu Deo and Mr. R. Parmashwar of Fiji Islands, Mr. C. Ram Tahal, Mr. Garib Khusyal and Mr. S. L. Singh of South Africa.

Besides prominent Aryasamajists who had come to take part in the Silver Jubilee of the Gurukula several colonial students were present in the Conference. It is to be noted that about twenty colonial students are reading in the Gurukula Brindavan itself. Two colonial students had come from Jwalapur Mahavidyalaya and one from

D. A. V. College, Dehra Dun and another from Madras Swami Swatantranand and Swami Shankaranand who had worked in Mauritius and South Africa respectively were also present.

Summary of Swami Bhawani Dayal's speech :—

Indians Overseas Conference was the first of its kind in India. Though it was wellnigh hundred years when the Indian emigration began—it was in 1834 that Indians were first sent to the colonies as indentured labourers—yet no attempt had ever been made here in India to hold a conference to discuss the problems of Indians abroad. The organisers of the Silver Jubilee of the Gurukula Brindavan deserved their thanks for having given them that opportunity.

The speech contained grateful references to the sacred memory of Justice Ranade, who was the first Indian leader to recognise the importance of the problems of Greater India, and Mr. Gokhale, Rev. Doke, Mr. Pearson, Kaka Rustomji, and Maganlal Gandhi, who had, in their lives, done immense service to the cause of Indians abroad. Names of those who gave up their lives in the Satyagraha movement in South Africa were mentioned and an appreciative reference was made about the services of those by whose efforts the indenture system was abolished.

The speech was divided in half a dozen parts :—the religious condition of Indians abroad, educational facilities for colonial children, the social, the economic and the political condition, returned emigrants and the future of Indians overseas.

The first part of the speech referred mainly to the condition of Hindus, who have settled abroad and the work that has been done for them by the Aryasamajists. Swami Bhawanidayal admired the latter but requested

them to change the methods of their propaganda work. He was definitely against irritating criticism of other faiths and advised the All-India Aryan League to take up the work of foreign propaganda in their hands. Only those who were authorised by the Sarvadeshik Sabha should be helped by the Colonial Hindus to preach among them.

The speech contained a brief survey of the condition of Indian education in Mauritius, British Guiana, Trinidad, Surinam, Fiji Islands and South Africa. It urged upon the Indian teachers the necessity of emigration to the colonies with the purpose of devoting themselves wholly and solely to the cause of Indian education. It emphasised the importance of Indian vernaculars, for through these vernaculars alone could they preserve their culture and individuality.

Educational institutions in India were requested to give special facilities to the colonial students. The Gurukula Brindavan, that had been doing something in that direction, deserved their thanks. It was a teacher of the Gurukula who had gone abroad to Fiji Islands for educational work among Fiji Indians and who had started a movement among them to send their children to India. That was a step in the right direction and deserved their help and sympathy. In the field of education among Colonial children there ought to be fullest possible co-operation between followers of different faiths.

Indians abroad were evolving a new social order entirely different from that prevailing at home in India. Inter-dining was very common and even inter-marriages between Hindus, Mohammedans and Christians were not considered objectionable. That was the one good that came out of the evil of the indenture system. The caste system had received a fatal blow in the colonies and nothing remained of that hated thing known here as untouchability. The Gujaratis of South and East Africa had, however, clung to their old customs as they had been able to maintain their social connections with their caste people at home. A good number of these returned to the motherland after having amassed some wealth.

Economic condition :—Leaving out the professional people like doctors and barristers Indians overseas could be divided among three classes—traders, agriculturists and

labourers. The Indian traders were to be found all over the world, some of them had prospered wonderfully well and were in no way inferior to white traders of any colony. Those agriculturists who possessed enough of land were quite well-to-do but the vast majority of the labourers were living from hand to mouth. Skilled Indian labourers had excited the jealousy of the white men and in most of the colonies these whites were trying their utmost to get rid of their brown competitors by all means, fair or foul. The time had come when the Indian labourers must organise themselves by establishing trade unions in all the colonies where they had gone in large numbers.

Political conditions in Greater India differed to a certain extent in different colonies. In Mauritius they had succeeded in returning two members to the Legislative Council on common franchise. There were two Indian members in the Trinidad Legislative Council. Ceylon had one and the Federal Council of Malaya one Indian member. Their people in Kenya were fighting for a common franchise and so were their compatriots in Fiji. Mr. Vishnu Deo, Mr. Parmanand Singh and Mr. Ramchandra deserved their hearty congratulations for having resigned their membership of the Fiji Legislative Council on the franchise issue.

The condition in South Africa was perhaps the worst of all. Their people in the Union were deprived of vote in 1896 and even the municipal franchise had now been taken away from their hands. There were several Indian owned papers in the colonies and they were trying to educate public opinion in political matters.

The *Indian Opinion*, the *Indian Views* and the *African Chronicle* of South Africa, the *Kenya Daily Mail*, the *Democrat*, the *Tanganyika opinion* the *Tanganyika Herald* the *Zanzibar Samachar* and the *Zanzibar Voice* of East Africa, the *Fiji Samachar* of Fiji and *India and Canada* of Canada were doing useful work for the cause of Indians abroad.

The Indian National Congress had been trying to help the cause of Indians overseas as far as possible but it had not been able to place the work for Indians abroad on an organised basis. The work for the liberation of India and the creation of Greater India should be done simultaneously.

One thing they had to be warned against

and that was the evil of communalism which had unfortunately been making its way in the colonies during recent years. For example the Muslim League of Fiji passed a resolution demanding separate seat for the Indian Mahommedans in those islands ! That the mentality of communalism will, if allowed to develop unchecked, prove fatal to their cause. He had one request to make to religious missionaries going abroad and that was that they should not meddle in political affairs.

Returned emigrants :—The returned emigrants suffered considerably in India. A number of them were treated as outcast and were not allowed to take part in social functions. Some of these left their villages and emigrated to such unhealthy places as Matiabruz of Calcutta where they had been waiting and waiting in vain for some free steamers to take them back to the colonies. He would strongly advise the returning emigrants not to come to India for permanent settlement. They might come here to see the motherland and their relatives for a short period of time but it was absolutely inadvisable to leave the colonies for good.

The future of Indians overseas :—Swami Bhawani Dayal drew a bright picture of the future of Indians abroad who number about 25 lakhs and who had made remarkable progress in several directions. Socially they were going ahead, their economic condition was improving and an appreciable number of them were taking intelligent part in political matters. There were to be found among them able councillors, millionaire merchants, enterprising journalists, efficient doctors and clever barristers. Indians living abroad were the ambassadors of India and the world would judge their country through these representatives of theirs. Every effort should therefore be made to make them their worthy representatives so that they might keep the flag of Indian culture flying in Greater India.

The Servants of India Society, that had deputed its president Right Honourable V. S. Srinivas Sastri and its members Messrs Kunzru, Kodanda Rao, Vaze and Tiwari deserved their heartiest thanks. The problems of Indians abroad had nothing to do with party politics in India and they must all co-operate among themselves for that sacred cause. Any differences due to political complexions of the workers would prove fatal to their cause. Mr. Polak had been doing very use-

ful work for them in England. The Indian Imperial Citizenship Association of Bombay had been doing its work in its own way though there was considerable room for improvement in its method of work. They ought to be specially grateful to the *Hindu* of Madras, the *Leader* of Allahabad the *Daily Mail* and the *Chronicle* of Bombay and the *Modern Review* and the *Vishal-Bharat* of Calcutta for giving publicity to their cause from time to time.

Indians overseas and the present movement in India :—Mahatma Gandhi was fighting for the freedom of the Motherland. Indians overseas could very well take a pride in the fact that it was among them that the Mahatma spent twenty-one years of his eventful life and that the weapon of Satyagraha was first tried in Greater India. But along with that legitimate pride the Indian overseas had a duty to perform. The fates of India and Greater India were bound together and they could not be separated. Indians abroad must try their utmost to help the movement for freedom at home in every possible way.

Resolutions :—Half a dozen resolutions were passed. The first resolution congratulated Swami Bhawani Dayal, the elected president, on his admirable work in Bihar regarding the Satyagraha movement and his consequent incarceration at the hands of the bureaucracy.

The second was in support of the struggle being carried on in Kenya and Fiji for common franchise. It appreciated the step taken by the three elected Indian members of the Fiji Legislative Council. Grateful reference was made to the services of Mr. Saint Nihal Singh who has been fighting persistently for the rights of Indians in Ceylon.

This resolution was moved by Mr. Shri Krishna Sharma, who has been in Fiji for three years.

The third resolution was about the necessity of propaganda for Indian culture in the colonies. Swamis Shankaranand and Swatantranand spoke on this resolution.

The fourth contained a request to the educational institutions in India to give special facilities to the colonial Indian students.

This was moved by a Fiji student Mr. B. D. Lakshman of D. A. V. College, Dehra Dun and supported by Syt Narayan Swami President of

the Sarvadeshik Sabha, and Syt Shriramji, Governor Gurukula Brindavan.

The fifth resolution contained a warning to the returning emigrants while the sixth condemned the ship companies for their criminal negligence towards the comfort and convenience of the deck passengers.

The seventh resolution urged the necessity of closer connection and regular co-operation between the colonial students in India and those who take interest in the problems of Greater India.

In his closing speech Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi referred to the admirable work being done by the Aryasamajists in the field of education, but he strongly condemned communalism that was being introduced in the colonies. He had a complaint to make against those institutions in India that received considerable financial help from colonial Indians and yet gave no facilities for colonial children. The Aryasamajists, he said, lacked true missionary spirit and their preachers

were not prepared to take risks like the Buddhist and the Christian missionaries. They had not a single Arya missionary in India who could take up the work of foreign propaganda as vigorously as Rev. J. W. Burton of the Australasian Methodists Mission was doing in different parts of the world. In the end he thanked the organisers of the conference for having given them an opportunity to put their case before the Indian public.

The first session of the Indian Emigrants Conference was only a small affair and Swami Bhawani Dayal's enforced absence reduced its importance considerably. Still a good beginning has been made and the next conference may prove a successful one. There are not many people interested in the problems of Indians abroad and it will take some time before the Indian Emigrants' Conference can make its influence felt. Till that time the workers in the cause must carry on in spite of all difficulties.

SOME AMERICAN VIEWS ON THE BRITISH EMPIRE ETC.

The following cuttings from American papers will be found interesting :

Characterizing as "magnificent platitudes" the expressions of the Prime Minister of Great Britain who recently visited our shores." Mgr. F. E. Quirk, pastor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Newark, said last night in a sermon at the Catholic Church of St. Paul the Apostle, Columbus Avenue and Sixtieth Street, that Premier MacDonald did not come to America for disarmament for Great Britain but for disarmament for the United States and for all other nations that threatened Britain's supremacy."

Here are some views of Upton Close.

Upton Close, speaking on "Behind the News in Asia" yesterday afternoon at the Woman's Club of Orange, forecasted the downfall of the British Empire within the generation and the end of the white man's domination of the earth.

"I think you and I are going to see the decline of the British Empire as rapidly as your father and mine saw the Spanish Empire go to pieces," he declared.

Speaking of China, Mr. Close said : Sun Yat-Sen, who has become the god of the Nationalist party, was perhaps the greatest enemy of the British Empire and did more to hasten its decline than any one man.

If the privilege of extra-territoriality is not given up by United States, China will rescind the right to let Americans live and trade in China, the speaker said.

He referred to Japan's statement at the recent Pacific Conference on international relations that Japan will expect an adjustment of the American immigration act of 1924. Japan feels that united China will stand behind her in resentment of this act, he said.

Mr. Close, whose real mean is Josef Washington Hall, said the Philippines felt discouraged under the present regime and look upon the Governor General as a man who "makes beautiful speeches." He described the Filipinos as the best-natured people in the world, but said their dispositions would be soured if Congress did not fix a definite date for their independence.

The British Viceroy in India also "makes beautiful speeches."

Civil Disobedience in India

Chronicle of Principal Events

- March 4 Mahatma Gandhi's letter to Lord Irwin delivered to him by Mr. Reginald Reynolds.
- " 6 Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel arrested and sentenced to three months' imprisonment for disregarding an order of the District Magistrate prohibiting him from making speeches.
- " 7 Lord Irwin replies to Mahatma Gandhi's letter through his Private Secretary.
- " 12 Mahatma Gandhi begins his march to the sea.
- " 13 Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta, the Mayor of Calcutta, arrested on a warrant issued by the Burma Government for making seditious speeches at Rangoon.
- " 15 Hartal in Calcutta on account of the arrest of Mr. Sen-Gupta.
- " 16 Mahatma Gandhi announces that civil disobedience may commence all over India under the direction of the local authorities.
- " 19 Trial of Mr. Sen-Gupta at Rangoon. He refuses to take part in the proceedings. The police charges the crowd which assembled in front of the Court.
- " 21 The Working Committee of the Congress authorizes Provincial Congress Committees to start civil disobedience in all provinces under their general direction.
- " 22 Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta sentenced to 10 days' simple imprisonment.
- April 2 Pandit Motilal Nehru's gift of his Allahabad house to the Congress.
- " 6 Salt laws broken by Mahatma Gandhi at Dandi. Salt laws broken all over India, particularly in Bombay and Bengal. The arrest of Mr. Ramdas Gandhi,—Mahatma's third son, Seth Manilal Kothari and other leaders.
- " 7 Mr. Nariman, Darbar Gopaldas and other leaders arrested and sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment.
- " 8 Congress office at Bombay raided by the police. Many arrests made, among the arrested being Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, the Treasurer of the Congress. Salt laws continue to be broken in Bombay. Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya collects more than thirty thousand rupees by selling contraband salt in Bombay.
- " 9 Leaders of the Civil disobedience movement at Delhi arrested, among the arrested being Mr. Devadas Gandhi, the youngest son of Mahatma Gandhi.
- " 11 Students of Calcutta violate the law of sedition by reading proscribed literature at College Square in Calcutta. Students' leaders arrested. Meeting dispersed by force by the police. They assault passers-by indiscriminately.
- " 12 Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta, the Mayor of Calcutta, defies the law of sedition by reading proscribed literature at Cornwallis Square and is arrested.

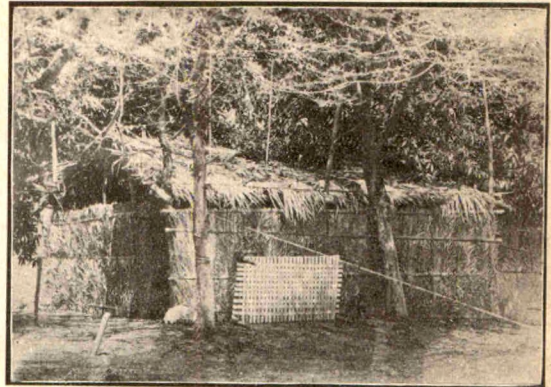
- April 13 Jallianwallabagh day celebrated all over the country. Salt laws broken at Madras. Mr. Prakasam, the Congress leader arrested and released.
- " 14 Meetings and processions prohibited in Calcutta. Students hold three meetings in defiance of the order. Meetings dispersed by force. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the All-India National Congress, arrested at Allahabad for breaking the salt laws and is sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta also sentenced to six months' imprisonment.
- " 15 Hartal all over the country on account of these sentences. Rioting at Bhowanipore, a suburb of Calcutta and Police violence in the city.
- " 16 Arrest of Congress leaders at Karachi. Police and the Military open fire on the crowds. Mr. Jayramdas Daulatram, the prominent leader of Sindh, wounded by a bullet. Dock strikes follow.
- " 17 Mahatma Gandhi condemns the high-handedness of the police in Calcutta and Karachi. Pandit Motilal Nehru assumes the Presidentship of the Congress.
- " 19 Night raid on police and Auxiliary Force armouries at Chittagong. Seven men shot dead, armouries and the telephone exchange burnt. Telegraph lines and railway cut. Troops despatched from Calcutta, Dacca and Shillong.
- April 19 Bengal Ordinance promulgated by the Governor-General. Police charge Satyagrahis at Patna.
- Arrest of all Congress workers in different parts of Bengal. Presidents of the different sections of the Provincial Conference arrested at Rajshahi in Bengal.
- " 21 Congress leaders arrested at Madras.
- " 22 Ladies of Calcutta violate police order by holding meetings and taking out a procession.
- " 23 Arrest of Congress leaders at Peshawar followed by serious rioting. Three British soldiers killed, eight wounded and two armoured cars set fire to. The behaviour of two platoons of the 2-18 Royal Garhwal Rifles found unsatisfactory. The battalion transferred to Abbotabad. Heavy casualties in dead and wounded among the people. Troops called out at Lahore. Mahadeb Desai, Mahatma Gandhi's secretary, arrested and imprisoned for breaking the salt laws.
- " 25 Mr. V. J. Patel, President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, resigns his appointment.
- " 26 Mr. Sri Prakasa, General Secretary of the Congress, sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Mahatma Gandhi announces his intention of raiding the Government salt depots at Dharasna in Bombay.
- " 27 The Governor General revives the oppressive Press Act of 1910 by an Ordinance.
- " 28 Police and the Military open fire on a mass meeting at Madras. Three killed and many injured.

IN THE WAKE OF MAHATMA GANDHI : Breaking the Salt Laws in Gujerat

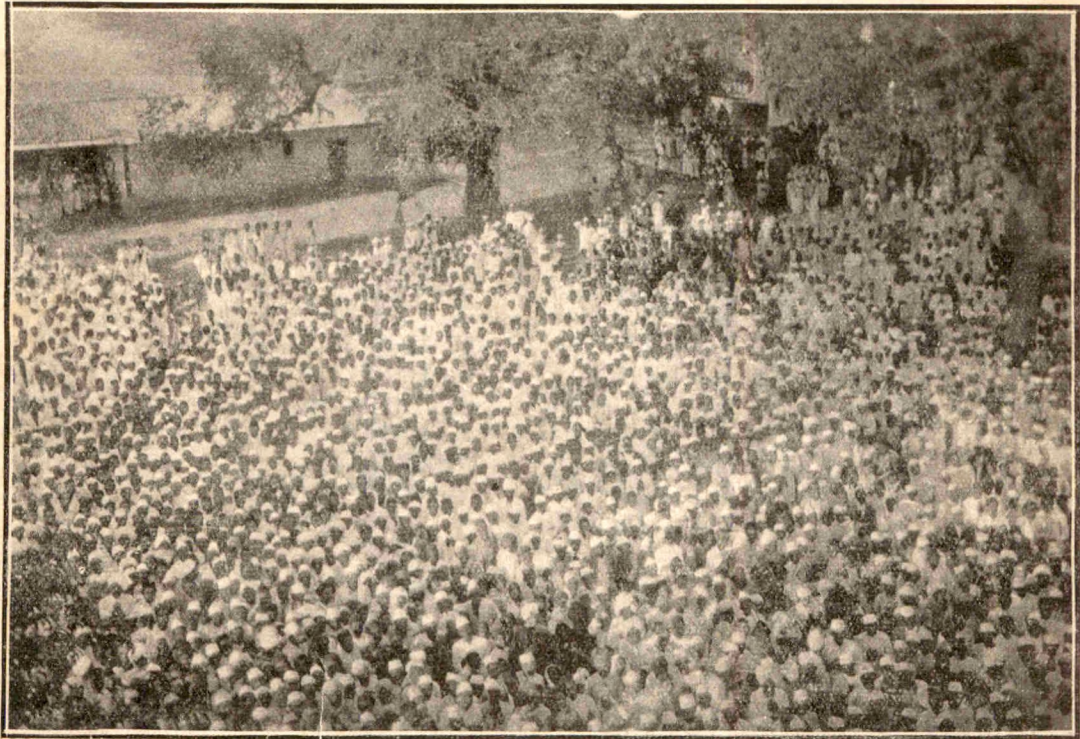
Acknowledgment—The photographs which illustrate the following pages have been supplied by the kind courtesy of Mr. Kanu Desai, *The Anandabazar Patrika*, The Bengal Provincial Civil Disobedience Committee, Messrs. D. Ratan & Co., and Messrs. A. N. Das & Co., of Calcutta, to all of whom we wish to acknowledge our indebtedness. The photographs and sketches illustrating Mahatma Gandhi's campaign have been specially taken for the *Modern Review* by Mr. Kanu Desai.



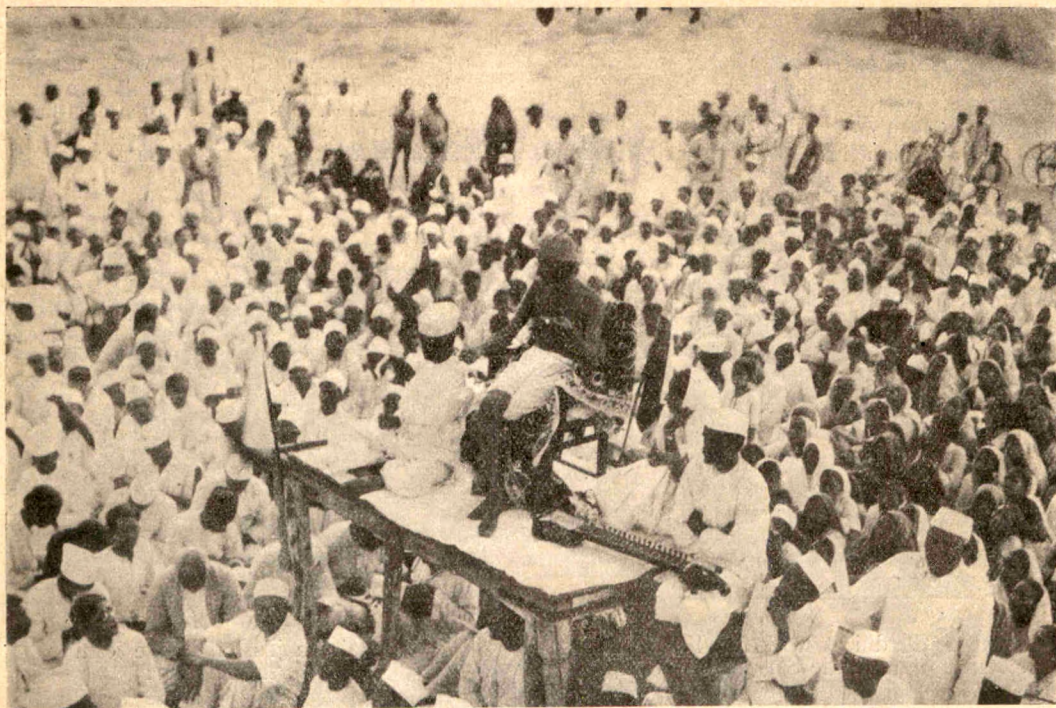
Mahatma Gandhi at work for *Young India*
in his hut in the Satyagrahi's camp



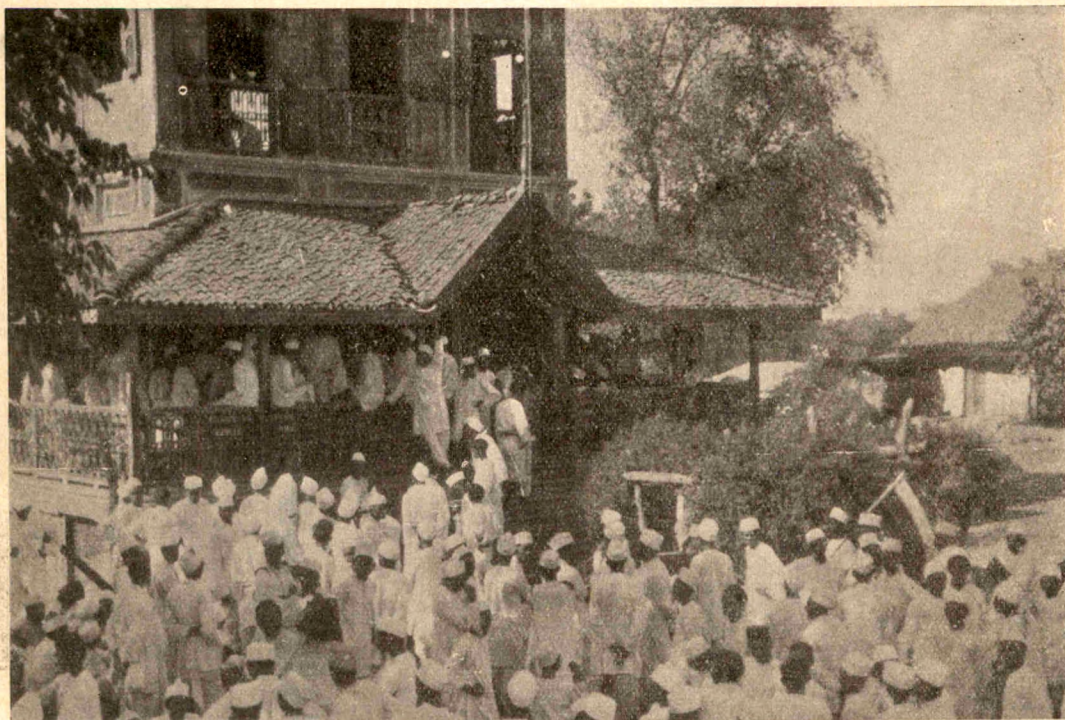
Mahatmaji's hut in the camp
near Navasari



Huge crowds welcome Gandhiji at Nadiad



Mahatmaji addressing a meeting at Navasari



Navasari Satyagraha Central Camp



Mr. Reginald Reynolds



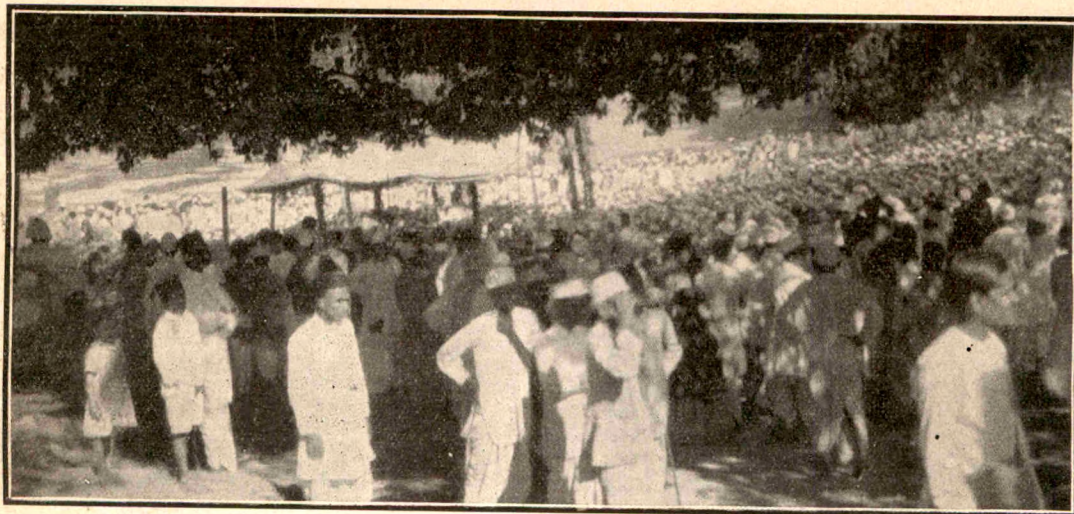
Mirabai (Miss Slade)



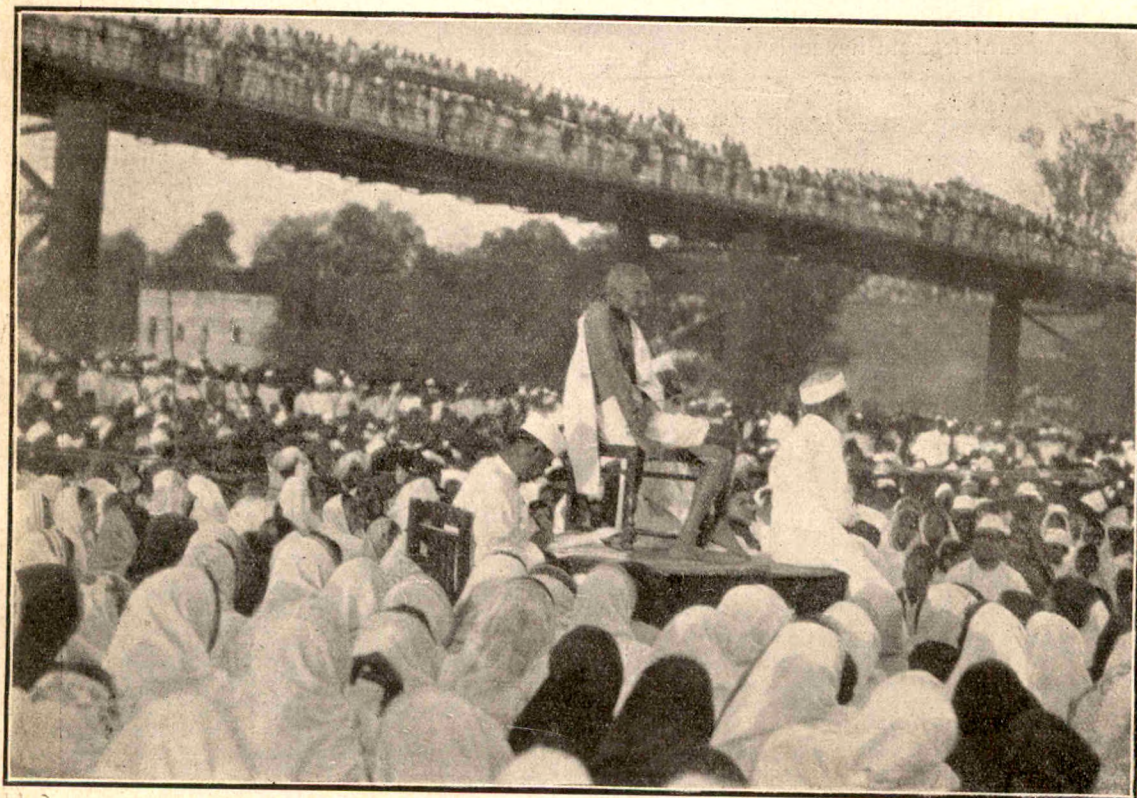
Gandhiji going to speak at a mass meeting
with Miss Mithuben Petit and others



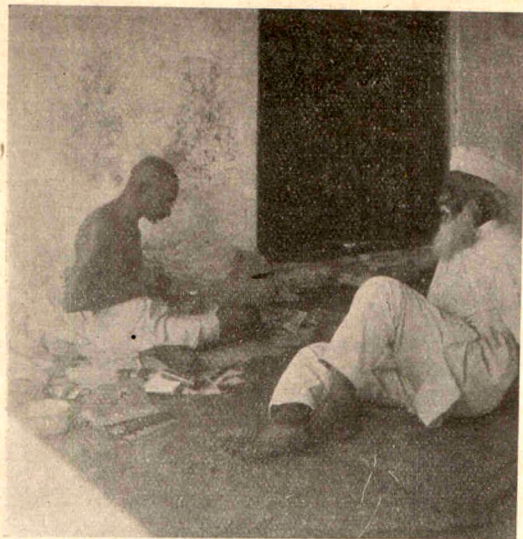
Gandhiji being led by his Bohra host
at Dandi



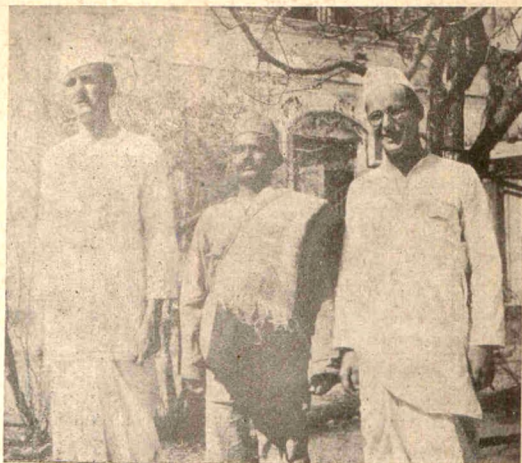
Crowds come to see and hear Mahatma Gandhi at Kheda



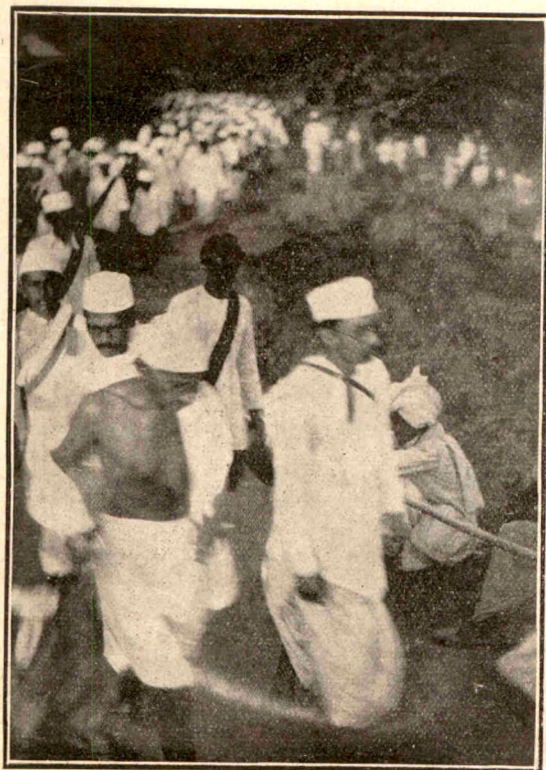
Mahatma Gandhi addressing a meeting on the Sabarmati Sands



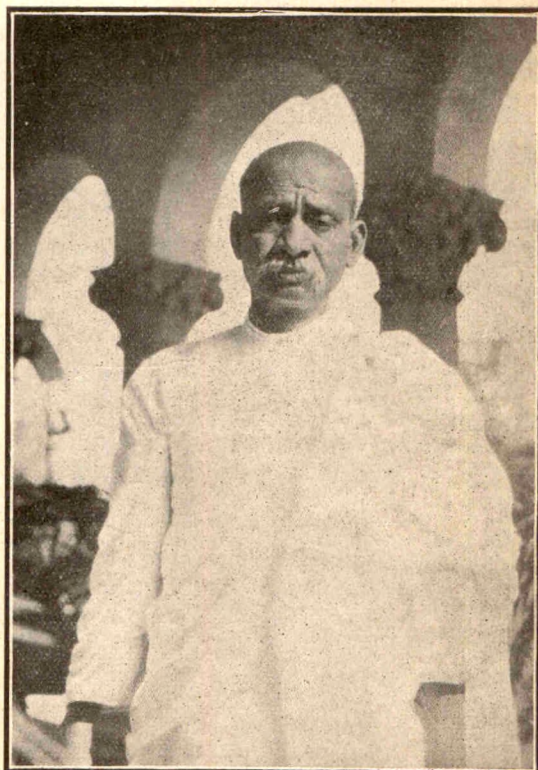
Gandhiji taking his meal at Dandi with Sgt. Abbas Tyabjee



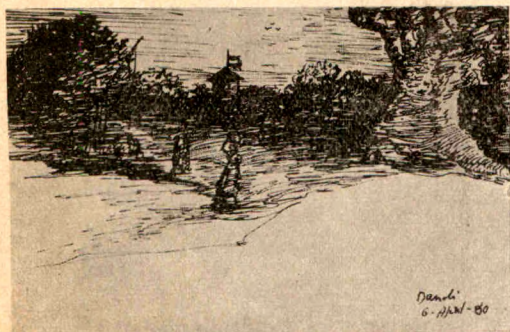
Two French journalists in Khaddar accompanying Mahatmaji on his march



Marching down to Barsad



Sardar Vallabh-bhai Patel



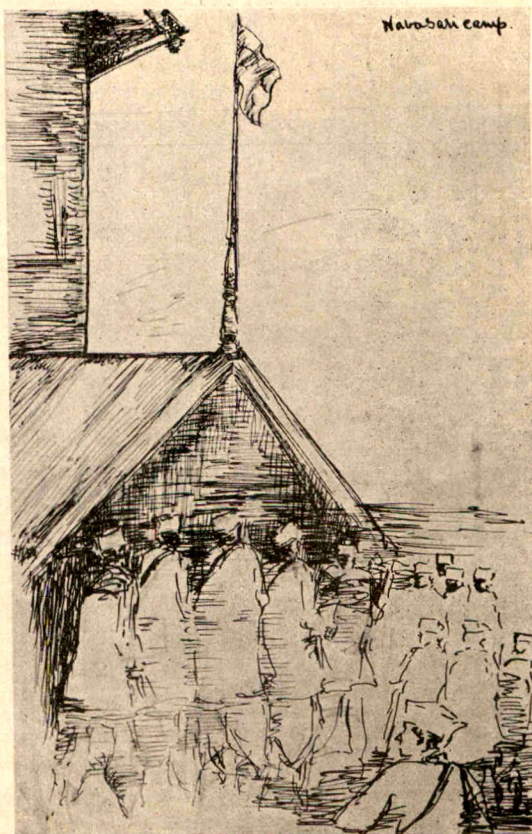
Dandi
Where the Salt Laws were first broken



Salt Law breakers at Dandi—The camp
in the background



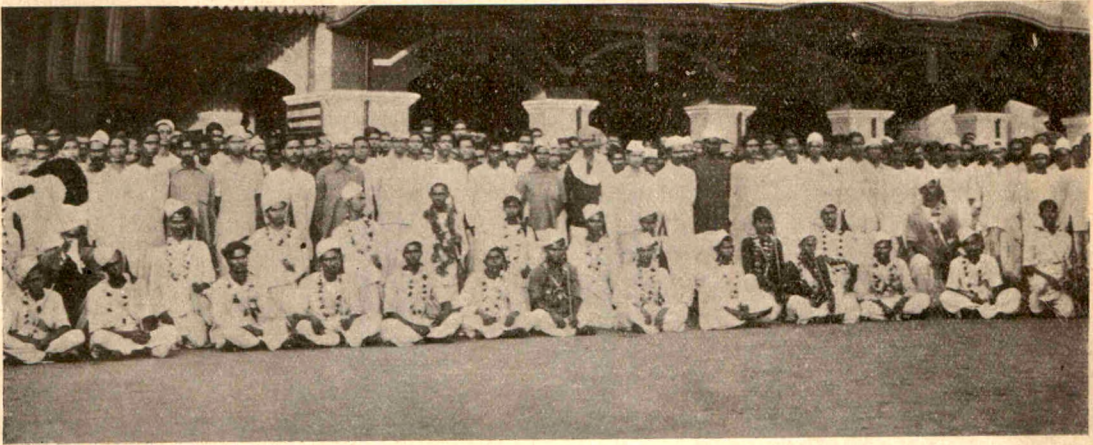
Volunteers getting ready for arrest



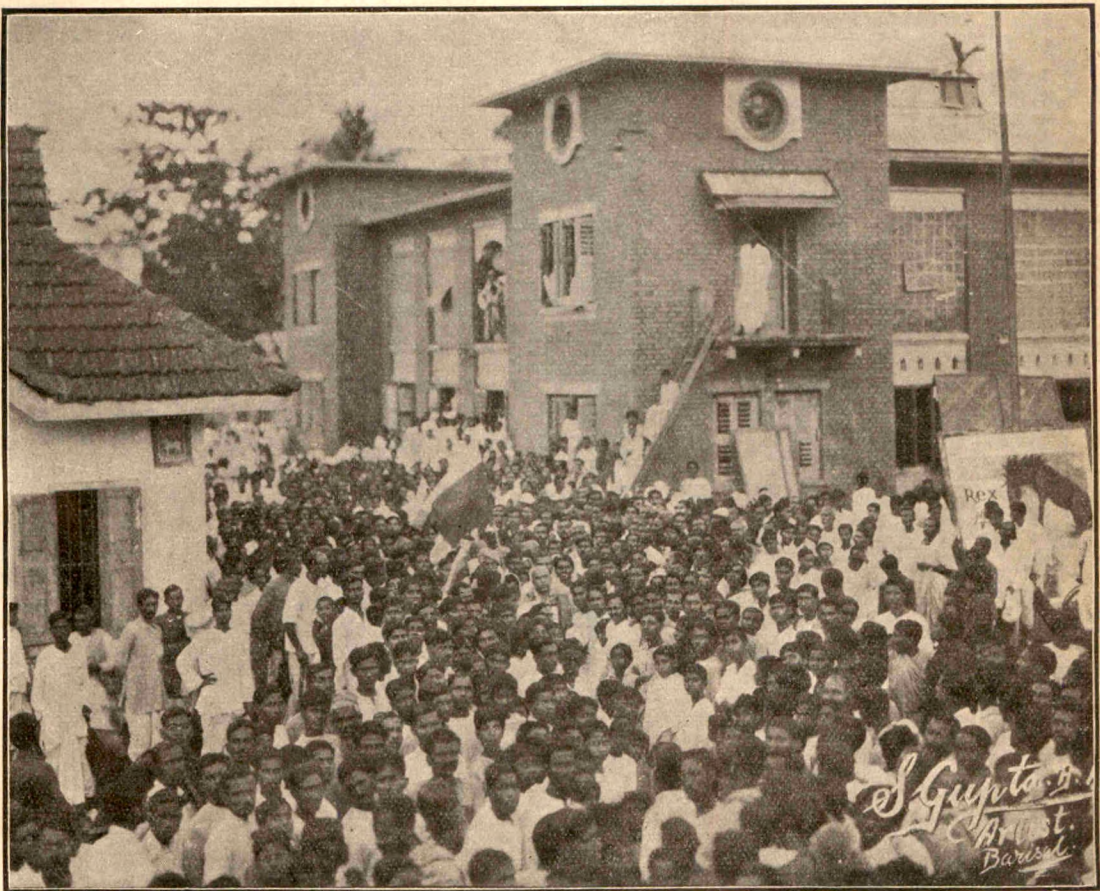
The Central Camp at Navasari

After the pen and ink sketches by Mr. Kanu Desai

ALL INDIA FOLLOWS MAHATMA GANDHI : Bengal and the U. P.



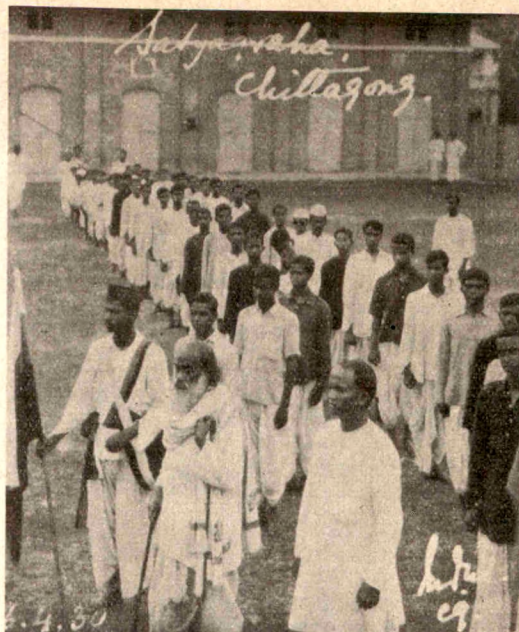
Arrival of the Satyagrahis at the Sealdah Station in Calcutta



Satyagrahis starting from Barisal in Bengal



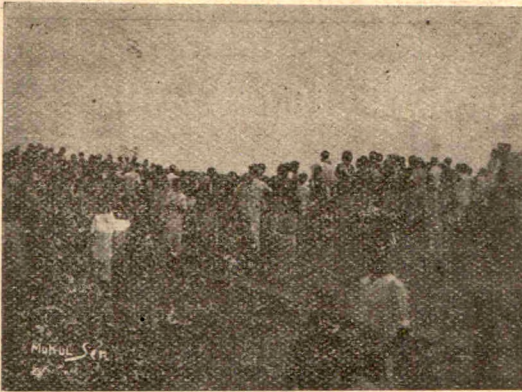
Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, one of the leaders of the Contai Satyagrahis. He has been sentenced to two and a half years' rigorous imprisonment



Satyagrahis from Chittagong



Making Salt at Tamluk in South Bengal



A meeting of villagers at Kalikapore near Calcutta



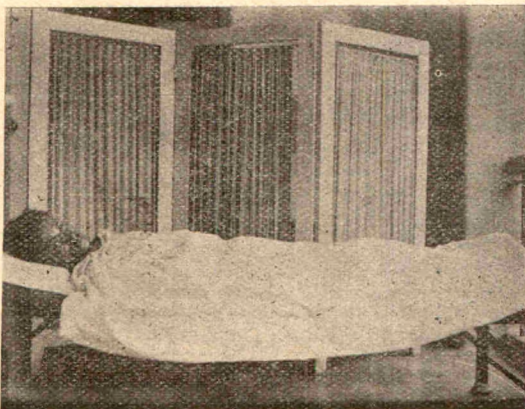
Volunteers' camp raided by the Police
Smashed utensils and a broken
Bicycle lying in the foreground



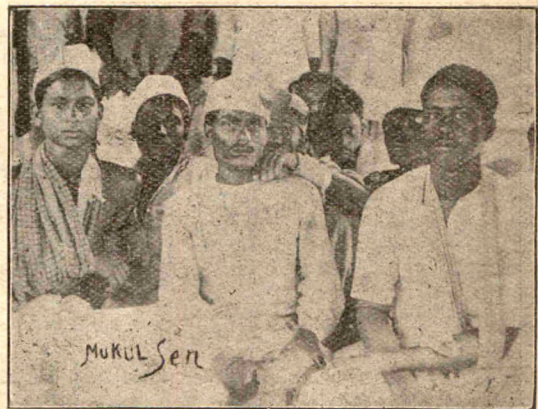
Police raid the Kalikapore Satyagraha camp



Volunteers' kits scattered about by the Police



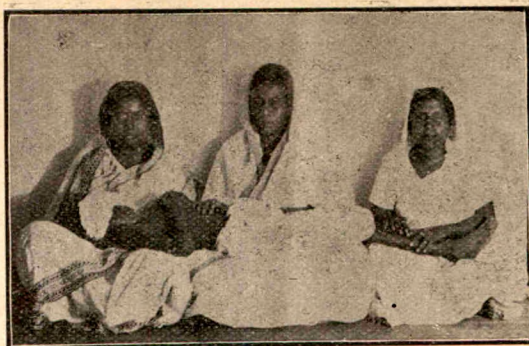
A wounded volunteers from Kalikapore
lying in hospital



Three wounded volunteers from Kalikapore



The Police charging a meeting at Narghat in South Bengal



A ten year old boy beaten senseless by the District Magistrate with his hunter. He is lying on the lap of Miss Ganguly and two of her companions (the incident is described on page 622 of this issue)



Police officers watching the Satyagrahis at Contai



Miss Jyotirmayi Ganguly holding a meeting at Narghat in defiance of a prohibition order



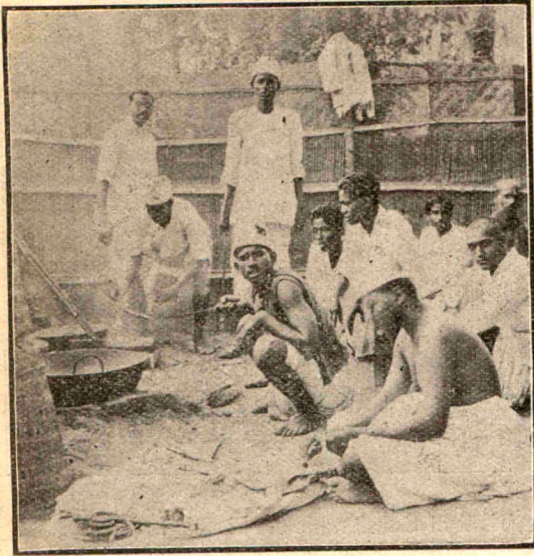
Volunteers from Abhay Ashram of Comilla in Benga



Above—Arrival of Satyagrahis at Pisabani
 Below—A seventy year old lady who accompanied
 a *Jatha* to Agra as volunteer



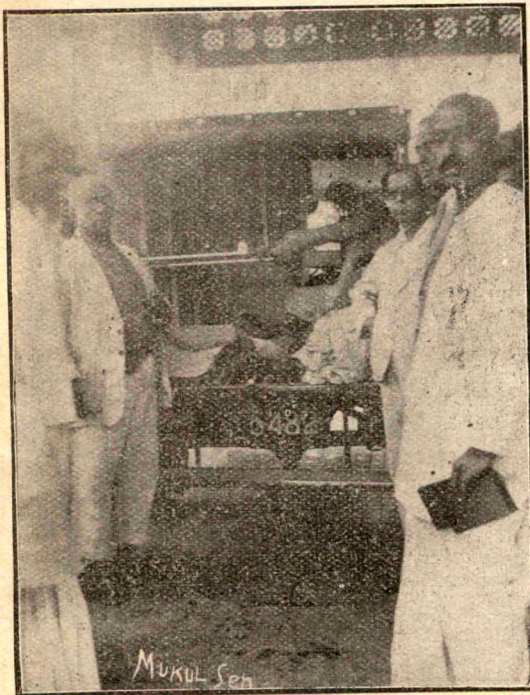
Left—Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji, one of the leaders
 of the Contai Satyagrahis. He has been
 sentenced to two and a half years'
 imprisonment



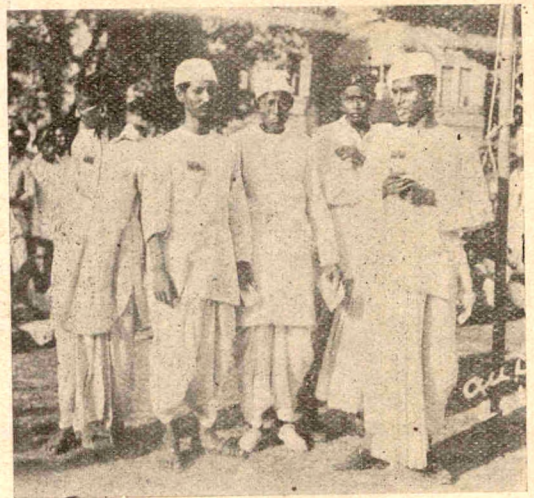
Making salt at Mahishbathan



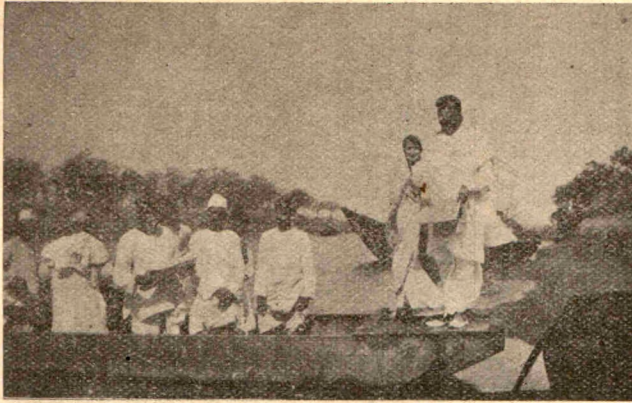
The Police charging the Satyagrahis at Mahishbathan. A scene that has become quite familiar in Satyagraha centres



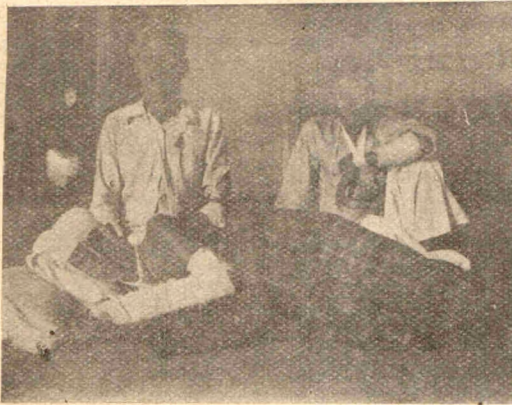
Four wounded volunteers from Neela being taken down from the ambulance at Chittaranjan Hospital, Calcutta



The first batch of volunteers to sell contraband salt in the streets of Calcutta



Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta and Mrs. Sen-Gupta
crossing the ferry at Kristapur on their
visit to Mahishbathan



Three wounded volunteers from Neela



Policemen getting ready
After a drawing by Kanu Desai



General view of the Salt Lakes near Mahishbathan where salt is being manufactured

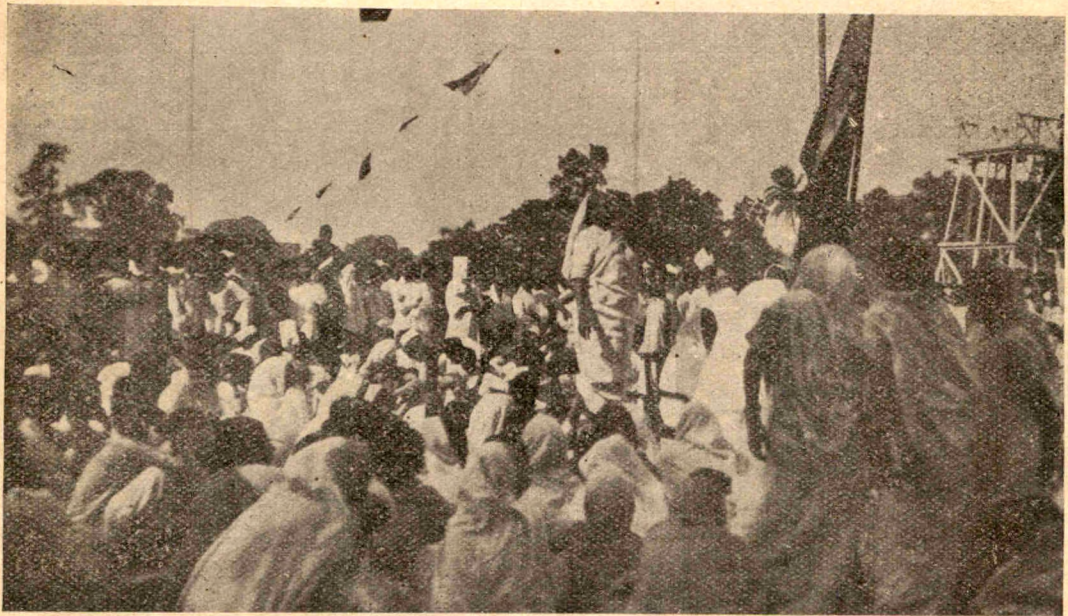
WOMEN AND STUDENTS' MOVEMENT



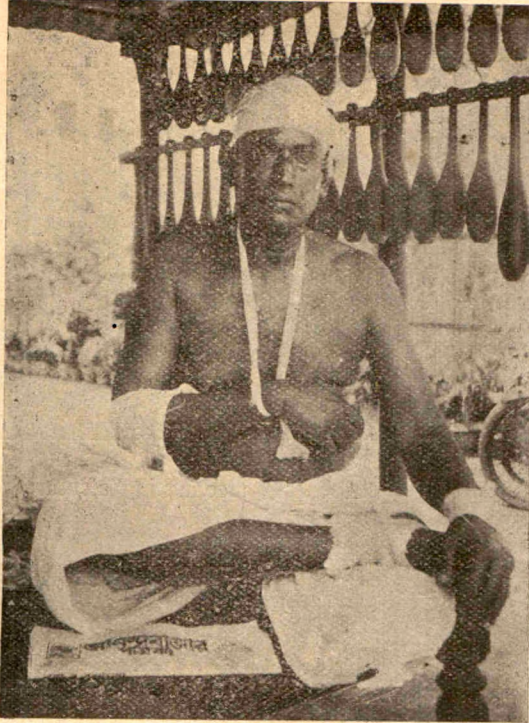
A Ladies' procession in Calcutta



Girl volunteers taking out a procession in Calcutta



Mrs. Nistarini Devi addressing a meeting in Calcutta



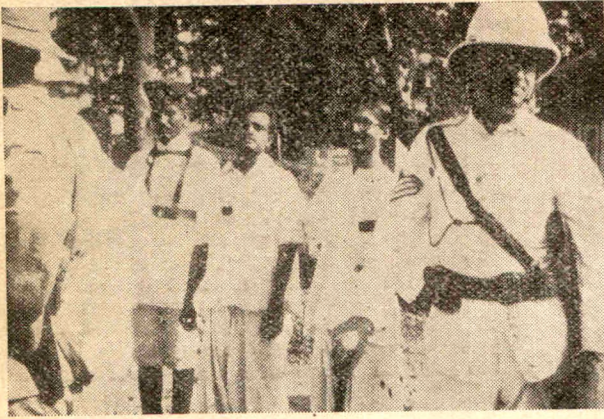
An old gentleman beaten by the police in their attempt to disperse a ladies' meeting in Calcutta



A young man wounded on the same occasion



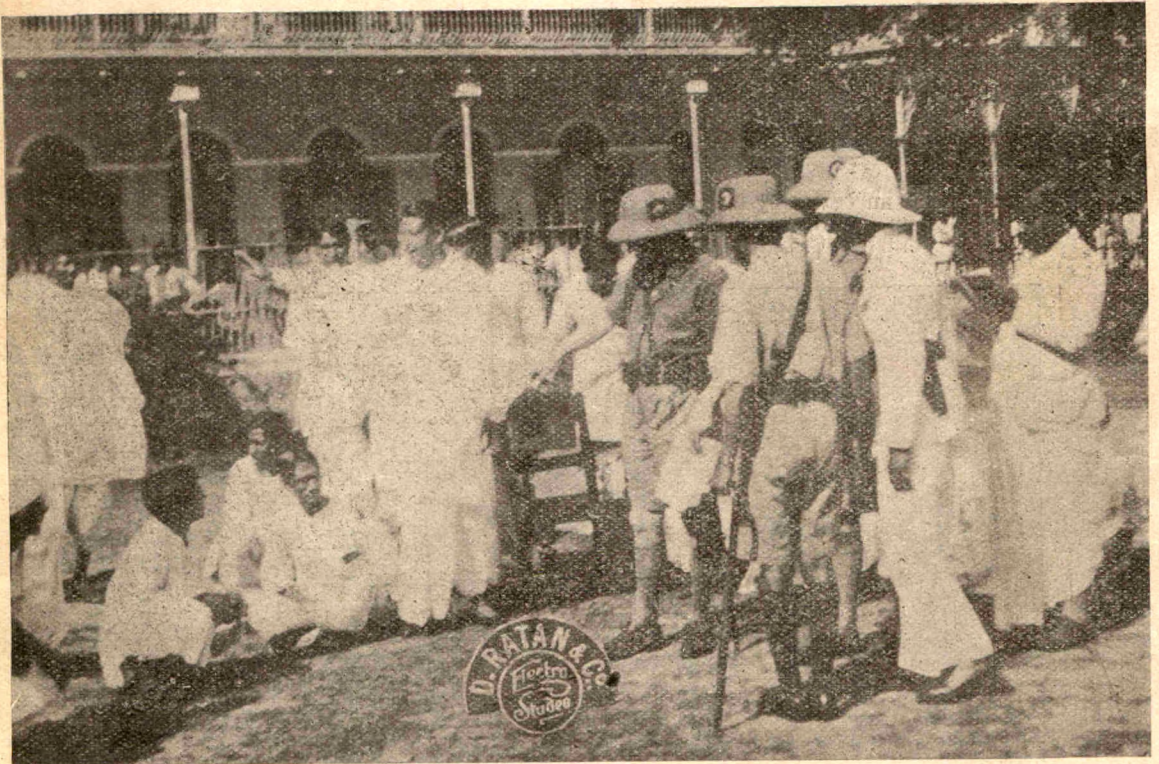
A group of lady volunteers who carried out foreign cloth boycott propaganda successfully at Nauchandi Fair in Meerut U. P.



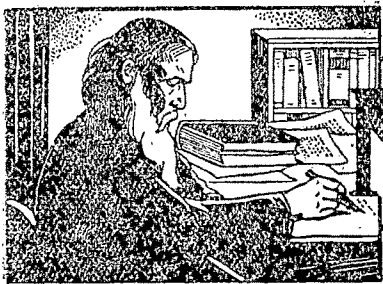
Students under arrest for breaking the
Sedition Law in Calcutta



A ladies' meeting in Calcutta



The arrest of Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta, the Mayor of Calcutta, for breaking the Sedition Law
Mr. Sen-Gupta is exhorting the students to remain non-violent



NOTES

The League of Nations and the Indian Situation

India is subject to Great Britain, and the Government of India is a subordinate department of the Imperial Government in London. But both Britain and India are independent members of the League of Nations. That is to say, India is a Member of the League of Nations, not because she is a part of the British Empire, but in her own right. This, however, is only theoretically true. As India can function in the League of Nations only through the Government of India, which is British and subordinate to the Government of Great Britain, India's independent membership of the League of Nations is not of much practical use to her in international affairs.

The League recognizes the fact that there can be disputes and differences of opinion between its Members, and it can arbitrate between the parties to bring about a settlement. But in the case of Britain and India, though there are very often acute differences of opinion between the two countries, these differences cannot be brought to the notice of the League in the ordinary way. If there be a dispute between France and Italy and if the Governments of the two countries are unable to arrive at a settlement by their own efforts, either Government can take it to the League of Nations; for neither is subordinate to the other. But as regards India and Britain, however grievous the complaints of the people of India may be against the British Imperial Government, their (the Indian people's) complaints cannot be brought to the notice of the League. For the ordinary way of doing this is not open to them. If India had been an independent country, her Government would have been national and that Government would have voiced her opinion at Geneva. But as matters stand, the Government of India will not and cannot recognize any opinion other than its own as the opinion of India, and being itself subordinate to the Government of Britain, it cannot ask the

League of Nations to arbitrate between itself and its master the Government of Britain.

Even in independent countries, there is never mathematically perfect unanimity of opinion in any matter, but substantial unanimity there very often is. In India, there was such substantial unanimity in boycotting the Simon Commission. But even in such a case, the British Government of India was able, indirectly by means of its direct and indirect powers of rewarding and punishing, to make it appear as if there was widespread support of the Commission. Similarly, though there is practical unanimity among all important political bodies in India that India should have Dominion status, Great Britain intends to act on the assumption that the wishes of Indians as regards the future form of Government of India are still unknown and have to be ascertained at a Conference in London of her representatives (to be chosen by Britain!) with British representatives. A mere child can understand that any wish can be proved to be the wish of India by choosing her "representatives" in a particular manner.

These examples will suffice to show that, if by some chance or through some loophole, some matter upon which the vast majority of the people of India are unanimous were brought before the League, the Government of India would be able to produce the opinions of many a mushroom Association to prove that there was no unanimity regarding that matter in this country and even that the view for which the Government stood was the view of the vast majority of Indians!

Such being the abnormal political condition of India, and Britain and the British group of members being very powerful in the League Assembly, League Council and League Secretariat, no definite favourable result need be expected, from carrying our case to Geneva. The people of India must, therefore, rely mainly on their own efforts for success in their non-violent fight for freedom. But something can be done to

influence world opinion through efforts to place India's case before the League. In order to decide how this can be done, the Articles of the Covenant of the League of Nations should be carefully studied by our leaders. Their attention is drawn to Article 11 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which runs as follows :

"Any war, or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safe-guard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise, the Secretary-General shall on the request of any Member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

"It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends."

War is generally understood to mean a quarrel between parties, usually nations, conducted by force, and denotes open hostility. In India, the Congresswalas, representing the largest group of politically-minded Indians, have declared non-violent war against the British Government with a view to gaining independence. To put down this non-violent war, the Government is using force. So, there is force used on one side. The League should consider whether this is war. In some wars of independence and many other wars, a smaller number of soldiers is sometimes engaged than that of the men now engaged in civil disobedience. Therefore, so far as the number of those engaged in it is concerned, the present movement of non-violent hostility to the British Government should not be beneath the notice of the League of Nations. That all political parties and sections of Indians are not taking part in it can be no objection. For, in other wars of independence, too, (e. g., the American war of independence) part of the population remained loyal to the ruling power. It is no material objection, again, that the civil resisters are non-violent and unarmed. That fact rather goes in favour of the movement. For civil disobedience is ethically superior to armed rebellion. So the impression ought not to be created that men who seek to gain an object by wading through blood are entitled to a consideration to which those

who seek to gain the same object by peaceful means are not entitled. Hence, we are distinctly of the opinion that the first paragraph of Article 11 of the League Covenant is applicable to the present situation in India.

But if there be any doubt regarding the applicability of the first paragraph, there is little or none regarding the applicability of the second paragraph to the case of India to-day. The Civil Disobedience movement in India undoubtedly is a "circumstance affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends." It has disturbed the good understanding between the British and Indian nations. Hence it is the duty of some Member or Members of the League to exercise their "friendly right" to bring the situation in India to the attention of the Assembly or the Council.

Citizens of India residing in independent countries which are Members of the League may consult international jurists there to ascertain their views on the subject. A peaceful solution of the problem of Indo-British relations which would be honourable to both parties is highly to be desired. This seems to us possible through the good offices of friendly Members of the League of Nations.

Resignation of President Patel

Mr. V. J. Patel has resigned the office of President of the Legislative Assembly, stating in a letter addressed to Lord Irwin the reasons for the step he has taken. The Viceroy has accepted his resignation. Mr. Patel writes in the course of his letter :

Strict impartiality, and more than that, absolute independence, have guided my conduct throughout. Neither desire for popular applause nor a fear of bureaucratic frown have I allowed to influence my conduct at any time. I may have made mistakes, but I can safely say with a clear conscience today that on no occasion have I been actuated by any personal or political feeling, and in all that I have said or done I have according to my poor judgment endeavoured to consult the best interests of the Assembly and the country.

By unflinching adherence to these two principles in the discharge of my duties under circumstances however difficult, I brought down on my head *the wrath of the bureaucracy*. It is no doubt true that they tolerated my adherence to these principles up to a point, but in matters that really mattered to them it was a different story. The King's Government must be carried on and even a Speaker of a

popular Assembly is expected to behave and to make it easy for the bureaucracy to function.

I gave them no quarter and refused to be a part and parcel of the Administration or to be subservient to them on any matter, however vital from their point of view, and as a result harassment and persecution was my lot at least for the last three years.

They went to the length of organizing, and carrying out a social boycott of the President of the Assembly, they condoned—to use a milder term—all sorts of attacks in the Press, and otherwise on the impartiality of the Chair in the most unbecoming language imaginable.

As if this was not enough a clique of underlings, determined on a campaign of vilification, abuse and misrepresentation of the President, was allowed to thrive, doing its work unhampered.....

Certain correspondents of newspapers had always free access to this clique and received at its hands every encouragement and inspiration. The columns of these newspapers were at the disposal of the clique for its campaign against the President, with the result that to the ordinary white man, not only at the headquarters of the Government of India but throughout the country, the occupant of the Assembly Chair has become an eye-sore. I have been *shadowed* and my *movements* have been *constantly watched*. It seemed to me as if there was a deliberate and organized conspiracy to persecute me in order that I might in sheer disgust, tender my resignation and thereby supply a handle to the enemies of India to demonstrate that Indians are unfit to hold such responsible positions. It was an open secret that the Government of India and their officials had no love for me and tolerated me in the Chair because there was no way by which they could remove me except by a direct vote of censure, but they were never sure of getting a majority in the House to pass such a vote, and perhaps you would not lightly allow such a motion to be tabled.

In the midst of these difficulties Mr. Patel carried on, because he believed that he was serving his country by doing so. And it must be admitted that he did render some service to India by the way in which he discharged his duties and the precedents and conventions he laid down and the rulings he gave. But under the changed conditions prevailing at present, he feels that his continued occupancy of the Chair can do no good. What the changed conditions are is thus stated by him :

Owing to the boycott of the Assembly by Congressmen in obedience to the mandate of the Lahore Congress, followed recently by the resignations of the leader of the opposition, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and a band of his loyal followers, as a protest against the manner and method by which the Government of India forced down the throat of an unwilling Assembly the principle of Imperial Preference, the Assembly has lost its representative character, and when speaker after speaker rose on the Tariff Bill discussion and said that by the attitude adopted by the Govern-

ment of India, namely, that the Assembly must accept British preference or the mill industry of India must go to wrack and ruin, they would be compelled to vote against their convictions and not on the merits of the Government proposals, I felt whether it was worth while any longer presiding over an Assembly where it was not possible for the President to safe-guard even the freedom of vote supposed to have been guaranteed by the Government of India Act.

"It goes without saying that the Assembly would hereafter exist merely to register the decrees of the Executive and I would be doing a disservice to my country if I continued to lend false prestige to such a body by presiding over it any more.

President Patel on Freedom's Fight

Other grave considerations have weighed with him and led him to take the step he has done.

Apart from these considerations, in the grave situation that has arisen in the country, I feel that I would be guilty of deserting India's cause at this critical juncture if I were to continue to hold office of President of the Assembly.

My people have been engaged in a life and death struggle for freedom. The movement of non-violent non-co-operation and civil disobedience initiated by the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi, the greatest man of modern times, is in full swing. Hundreds of prominent countrymen of mine have already found their place in His Majesty's gaols, thousands are prepared to lay down their lives if necessary and hundreds of thousands are ready to court imprisonment in the prosecution of that great movement. At such a juncture in the history of the struggle for freedom of my country, my place is with my countrymen with whom I have decided to stand shoulder to shoulder, and not in the Chair of the Assembly.

How Mr. Patel was Disillusioned

Mr. Patel co-operated with the British Government to bring about some amicable settlement by means of which a struggle for freedom like the present might be averted. But he has failed to achieve his object—he has lost faith in the good intentions and *bona fides* of that Government, and has become a Non-co-operator. He tells how :

As Your Excellency is aware, I was endeavouring in my humble way for the last four years that you have been at the helm of affairs in India to prevent such a situation from developing. I had all along pleaded that the crisis could be averted only by a frank and full recognition by Britain of India's claim to complete Dominion status without reservation, and the method of giving effect to that decision being examined in some joint and equal conference between plenipotentiaries of the two countries...

I confess I felt for a time that better days were in sight and India might soon secure her legitimate place as a free and self-governing unit in the British Commonwealth of Nations, without further sufferings and sacrifices, mainly through your instrumentality. But recent events both in England and India have completely disillusioned me, and I have now come to the deliberate conclusion that all talk about the so-called change of heart on the part of the British Government and change of spirit in day-to-day administration of this country, and of Dominion status being in action in India, is merely eye-wash, is as unreal as the Fiscal Autonomy Convention, and is not to be found anywhere translated into action in any shape or form.

In these circumstances, I have no doubt whatever that there is no desire on the part of the British Government to recognize the justice of the claim made by the Congress and satisfactorily settle India's problem to the lasting benefit of India and Britain alike. On the contrary, there has been abundant evidence in the recent actions of the Government in all parts of the country that, true to their traditions, they have launched on a policy of ruthless repression designed to crush the legitimate aspirations of a great people.

Mr. Gandhi Vindicated

Mr. Patel proceeds :

I am convinced therefore that Mr. Gandhi stands fully vindicated in the attitude he had taken up, that he was not prepared to advise the Congress to participate in the round-table conference in London, unless there had been a full and frank recognition of India's claim to complete Dominion status, without any reservation, and unless it was made clear that the conference was to meet to explore methods of giving effect to such a decision.

Such being his conviction, he naturally comes to the conclusion that

In such a situation the only honourable and patriotic course open to me is to sever my connection with the Government of India, which I hereby do by tendering my resignation, and take my legitimate place in the fight for freedom side by side with my countrymen. I only hope my indifferent health will not prevent me from actively participating in the movement, but in any case I shall be giving at least my moral support to it by this resignation.

The Viceroy's Reply

Lord Irwin's reply to Mr. Patel contains among others the following passages :

Your letters make it plain that your course of action is not one that could be influenced by reasonable argument, and it is evident that nothing is to be gained by a detailed reply, nor is it necessary for me to vindicate the officers of my Government against charges which bear on their face their own refutation.....

One conspicuous example of a misunderstanding of events lies in your belief that it was at your request or in accordance with your advice that my Government discharged its responsibilities in connection with the movement for refusal of payment of land revenue in Bardoli Taluka in 1926.

I regret that our official connection should have terminated in such circumstances, and can only hope that you and those with whom you are once again to be openly associated may come to realize how grave a wrong you do to India by rejecting the way of peace that lies open through free conference with His Majesty's Government in order to encourage your countrymen to a deliberate and dangerous defiance of the law.

It must always be assumed that the course of action of the British man in power is the only "one that could be influenced by reasonable argument."

It is not evident to us that nothing was to be gained by a detailed reply to Mr. Patel. What Lord Irwin says to Mr. Patel is generally said by men in power who have no convincing reply to give or who feel that an *ipsi dixit* backed by the visible or the invisible big stick is an effective substitute for a convincing reply.

The refutation which Mr. Patel's charges against the officers of Lord Irwin's Government are said to bear on their face is invisible to us.

The public may expect to hear more from ex-President Patel on Bardoli affairs in reply to Lord Irwin's remarks.

Is there any insinuation in the use of the word "openly" in the last sentence quoted above ? Does Lord Irwin suggest that even when occupying the presidential chair Mr. Patel, instead of being a neutral non-party man, had been secretly associated with Congressmen ? If so, why does he not say so "openly" ?

There is no question that the "way" which Lord Irwin speaks of is a way of peace. But the peace is peace at any price and the way of peace referred to is not believed by large numbers of Indians to be one leading to the freedom which India desires.

Some people can be fooled some times. But all people cannot be fooled for all time.

Significance of Mr. Patel's Disillusionment

Some men are against foreign rule because it is foreign. They are irreconcilable to any other kind of Government except

self-rule. Their hostility to foreign rule need not be based on their knowledge and experience of the evils of any particular specimen of such rule. For that reason their hostility may be made light of by critics by saying that they are doctrinaire politicians who are guided solely by abstract theories but pay no attention to realities and practical considerations. There may be something in such criticism. But it does not apply to men like ex-President Patel. He is a man of affairs, and has tried to work the "Reforms" and get as much good out of them as he could. He did not start with any *a priori* conviction that foreign rule cannot make for freedom.

Some politically-minded Indians have never associated with either official or non-official Britishers. Some may have mixed with a few British officials and some with only a few British non-official men. If men of any of these classes assert that Britishers do not mean to allow Indians to be masters in their own household, their opinion may be set down to absolute lack of experience or to its scantiness. This cannot be said of Mr. Patel. Both before and during his incumbency of the office of President, he has mixed with both official and non-official Englishmen in India and Great Britain. In India he has been in close contact with the greatest English official in India for years, and for him he still cherishes great regard.

When such a man comes practically to the same conclusion to which Mahatma Gandhi gave expression in his letter to the Viceroy, *viz.*, "that there never has been any intention of granting such Dominion status (equal to virtual independence) to India in the immediate future," and that "it seems as clear as daylight that responsible British statesmen do not contemplate any alteration of the British policy that might adversely affect Britain's commerce with India or require an impartial and close scrutiny of Britain's transactions with India," his disillusionment must be taken and considered seriously.

The adhesion of Mr. Patel to the civil disobedience movement is expected to give it a great push forward.

The Significance of Gandhiji's Disillusionment

Though Mahatma Gandhi never accepted any office under the British Government, his disillusionment is at least as significant as

that of Mr. Patel. In his letter to the Viceroy he writes : "I served them (the British people) up to 1919 blindly." Some of his dearest friends are Englishmen. His knowledge of the evils of British rule in India is derived partly from the writings of Englishmen. He has mixed intimately with many of them, and does not hate them. Yet such a man is leading a campaign to the death to free the country from subjection to them. To understand the significance of this fact we must recall to what extent and at what risk to his own life and reputation he co-operated with and served the British Empire and how profound was his faith in it.

Referring to the Boer War of 1899-1902, Gandhiji writes in his *Autobiography*, vol. I, pp. 497-500 :

"When the war was declared, my personal sympathies were all with the Boers, but I believed then, that I had yet no right, in such cases, to enforce my individual convictions.....My loyalty to the British rule drove me to participation with the British in that war. I felt, that if I demanded rights as a British citizen, it was also my duty, as such, to participate in the defence of the British Empire. I held then, that India could achieve her complete emancipation only within and through the British Empire. So I collected together as many comrades as possible, and with very great difficulty got their services accepted as an ambulance corps. The corps acquitted itself well... We were asked at a critical moment to serve within the firing line...We had no hesitation."

At the time of the Zulu 'Rebellion' in Natal, which came soon after the Boer War, Mr. Gandhi was practising as a lawyer in Johannesburg.

"I felt, that I must offer my services to the Natal Government on that occasion. The offer was accepted...I had to break up my household at Johannesburg to be able to serve during the 'Rebellion'..." *Autobiography*, vol. i. pp. 479-480.

During the World War, Mr. Gandhi raised recruits for the British Government. Of this recruiting campaign he writes in his *Autobiography* :

We decided to dispense with the use of carts and to do our journeys on foot. At this rate we had to trudge about 20 miles a day. If carts were not forthcoming, it was idle to expect people to feed us. It was hardly proper to ask for food. So it was decided that every volunteer must carry his food in his satchel. No bedding or sheet was necessary as it was summer (p. 455, vol. ii). We had meetings wherever we went. People did attend, but hardly one or two would offer themselves as recruits. 'You are a votary of Ahimsa,

how can you ask us to take up arms?' 'What good has Government done for India to deserve our co-operation?' These and similar questions used to be put to us. However our steady work began to tell. Quite a number of names were registered... (P. 456, vol. ii). I very nearly ruined my constitution during the recruiting campaign, (p. 464, vol. ii).

We have reproduced these passages from Mahatma Gandhi's *Autobiography* to recall the kind of co-operation he gave to the British Government. If British Imperialists want us to believe that it is Mr. Gandhi's fault or folly if the Loyal Mr. Gandhi has become the Rebel Mr. Gandhi, we are afraid we cannot oblige them. Even after the inauguration of Non-co-operation down to the date of his march to Dandi for making salt, his has been a moderating and a restraining influence on too ardent spirits. The development of intransigence in such a man means nothing less than the bankruptcy of British statemanship.

"Daily News" on Censorship in India

London, April 26.

The *Daily News* referring to reports that Press messages from Rawalpindi are being censored, hopes that the Government of India will not withhold from the British public essential and accurate news.

The newspaper says that circumstances in India are of such deep significance to the whole of the Empire that there should be no possibility of misunderstanding about the facts. If the actions of the Government of India are to receive the sanction and support of public opinion in England and the Dominions, it is imperative that the public should not be given the faintest reason to suspect that material facts are being withheld.—*Reuter*.

But what will the London paper say to the following item of news circulated by the *Free Press*? Is it not a case of very material facts being withheld?

"Cable Returned as Objectionable"

Calcutta, April 25.

The cable sent on April 15 (Tuesday) by Dr. K. S. Roy, Secretary, Indian Medical Association to the Secretary General, League of Nations, Geneva and also to the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Feener Brockway, Major Graham Pole, Mr. Earnest Thurtle and the Editor, *Daily Mail* about assault by the Police on ambulance workers at Kalikapur has not been transmitted and returned to-day to the sender, as being objectionable, by the Telegraph Department with the refund of the cost—(F. P.)

The incident referred to in the cable is that at Kalikapur, a village in the 24-Parganas District, a number of volunteers engaged in manufacturing salt having sustained injuries, a Red Cross ambulance with workers and medical appliances was sent there to render aid. The police, it was stated in the dailies, broke the stretcher, destroyed the medicines, bandages, etc., assaulted the workers of the ambulance, tore away their Red Cross badges, and so on.

In armed warfare among nations, the Red Cross is respected. Is there any national law anywhere or any international law permitting an outrage on the Red Cross when the wounded men sought to be helped are unarmed volunteers engaged in civil or non-violent disobedience? But assuming they were aggressively violent, why should not they be given medical aid by Red Cross ambulance men, seeing that in war no distinction is made between allies and enemies in giving such aid?

Chittagong Outrage

On the night of April 18-19, some men carried out an armed raid on the armouries of the railway Auxiliary Force and of the Police at Chittagong. They shot dead some 11 persons, including two Europeans, set fire to one armoury and the telephone exchange, cut the telegraph wires, tore up the railway line at some distance from Chittagong, and made good their escape after doing other kinds of damage. The raiders are being hunted up in the hills and jungles in the vicinity of Chittagong. Twelve of them, it is alleged, have been shot dead. Arrests on suspicion have been made in some East Bengal towns. But the main body of the revolutionaries, as the raiders are assumed to be, are believed to be still at large.

If they are really revolutionaries, some questions would naturally be asked. The C. I. D. can discover anarchists in obscure nooks and corners, but evidently had not the least inkling of the existence of some 100 revolutionaries who were good shots. Where and how did they get their training in marksmanship? Where was their rifle range situated? Shooting with rifles cannot be practised in the ill-lighted small rooms of students' "messes" within closed doors.

And how could the Englishman's proverbially timidest Bengalis develop into raiders, not of sweet-meat shops, but of armouries guarded by sentries with loaded guns?

"Raid Not the Work of Mutinous Police"

We had not heard any rumour that the Chittagong outrage was the work of mutinous policemen. So when we read the following *communiqué* in the dailies of the 26th April, we came to be aware simultaneously of both the rumour and its contradiction!

The Government are informed that the rumour still persists that the insurgents who committed the outrages at Chittagong on the night of April 18-19 consisted in whole or part of mutinous or discharged or dismissed policemen.

The Government have already stated that the outrage was the work of the terrorist revolutionary party, and they are glad to be able to state that there is no truth whatever in the rumour that police took part in it. The loyalty of the police force throughout has been and is unquestionable and unquestioned.

As twelve of the raiders are said to have been shot dead in the jungles, the best means of laying the ghost of the aforesaid rumour would have been to bring their corpses to Chittagong for identification. But we read in the papers that the bodies have been cremated before identification. If that piece of news be correct, there has been impolitic hurry.

By a curious accidental coincidence the "rumour" almost synchronized with the publication of the following passage in the editorial columns of the *Indian Social Reformer* of the 19th April, which reached Calcutta on the 21st:

As has been repeatedly proved in popular outbreaks, the mob does tomorrow what it sees the Police doing today. In fact, the leaders of popular outbreaks are often men who have gained some experience of leadership in the preventive and punitive services of government. The retired or dismissed Police Inspector or Constable naturally acquires a position of influence in popular outbreaks and imparts to them some sort of organization which makes them formidable. The French revolutionaries faithfully reproduced the methods of the Empire which they overturned as did the Bolsheviks those of the Tsarist regime. Meredith Townsend wrote if there was an Insurrection in India it would be led by the Sepoys and the armed Police.

Mahatma Gandhi's Statement in American Papers

New York, April, 26.

The Indian Nationalist viewpoint is outlined in the American newspapers by a special statement from Mr. Gandhi, declaring that "civil resistance to the salt laws has caught the public imagination as nothing else within my experience."

Mr. Gandhi further states that the disturbances in Calcutta, Karachi, Chittagong and Peshawar have so far not affected other parts of India, where civil disobedience has been going on in an organized fashion, but "the Government has not lost any opportunity to incense the people."—*Reuter*.

Bill Against "Devadasi" System

At the next meeting of the Madras Legislative Council, Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi, Deputy President, Madras Legislative Council, will move that her Bill to prevent the dedication of girls to Hindu temples be referred to a Select Committee consisting of 15 members. She will also move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Madras Children Act of 1920.

Foreign Cloth Boycott

The following is from *The Bengalee*:

There appears to be very little doubt that the proposal to boycott foreign cloth is meeting with a considerable amount of success; so far we understand that the boycott has been directed chiefly against Lancashire goods, but the movement appears to be broadening and foreign cloth is gradually coming under the ban. The movement should, of course, very considerably help the Indian Cotton Mills Industry, and we shall not be altogether surprised to see a further all round advance in the price of most of the better Indian Cotton Mills Company shares.

The Statesman's review of India's foreign trade for March contains the following sentences:

Under manufactured articles, cotton yarn and manufactures decreased by Rs. 67 lakhs. Imports of twist and yarn declined from 4 million lbs. valued at Rs. 54 lakhs to 3 million lbs. valued at Rs. 38 lakhs. The quantity of cotton piecegoods imported also declined from 187 million yards to 182 million yards and the value from Rs. 5.09 lakhs to Rs. 4.54 lakhs. White and coloured goods fell off by 4 and 1½ million yards in quantity and by Rs. 19 and Rs. 12 lakhs in value respectively. Grey goods, however, recorded a slight increase in quantity from 81.08 to 82.0 million yards, although the value fell from Rs. 1.94 lakhs to Rs. 1.71 lakhs.

The extracts given above have been chosen from papers which do not belong

to the Congress school. They show that there has been reduction of imports of cotton goods. There is no proof that in consequence the semi-nudity of our people has increased. There can be an increasingly greater reduction in the import of these goods without affecting public health, decency or even comfort, until such importation ceases altogether. At the time of the American war of independence, Benjamin Franklin was asked some questions as to the non-importation of British goods by the Americans. Two of them, with his answers, were :

"What used to be the pride of the Americans?"

"To indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain."

"What is now their pride?"

"To wear their old clothes over again till they can make new ones."

If any of us anywhere cannot get new Swadeshi cloth in the market or cannot afford to pay a little higher price for the same when available, we should be proud of wearing tattered clothes or even rags, instead of buying British textiles.

Cloth-dealers may naturally object to their shops being picketted. Picketing is an effective method, no doubt; but it is not the only one, nor is it the most effective. There should be house to house preaching of Swadeshim by men and women who practise it themselves. We are now in the midst of the summer vacation. Along with other active workers, our students may do this kind of work in their home towns and villages. Those who cannot devote all their time to it, should regularly spend their off time in this way. If in this way customers fall off, dealers in foreign cotton goods would necessarily become patriotic, though now they may be shortsighted enough to prefer pelf to patriotism.

A Patiala Communique

According to the Associated Press, the Patiala authorities have issued the following statement for public information :

"The attention of the Government of H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala has been drawn to certain comments in the Press on the pamphlet called 'An Indictment of Patiala,' purporting to be the report of an Inquiry Committee appointed by the Indian States People's Conference, and avowedly based on *ex parte* evidence. It is understood that the said pamphlet has been widely circulated in the country and abroad. The said pamphlet makes very serious

allegations against the personal honour of the Ruler of the State and against the Government. After the publication of the report over the signatures of some public men in British India His Highness's Government immediately gave attention to the question as to what course they should adopt to vindicate the honour of His Highness and his Government. Although they have hitherto refrained from taking any notice of the campaign which has been carried on in certain sections of the Press in British India, the allegations contained in the report are so serious that his Highness's Government cannot allow them to go unchallenged. Without further entering into any controversy in the Press, His Highness's Government desire to state that they propose to take at an early date such steps as they may be advised to take for the vindication of the personal honour of the ruler of the State, and the reputation of his Government. His Highness's Government hope that the *ex parte* verdict of the Committee based upon evidence, the truth and strength of which has yet to be tested impartially, will not be treated as carrying with it the weight and the authority of an Imperial Tribunal."

Punishment for Breaking Salt Law

Offences against life, limb and property have varying degrees of heinousness, and hence they require to be punished in different ways. But the manufacture of contraband salt by civil resisters is a technical offence of which the seriousness is practically the same everywhere, whoever may commit it. Yet, the punishments inflicted on the accused are comparatively light in some cases and very heavy in others. These differences are noticeable not only from province to province and town to town, but even in judgments pronounced by the same magistrate in the same court these variations are to be found.

The legal punishment prescribed for this offence is either a term of simple or rigorous imprisonment or fine, or both. But very numerous are the items of news in the dailies from all provinces and many towns and villages which inform the public that there is illegal and extra-legal punishment, too, in the shape of assaults by policemen on men, women and children. Some firing has also taken place. All or the majority of these news cannot be false. The people of India never had any training or practice in the manufacture of war lies, either in times past or in modern times.

It is said that large crowds cannot be dispersed without the use of some force, which may, in some cases, include the shooting down of men with fire-arms. Whether

shooting was necessary on any particular occasion can be discussed only with reference to that occasion. But we are not now concerned with the question of handling large and turbulent crowds, but with how to deal with groups of salt-law-breakers, which are not generally large. These men are not turbulent and do not offer any resistance to arrest. They only defend their salt when it is sought to be snatched away from them. But if they are arrested, *ipso facto* they cease to defend their salt, which can then be taken away by the police along with their persons. Therefore, there is no reason why they should be assaulted. The law does not authorize the police to assault them or any other class of offenders. But it may be taken as a fact that salt-law-breakers have been beaten by the police in very many places. *Communiqués* are issued by the Government to correct mis-statements in the press, but news regarding police assaults on Satyagrahis remain officially uncontradicted. It is also well known that Indian newspapers are critically read by Government officials employed for the purpose. Otherwise so many editors could not have been prosecuted and sentenced. So the Government must be taken to be aware of the news of police assaults on salt-law-breakers. The correctness of such news could have been tested in law-courts if the men assaulted had sought any remedy there. But being Non-co-operators, they do not carry any cases to law-courts.

Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code makes the bringing of the Government into hatred or contempt punishable. That shows that the Government wants to be respected. One means of securing that respect is to see that its laws are respected both by its own servants and by non-officials. But if the police be allowed to beat any man in an illegal or extra-legal way, the law ceases to be respected.

Hence, if it be the intention of the Government that the *Satyagrahis* should be punished, some by being sent to jail or fined or both, and some by being thrashed by the police, the law should be so amended as to include the latter among legal punishments. But if that be not the intention of the Government, such assaults should be put a stop to and the assailants among the police should be punished either as ordinary offenders or at least departmentally.

We are aware that if all who have openly

violated the salt-law were arrested and sent to jail, there would scarcely be room there for so many prisoners, and it is not quite easy to improvise jails. Houses can be hired for locating ordinary Government offices there; but rented private houses cannot be converted into jails—they would not be so secure as jails specially constructed for the purpose. The cost of feeding and clothing an army of *satyagrahi* prisoners would also be a heavy and prohibitive drain on the provincial exchequers. For all these reasons, it may be necessary to keep down the number of prisoners. That may be one reason why in all provinces stress is laid, not so much on the arrest of the numerous volunteers as on the arrest of their few leaders. But though the number of prisoners may have to be kept within certain limits, law-breakers cannot be allowed to violate any law with impunity. Some punishment must be provided for such offences. If beating with lathis be considered a desirable form of punishment, it should be legalized and regularized. The number of blows, their weight, the length, thickness and heaviness of the *lathis*, the grades of policemen who can beat offenders without and before trial, the parts of the body where the blows are to be delivered, etc. should be definitely prescribed. But the real remedy does not lie in the multiplication of forms of punishment and in increasing their severity but in freeing India. That is our point of view. If Britishers do not want to let go their hold on India, they should at least govern it as if it were free.

Punishments strike terror only for a time. Imprisonment has lost all terror for tens of thousands. So has assaults by the police perhaps for as many. There is a smaller number of men who would not mind being shot dead or killed in some other way. But their number is increasing. Terrorism does not terrify after a time. The revolutionaries, who are called anarchists or terrorists in official parlance, have found that in spite of the use of bombs and revolvers by them, the Executive and the Police have not given up their work. Terrorism has not depleted the Executive and the Police service. The classes from which these services are recruited are also the classes from which the civil resisters come. They are at least as courageous as those who serve Government for pay and pension. Their adherence to principle is not

less than that of Government servants. So, if Government servants cannot be made to give up their work by non-official terrorism, civil resisters too cannot be forced to give up *theirs* by official terrorism. No doubt, civil resisters do not get any salary as Government servants do. But patriotism is perhaps at least as strong an impelling motive as pay and pension.

Some persons can be frightened sometimes but all persons cannot be frightened for all time.

There may be some British statesmen who want first of all to show that they can suppress all struggles for freedom, and when they have given a demonstration of their power, they mean to come out with some crumbs of favour. But such action is graceless, leaves a bitter memory behind and serves no useful purpose. Nothing is gained by striking a generous pose when that becomes a virtue of necessity—nobody can mistake it for real generosity, or even justice.

Imprisonment of the Leaders

The picking off of the leaders in all provinces for arrest and imprisonment may be meant to deprive the civil disobedience movement of guiding and controlling minds. But if there be genuine patriotism among the volunteers, as we believe there is, leaders in sufficient numbers will spring up from among them. Even if Mahatma Gandhi were arrested, some one will be found to take his place, though, of course, a man of his saintly and towering personality would be impossible at present to discover anywhere.

Hem Chunder Basu Lectureship

There are so few facilities for higher culture in the ordinary provisions of our more or less starved universities, that more than ordinary interest attaches to the Hem Chunder Basu Lectureship, endowed by a generous patron of culture and administered by the Council of National Education. As the only surviving non-official endeavour in the cause of education in Bengal, the National Council of Education has been compelled by a combination of circumstances to allocate its available resources to provide for a form of "useful" education designed to solve to some

extent the gigantic problem of unemployment in Bengal. But culture or 'tilling of the mind' is not wholly neglected and it is through the Basu Lectureship the Council is able to offer its scanty tribute to the Shrine of Culture. Considerable significance therefore attaches to the appointment from time to time made to this chair by the committee of the Council. Some of the former occupants of this chair have been unquestionably brilliant professors and exponents of one or other phases of Indian culture. A feeling has been growing up in educated circles in Calcutta that recently the chair is not shedding sufficiently brilliant or new light on the phases of Indian history and culture that the chair is designed to do. The educated public in general are not aware of the attainments or achievements of the new incumbent, Mr. Bidhu Bhusan Dutt, said to be the Secretary of the *Indian Council of Cultural Education*. He has been nominated by a committee of very competent and responsible men, and we must take for granted that they have satisfied themselves as to the capacity and merits of the new nominee and have chosen the best available exponent of Indian history and culture. We sincerely hope Mr. Dutt will retrieve the bedimmed glory of this chair of national culture. We have one suggestion to make. We trust Mr. Dutt will take for his theme the aesthetic phases of Indian civilization. Indian Art is a very despised subject in Indian education and there is a crying need for an adequate interpretation of the values and principles of Indian Art—which is undoubtedly an unique achievement and the finest flower of Indian civilization but which is unfortunately still a sealed book to most people with any pretensions to education.

G.

Intended Raid on Salt Depot

It has been reported in the papers that Mahatma Gandhi intends to raid and take possession of the salt depot at Dharasna. Until we are in full possession of necessary details, we are unable to pronounce any opinion on the ethical aspect of the contemplated raid. Is there any ethical difference between raiding a Government salt depot and looting a Government treasury where salt revenue is kept? Meanwhile the Collector of

Salt Revenue, Bombay, says in a statement that "the salt in Dharasna (Chharwada) salt works is not the property of the Government but of the salt manufacturers, whose interest must be prejudicially affected by any attempt to remove the salt from the salt works except in a manner contemplated by law."

Though the Collector may or may not mean it, his statement may be construed to mean that in his opinion there is some legal and ethical difference between removing salt belonging to the Government and that belonging to private individuals !

A Good Retort

Government officials concerned have in many places broadcasted opinions that the salt manufactured by the *satyagrahis* is unfit for human consumption, that it contains injurious chemical substances, that it is poisonous, or the like. It seems this was done in Allahabad also. Interviewed by a Free Press representative Pandit Motilal Nehru spoke as follows on the subject, in part :

[According to the Salt Act] The manufacture of salt is "The separation of salt from earth or other substance so as to produce alimentary salt." As every school boy knows, "alimentary" means nourishing, but according to official reports, published in the press, the contraband salt prepared by the *satyagrahis* is positively injurious to human beings. That being so, it is no offence to manufacture it. Let the Government issue another *communiqué* to this effect and cease to interfere with the salt *satyagrahis*. This will be a more plausible ground than the concoction of cock and bull stories. It matters little that convictions already obtained would be illegal, but that is of no consequence to a mighty government.

Exodus to the Hills

When people are engaged in a life and death struggle for freedom, it may not appear much of a grievance that the greater and the lesser Olympians, white and brown, rule human beings from mountain heights in summer. But it is sheer waste to remove whole offices to the hilltops and bring them back to the plains every year. It is absurd that men should be paid high salaries to rule others with whom they are not in touch for months and to whom they are not easily accessible. The Ministers and brown Execu-

tive Councillors in particular cut a very ridiculous figure. Their usefulness lies in great part in their being of the people and accessible to them. But they, too, must travel to the hills, partly perhaps because their white secretaries refuse to swelter in the plains. In any case, as our Brown Masters are not polar bears, they do not require an arctic climate for flourishing. As for the White Olympians, they may as well rule from England in these days of wireless telegraphy, and telephony and swift-flying aeroplanes. Staying at home (or Home ?) they might agree to demand a lower salary than now.

A "Liberal" Statement

The Council of the Western India National Liberal Association—we could wish its influence and usefulness were proportionate to its many-worded name, has issued a statement to the press from which the following passage is extracted :

Liberals firmly hold to their view that the civil disobedience movement will not only fail to bring India nearer to an early attainment of the National aspirations but will, on the contrary, retard it and plunge the country into violent turmoil, in spite of the determination of those who have inaugurated it to keep it non-violent. The movement has gained on an accession of strength owing to the economic conditions now obtaining in the country. Commercial, industrial and trading interests in the country have begun to despair of securing under the present regime their rightful claims to unhampered development and progress. They feel that under the present system of administration their interests are and will always continue to be subordinated to outside interests.

Liberals repeat what they have often indicated, namely, that the only way to counteract the present disruptive tendencies and restore faith in the efficacy of constitutional methods is not a policy of repression but courageously to make it clear that Britain means to establish Dominion status for India without any delay, and that the Round Table Conference will consider and evolve a scheme to that end with the necessary reservations and safe-guards for the transition period.

Liberals strongly disapprove of the severe sentences on some civil resisters at various places, and are of opinion that such uncalled-for sentences are calculated further to incense public opinion.

Civil Disobedience has undoubtedly disturbed the slumbers and pathetic contentment of many persons. It may not bring the country nearer Swaraj, but will the paper statements of the Liberals do so either ? As for the recent disturbances, it is poor logic to

connect them even indirectly with civil disobedience. They are mostly due to the repressive measures adopted by the authorities and their arbitrary methods. Similar causes gave rise to violent extremism decades before civil disobedience was started. There was no civil disobedience when Khudi Ram Bose, Barindrakumar Ghose, Ullaskar Dutt and others started a misguided campaign of violence with bombs, etc., for making the country free. There were many far more serious and bloody riots than any recent ones long before even Non-co-operation was started or thought of.

Nobody has hitherto succeeded in extracting from the powers that be any definite information regarding the day, week, month, year or century when Britain will deign to confer Dominion status on India, and regarding the probable agenda of the Round Table Conference. May the Western India Liberals have better luck! But it is to be hoped that in that case they would give some slight credit to Mahatma Gandhi's movement for making the white Gods more propitious.

The British "Fool's Paradise"

London, April, 25.

The *Daily Herald* attributes the profound discontent all over India to the long waiting for the Simon Commission's report. The newspaper says the delay has bred suspicion, and the new confidence created by Lord Irwin and Mr. Wedgwood Benn has given place to distrust and anger. Rarely were delays so dangerous. The urgent need is that the report shall be speeded up and its production followed by immediate action.—*Reuter*.

The discontent in India, in so far as it is articulate—and inarticulate discontent cannot have reached England, has been made manifest mostly by the actions and utterances of Congressmen and those who hold the same opinion as they. They are the most numerous political group in India. This group has never paid the Simon Commission the compliment of worrying itself about the date of publication of its Report. That date and the contents of the Report do not excite its curiosity. It is entirely indifferent about these matters.

There is a general belief that myths were and could be born only in hoary antiquity. But that is an unfounded belief. In proof thereof, one has only to think of the myth that Lord Irwin and Mr. Wedgwood Benn created any confidence in the hearts of any considerable number of Indians. Apart from

paying personal compliments, if any leading man who counts had any confidence in the effective good intention of these statesmen, Mr. Gandhi's civil disobedience movement would not have been started and caught the imagination of the public and Mr. V. J. Patel would not have resigned the presidency of the Assembly to stand shoulder to shoulder with the fighters for freedom.

Snobbery in Australia

A suggestion had been made by the present Federal ministers in Australia that Sir Isaac Isaacs, an Australia-born man, should be appointed the next Governor-General of Australia. This has roused the opposition of some Australians who seem to consider themselves *Sudras* and Britain-born men *Brahmins* or *Kshatriyas*.

Mr. Latham, leader of the Federal Opposition, has entered a strong protest against the suggestion that the office of Governor-General should be allotted to an Australian-born man.

Speaking here last night, he said that the present Federal Ministers never had any real enthusiasm for the Empire and Great Britain. No substantial body of opinion desired a change which would sever an important link with what the great majority of Australians were still proud to call their Mother Country.

Senator H. E. Elliot, addressing the Empire Reciprocity League, declared that the appointment of Sir Isaac Isaacs would be interpreted by the outside world as an attempt on the part of Australia to cut herself away from the Empire.—*Reuter*.

Equipment for Righteous Struggle

When a struggle goes on for the establishment of what is just and right, *e. g.*, for winning national freedom, the chances of success should not be judged by the standard of mere external and physical equipment. There is a dialogue in the *Ramayana* of Tulasidas between Rama and Bibhishan which has lessons for us at the present juncture. Ravana had war chariots, but Rama was without any. Seeing this Bibhishan became restless with fear. On account of his great love for Rama, Bibhishan began to entertain doubts about his victory. So bowing to his feet he said lovingly:—"Master, you have neither chariots nor even shoes on your feet. How will you defeat so powerful an enemy?" Rama replied:—"Friend, look here, I have brought that sort of chariot

with me which brings victory. Bravery and righteousness are the two wheels of that chariot and truth and morality are the firmly planted banners. Energy, knowledge, self-restraint, and benevolence are the horses harnessed to that chariot. They are controlled by the reins of forgiveness, mercy and equality. Faith in God is my driver and guide; renunciation my shield and contentment my sword. Discipline and regularity of life are the arrows and an undaunted and pure heart is my quiver. Charity is my battle-axe, intelligence is my immense *shakti* and superior knowledge is my bow. My reverence for pious people is my impenetrable armour. No other armament can be equal to this for victory. Comrade! if anybody has got such a Righteous Chariot, no enemy can ever defeat him."

The Prosperity and Poverty of India

Mr. J. Coatman, who was until recently Director of Public Information to the Government of India, writes in *India in 1928-29*, published the other day "under the authority and with the general approval of the Secretary of State for India": "No one whose direct acquaintance with India extends over a period of twenty or thirty years will have any hesitation in saying that India has prospered during that period, and if evidence were asked for, a number of unmistakable signs can be pointed out." The first sign which he mentions is that "in 1913 India ranked sixth among the trading countries of the world, and by 1925 she had attained to the fifth place—a fact which is not generally recognized today. Year by year her exports and imports have steadily climbed almost without a pause, except during the War, for well over half a century." (P. 76.) This roseate picture has to be modified by the facts that the vast bulk of India's export and import trade is in the hands of foreigners, that the exports and imports are carried almost entirely in foreign vessels, that the exports are mostly raw products much of which come back to India from foreign countries in a manufactured condition to be sold to Indians at prices many times the value of the raw materials and that the manufactured goods exported from India are to a great extent manufactured in factories owned and managed by foreigners. The vast majority of Indians live in

villages and live, directly or indirectly, on or by agriculture.

Some idea of the material condition of the villages can be gathered from the following remarks of Mr. Coatman:

"Although an appreciable improvement has taken place in the standard of living of the Indian agricultural masses during the past quarter of a century, this only represents the genesis of what has yet to be accomplished. There is a vast amount of what can only be termed dangerous poverty in the Indian villages—poverty that is of such a kind that those subject to it live on the very margin of subsistence. This may be taken to be the normal state of millions of agricultural labourers who own [no] land themselves, and whose income consists mostly of customary wages paid in kind." "The Indian agriculturist has, as a rule, no resources on which to fall back in bad times. Even at the best of times he has to wait for six months for the return for his labour and expenditure." (P. 78.)

Mr. Coatman continues:

"In addition to these economic distresses the Indian villager normally finds himself bound in a chain of circumstances adverse to his welfare and prosperity. In the first place, innumerable villages all over India are foci of preventable disease which causes immense economic wastage." (P. 79.)

Elsewhere this official writer states:

"India is primarily a land of small villages and tiny hamlets; towns are few, and of great cities there are but rare specimens. There are fully half a million villages in India, and of these, immense numbers are diminutive clusters of mud-huts microscopic in scale when compared with the immensity of plain or mountain in which they are set. Only a very small proportion of these villages are touched by the railway or by metalled roads. The vast majority of them are approached by unmetalled roads or winding paths between the fields, the former usually impassable, or almost impassable, by wheeled traffic after rain, whilst the latter cannot afford passage to a wheeled vehicle at any time." (P. 71.)

The New Press Ordinance

In a previous note we have ventured a guess that British statesmen in authority would give a demonstration of their power of repression, and after that they might strike a generous pose and proceed to confer on India what in their opinion are "boons." The revival of the Press Act of 1910, repealed in 1922, with certain additions to make it more effective and applicable to the present situation, is the latest means of repression adopted by Lord Irwin's Government.

In our opinion, it would have been better if Lord Irwin had promulgated an ordinance suppressing all newspapers except those owned and edited by Anglo-Indians and except also some Moderate papers like *The Bengalee* of Calcutta. In that case the public would have been able to perceive the result of the most effective form of repression in this line and adapted their actions as well as their inaction to the new state of things. It is better to kill the nationalist Press outright than to scotch it. A gagged and emasculated Press is an apology for the Fourth Estate.

In his statement relating to the ordinance Lord Irwin says that "the measure is not designed to restrict the just liberties of the press or to check the fair criticism of the administration." But who are the men who will decide what are the *just* liberties of the press and what is *fair* criticism of the administration? They are the bureaucrats who and whose actions come in for criticism. The assurance given by Lord Irwin is, therefore, useless. Nay, it is worse. It seeks to produce the impression that Freedom of the Press remains unimpaired; but it is an unfounded impression.

Realities are always to be preferred to cloaks which disguise them. It is for that reason that we have said that thorough suppression of the Indian Press would have been preferable to their gagging and emasculation. Total suppression would no doubt have meant a great economic hardship to numbers of men who make their living by publishing and helping in the publication of our newspapers. But such hardship would have been small in comparison with the economic distress produced by the ruin of most of India's indigenous industries by which millions of our countrymen lived.

A well conducted Press is a tower of strength to all good causes, including the cause of liberty. But when it is hampered in its activities, it cannot fulfil its function. It is then better for it to cease to exist. For, then, in the absence of a Press, people can think of and devise other means of gaining their object in various fields of human endeavour.

It should not be forgotten that, in the long history of civilization, the Press has made its appearance only in comparatively modern times. It has been a great help and has made life more interesting. But even in ages before it was born, people managed to

live happy and cultured lives. What is more to the point in the present situation is the fact that people in bondage in those days managed to win freedom in spite of the absence of a Press. So nobody need despond. India will be free in spite of the Press ordinance.

In the course of his statement Lord Irwin says :

The Civil Disobedience movement, whatever may have been the professed object of those who launched it, is rapidly developing, as all reasonable men foresaw, into violent resistance to constituted authority. The riot at Calcutta and Karachi, the armed outbreak at Chittagong and the grave disturbances at Peshawar show clearly that the spirit of revolution fostered by the civil disobedience movement is a beginning to emerge in dangerous forms.

We have already pointed out the fallacy underlying statements and reasoning like the above. It is *not* the Civil Disobedience movement which has developed into violent resistance to constituted authority, for example, in Calcutta, Karachi, Chittagong and Peshawar. The men implicated in the disturbances in those places were not manufacturers or hawkers of contraband salt who suddenly or gradually developed symptoms of violence;—they were groups of men different from the civil resisters. Nor should it be said or suggested that but for Civil Disobedience the recent disturbances would not have taken place. Similar and worse disturbances and outbreaks took place in India long before Civil Disobedience was planned, started or heard of. Events happening at one and the same time may not have any causal connection. *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc* ("After this, therefore on account of it") is a type of fallacious reasoning with which even undergraduates in their teens are acquainted.

When the Press Act of 1910, of which the present ordinance is a replica with added terrors, was debated in the old Imperial Council, the late Messrs. G. K. Gokhale and Bhupendranath Basu and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya fought against its passage. It was in vain that they pointed out that the Bill was unnecessary, that it would drive discontent and sedition underground, and so on and so forth. It was passed in spite of their stalwart opposition. And now, referring to its repeal in 1922, Lord Irwin records : "It was suggested at the time that the Act was not wholly effective."

We are far from suggesting that all journalists understand the responsibilities and duties.

of their profession and do their work in an exemplary manner. But he would not be considered a sane or a wise statesman who would propose to fetter and handcuff all or most men or cut off their hands and feet on the ground that there are some thieves, robbers, murderers and incendiaries among mankind.

What the Press Ordinance is Like

The Associated Press has furnished the dailies with a summary of the provisions of the Press ordinance, portions of which are reproduced below for purposes of comment and information :

Its main provisions are almost the same as those of the Press Act of 1910, but there are several important additions to cope with the present situation. It provides for power whereby the presses which print and the newspapers which publish certain matters, are liable to have their security forfeited—if any security has been deposited. The ordinance does not make it obligatory for every keeper of a press and publisher of a newspaper to give security. In the case of existing presses and newspapers no security need be deposited unless the local Government requires this to be done.

It may be assumed that the local Government will require security from existing presses and newspapers which give direct encouragement to revolutionary and civil disobedience movements.

The operative clause (clause 4) reads :

Whenever it appears to the local Government that any printing-press in respect of which any security has been deposited as required by section 3, is used for the purpose of printing or publishing any newspaper, book or other documents containing any words or signs of visible representations which are likely or may have a tendency directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise,

(A) to incite to murder or to any offence under the Explosive Substances Act of 1858 or to any act of violence or

(B) to seduce any officer, soldier, sailor or airman in the army, navy or air force of His Majesty or any police officer from his allegiance or his duty or

(C) to bring into hatred or contempt His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India or the administration of Justice in British India or any Indian Prince or Chief under the Sovereignty of His Majesty or any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India or to excite disaffection towards His Majesty or the said Government or any such Prince or Chief or

(D) to put any person in fear or to cause annoyance to him and thereby induce him to deliver to any person any property or valuable security or to do or to omit to do any act which he is legally entitled to do or

(E) to encourage or incite any person to interfere with the administration of the law or with the maintenance of law and order or to commit any offence or to refuse or defer payment of any land revenue tax, rate, cess or other due or the amount payable to Government or to any local authority or any rent of agricultural land or anything recoverable as arrears of, or along with such rent or

(F) to induce a public servant or a servant of a local authority to do any act or to forbear or delay to do any act connected with the exercise of his public functions or to resign office or

(G) to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between the different classes of His Majesty's subjects or

(H) to prejudice the recruiting of persons to serve in any of His Majesty's forces or in any police force or to prejudice the training, discipline or administration of any such force,

The Local Government may, by notice in writing to the keeper of such printing-press stating or describing the words, "signs" or "visible representations" which in its opinion are of the nature described above, declare the security deposited in respect of such press and all copies of such newspapers, book or other document, wherever found in British India, to be forfeited to His Majesty's Government.

It may be pointed out that, in this operative clause, sub-clauses (E) for the greater part and (F), (G) and (H) are entirely new offences.

Another addition in the ordinance to the old Press Act is in clause twenty-three which says: "Where a deposit is required from the keeper of a printing-press under sub-section one or sub-section three of section three or under section five (relating to the deposit of a further security) such press shall not be used for printing or publishing any newspapers, book or other document until the deposit has been made, and where any printing-press is used in contravention of sub-section one, the local Government may, by notice in writing to the keeper thereof, declare the press so used and any other printing-press found in or upon the premises where such press was so used, to be forfeited to His Majesty and the provisions of section seven (issue of search warrant) shall apply."

There is a provision for appeal to the High Court, where the case will be heard by a special bench of three judges.

After the first deposit has been forfeited a higher deposit may be demanded and in case of presses, if any offence is again committed, both cash deposit and the press may be forfeited.

Most of the offences enumerated in the ordinance were already punishable under some penal law or other in force at present. Therefore, so far as these are concerned, the ordinance is a redundancy. Men could be punished for them after trial in the ordinary law-courts according to the ordinary processes of law. But now their security deposits, the offending newspapers or other publications and the printing presses may be forfeited

by a mere order of the local Government. No doubt, whenever a printer, publisher or editor is prosecuted by the Government, his conviction generally follows automatically, but still there is a chance given for a defence and in rare cases there is even acquittal. Moreover, only the offender is punished. But the ordinance by forfeiting the entire plant and materials of printing firms would punish all those who are directly or indirectly dependent upon the same for their livelihood. This may be Martial Law justice of a sort, but it is certainly not equity ; for all the employees and beneficiaries of printing publishing or newspaper offices are not responsible for what is printed and published. According to the ordinary law of the land, a political offender may be fined only up to a certain fixed amount. But the forfeiture of printing establishments would be equivalent to fines of varying degrees of heaviness. Some presses may be worth a few hundred or a few thousand rupees, whilst others may be worth a lakh or more. So, for the same kind of offence, some men may be practically fined only a few hundred rupees, whilst others would be fined a lakh or more, by the forfeiture of their presses. This is not equal justice.

The new sub-clauses added make some acts criminal offences which are parts of passive resistance and civil disobedience movements. Lord Hardinge declared the Passive Resistance movement in South Africa entirely constitutional. But a successor of his makes the promotion of civil disobedience criminal. Let jurists decide whether the promotion of what is constitutional can, according to sound legal principles, be made a crime. Non-payment of a particular tax or taxes is part of passive resistance. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, the foremost Liberal of his day, considered it quite constitutional. That does not, of course, mean that if a man does not pay a tax, he is not to suffer the penalty. It only means that, though the passive resister must suffer when he does not pay a tax or violates a law even in a non-violent manner, the movement of passive resistance or civil disobedience is not criminal, and if anybody speaks or writes in support of it or promotes it, he does not commit a crime. The advocacy of murder is a crime, but the advocacy of passive resistance is not a crime. But now the new ordinance makes it a crime to speak well of passive resistance or civil disobedience of any kind. So,

armed rebellion and its promotion are crimes, and passive resistance and promotion of passive resistance are also crimes of the same hue. The British law in India does not furnish any moral ground for preferring the latter to the former. Both are tarred with the same brush. This is levelling down with a vengeance. For a press may be forfeited for incitement to murder and also for supporting or approving of the non-payment of some unjust and oppressive tax. Does the law then mean to say that a political assassin is no worse than a civil resister? Would not that indirectly amount to unintentionally putting a premium upon the heinous offence of political murder?

The right of resistance then of any kind is now denied by the British-made law of India. The only correct attitude then for us is to lie low, lick the dust, whine out prayers petitions and humble protests and indulge only in such criticisms as may seem fair in the eyes of our infallible masters.

But the Indian Press will survive this humiliation, this fettering, this gagging and this emasculation, and continue to do its duty. May Lord Irwin live sufficiently long to find out his mistake and repent, and continue to be a friend of India ever afterwards!

Following Lord Irwin's statement, wiseacres observe that those newspapers which indulge in fair criticism need not be afraid. This assurance has no value at all. The new ordinance will be worked by the same kind of men who administered the old Act of 1910. Well-known papers like the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the *Bombay Chronicle*, the *Tribune* of Lahore, the *Punjabi* of Lahore, the *Hindu* of Madras, the *Independent* of Allahabad, received the friendly attentions of that Act. It would be absurd to pretend to believe that all these papers exceeded the bounds of fair criticism.

The offences have been described in such elastic, comprehensive and vague terms that if any Indian newspaper escapes it will be by the mercy of the powers that be, not because of technical innocence. It is humiliating to work with a batter round one's neck which may be tightened at any moment.

An appeal would lie to the High Court against orders of forfeiture. That is an illusory safe-guard.

When a book, a pamphlet or a newspaper draws upon itself the wrath of a local Government, it does not mean that the provincial

nor has read it. He is too busy and august a person to do so. Even the Secretary may not have read it, nor Executive Councillor. During the *India Indage* trial Mr. Chief Secretary Hopkyns Sir Provas Chandra Mitter, an Executive Councillor, admitted that they had not read it, nor did they know who had read it. But all the same two men were tried and punished in connection with its publication. Similarly, a press may be forced on the strength of the opinion of some ruling who has read some "objectionable" publication in question, and that without any

"Give us Darkness, O Lord!"

In all ages and climes saints and sinners and seekers have prayed for light, more light. The bureaucracy in India do not seem to belong to any of these classes of seekers; for the press ordinance is virtually a prayer for darkness and still more darkness. Complete liberty of the press, even licence, with its disadvantages, has at least one use—namely it enables both officials and non-officials to know the worst of what men are doing, thinking, imagining, etc. The new ordinance will make men think, not twice, but many times before they print and publish even if it is perfectly true but irritating to those in power. In consequence, the rulers of the land, like others, will be entirely in the dark as regards some aspects of contemporary history.

The ordinance is calculated to keep men in the dark about many things Indian, not only in India, but also abroad. For the Press Act of 1910 which it revives contains a provision (section 15) authorizing the detention of certain articles being transmitted by post. And we know that even letters sent from or to India are opened, read and copied surreptitiously, delayed in delivery and sometimes intercepted. Cables are also intercepted or refused transmission or ignored. Such being the case, it would not be unfair to conclude that there are powerful forces in India operating to keep the world outside India, including Great Britain, in ignorance of much that is happening in India. Some recent cables from England show that many publicists there do not like this policy.

What Will Moderates Do ?

The Committee which was appointed to bring about unity among all non-Congress groups so that a united demand might be presented at the Round Table Conference at London is to meet two weeks hence at Bombay. One would like to know whether the Press Ordinance had brought about any change in the attitude of our Moderate or Liberal friends.

The Press Act of 1910 and the Registration of Books Act of 1867 were considered by a Committee appointed in February 1921, which reported in July the same year, recommending among other things the repeal of the Press Act. Much of the credit for its repeal belonged to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who was then Law Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council. His work has now been undone. Of the Conference of all non-Congress parties which has appointed the aforesaid Committee, Dr. Sapru is the leading spirit. Does he and his fellow-Liberals still think, after the promulgation of the Press Ordinance, not to speak of the resignation of Mr. V. J. Patel, that Indians can usefully and honourably take part in the Round Table Conference? All the prominent political parties boycotted the Simon Commission. Should not the Round Table Conference be similarly boycotted, seeing that it is a super-Simon Commission camouflaged to look like something different and more glorious? Had we ever supported the proposed Round Table Conference, which we never did, now after the gagging of the Press we would certainly have urged its boycott. We would have demanded the withdrawal of the ordinance as a condition precedent to joining the Conference.

Mr. Patel's Second Letter to the Viceroy

Ex-President Patel's second letter to the Viceroy has been released for publication. In it among other things he says:

In 1927 when he went to England he also tried to convey the real situation to His Majesty, Lord Birkenhead and other leading public men of England, but when an all-White Simon Commission was appointed he felt that his advice had fallen on deaf ears.

The letter gives glimpses of how he gradually got completely disillusioned.

At the Conference on the 23rd December at the Viceroy's house when His Excellency could not give an assurance to Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit

Motilal Nehru that his Government would support the immediate establishment of the Dominion form of Government as a condition before participating in the Round Table Conference. Mr. Patel thought Mahatma Gandhi was somewhat unreasonable but subsequent events, *viz.*, the speech of Earl Russell, His Excellency's address at the Assembly, numerous prosecutions of public men and Imperial Preference completely disillusioned him.

When writing this second letter did Mr. Patel really hope that Lord Irwin would in the least give ear to his appeal, or did he adopt that form of writing to say things which otherwise he could not have said. For we read:

Mr. Patel appeals to His Excellency to invite Mahatma Gandhi to a settlement and says: "If for any reason you find yourself unable to persuade the British Government to accept in substance the suggestion I have made, my advice is that you should tender resignation of your high office rather than allow your great name being associated with the campaign of repression designed to suppress the legitimate aspirations of millions of human beings."

Concluding the letter Mr. Patel says: "Your influence with all parties in England is great and you enjoy in an abundant measure the confidence of the Secretary of State and the British Government. If therefore, you take courage and rise to the occasion, you will serve both India and England as no man has served in the past. If you fail, it must be India's good-bye to England."

Englishmen's Duty to England and India

Sir John Strachey, as Finance Member of the Government of India, said on the 15th March 1877:

"We are often told that it is the duty of the Government of India to think of the Indian interests alone, and that if the interests of Manchester suffer it is no affair of ours. For my part, I utterly repudiate such doctrines; I have not ceased to be an Englishman because I have spent a greater part of my life in India and have become a member of the Indian Government. The interests of Manchester, at which foolish people sneer, are the interests not only of the great and intelligent population engaged directly in the trade in cotton, but of millions of Englishmen. I am not ashamed to say that while I hope that I feel as strongly as any man the duties which I owe to India, there is no higher duty in my estimation than that which I owe to my own country."

28 Centuries Old Indian Civilization in Indo-China

The Paris edition of an American paper publishes the following paragraphs:

SAIGON, French Indo-China—The interlocking roots of immense trees grown upon the sites of ancient royal palaces are impeding exploration of

the ruins of pre-Khmer architecture, being conducted here by a French mission.

Yet statutes and inscriptions dating at least 900 years before the Christian era have been found.

Sambor, a more ancient city than Angkor in the thick Cambodian jungle north of Phnom-Penh in the province of Kompoung-Thom, once known as the "mysterious city," has yielded to the picks, and dynamite of the expedition, under the leadership of M. Goleubew, samples of sculpture of 900 B. C.

One of the inscriptions informed the finders that the temple to whose walls it had been fastened was built by Queen Sakamanjari and her royal consort Isanavarman the First, in honor of "Siva, the god who dances and laughs." The sculpture shows Siva and three girls, one of whom is playing a long flute, another slapping cymbals, while the third hammers a kettledrum.

Contrary to the usual difficulties encountered in excavation work, the Khmer monuments have not been buried by earth sand or mud, but by the impenetrable tropical forest through which the workers spend days trying to clear a path. In some cases trees have grown through monuments, dislocating them from their bases, says Associated Press.

Indian archaeologists and students of archaeology have a field of training and co-operation with French archaeologists here. They and also others may try to re-establish cultural relations between India and French Indo-China.

Mr. Ratcliffe on American Interest in India

Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe lectured to the East India Association at the Caxton Hall on "India and America."

MR. RATCLIFFE said that the interest of the United States in India was certain to increase. No English visitor to the United States could fail to note the evidence of widespread interest in India and her problems. To no small extent the views of the American public upon Indian political questions had been influenced by the active work in the United States of Indian writers and speakers most of them being identified with the more extreme position. Their influence had been, during past two years, counteracted to some extent by the widespread sale of Miss Katherine Mayo's highly controversial book, "Mother India." While looked upon with suspicion by the anti-Imperialist section of American opinion, this book had had a strong influence among American women and the church-going population generally. They had welcomed it as providing evidence that could be used to prove the superiority of Western over Oriental civilization. It was to be expected—since every Imperial system was criticized severely by other countries—that during the approaching discussions and practical difficulties following the Simon Report much of the comment in America would be adverse to the British Government. But it was not unreasonable to hope that there was to-day a larger recognition among educated Americans of the immense difficulties of the British position.

Mark the words "to hope."

The *Times* report adds that Sir Albion Banerji said that "often in the absence of reliable information the American Press and people were misled, sometimes by Indians lacking a sense of responsibility." Is there no misrepresentation by anti-Indian British and American hirelings?

Why are the British in Palestine?

At a meeting held in the Victoria Hotel, London, sometime ago, members of the executive of the Seventh (Palestine) Dominion League expressed their views on the situation in Palestine to a number of journalists.

After a discussion, Commander Kenworthy, M.P., speaking "as a pacifist," enumerated the strategical advantages of Palestine. In the present state of the world this country could not evacuate a region and allow any other power to establish itself in close proximity to the Suez Canal. Palestine was also an important stage on the Indian air-route, and the finest deep-water port in the Levant was being constructed at Haifa. Haifa, he believed, would become the terminus of the great pipe-line which would link the vast oil-fields of Mosul with the Mediterranean.

Are mandated territories like Palestine to be made permanent parts of the British Empire for strategic and economic reasons? And is India to be held down in her present position as long as Britain can do so?

Travel for Students

While our students are seldom taken round even their own country, other countries give their students the educational advantages of travel. The recent tour of some English school boys in India is well known. Germany does similar things.

A visit of a unique character has just been made to an English public school by a party of German school-boys. The top form of the largest and, in the opinion of some, the most progressive secondary school in Germany came over with two of their masters, and lived for a week at Gresham's School, Holt, at the invitation of the headmaster, Mr. J. R. Eccles.

The visit was the outcome of a tour in Germany by boys from Wellington, Cheltenham, Christ's Hospital, and Gresham's School, organized by Toc H. that took place last Easter. This party was entertained

by the Aufbauschule, of Neukolin, in Berlin, and the German visit is the direct result of conversations that took place then.

The visit, which must be almost the first of its kind, cannot but be the beginning of a work of international co-operation in education that must strengthen the hands of those who are working for conciliation between nations.

Plans are under way at Pomona College, Glenda, California to send a party of ten Pomona graduates and upper class men to the Orient to study oriental life, conditions and problems in the field, especially China; to bring in closer social and intellectual contact students of the East and West and thus aid in the world-wide movement to exchange knowledge and understanding. Each member of the party will later write a thesis covering at least one primary phase of his study, including such subjects as transportation, highways, fine arts, social transformation, and economic progress. These will be submitted to the College after the return of the students. In addition, each one will write a section of the book it is proposed to assemble—a first-hand symposium on student life in China. The motion picture will also be used extensively for this purpose.

Exchange of Students and Professors

Berlin. Fifty-six German students have been sent to American universities during the past year by the German committee for providing an exchange of students.

The committee revealed that 13 students had been sent to French universities and 19 from foreign countries had been enrolled at Heidelberg.

In addition professors from German universities had been placed in American and French universities in exchange for professors from those countries placed here.

Chinese Naval Cadets in British Naval College

Vice-Admiral Chen Shao-kuang, acting Minister of the Chinese Navy and commander of the second Squadron, and a party of Chinese naval officers and cadets, who have now left China for England to obtain training and to continue their studies in Greenwich Naval College, paid a visit to H.M.S. Bee, flagship of the Yangtze Flotilla, and H. M. S. Bridgewater.

In the course of an address, Admiral Chen said, the British Government had shown its friendliness to the Chinese people by its willingness to render assistance to the Chinese Navy, so that China would have a strong sea force when she was unified.

Foreigners had never been admitted to Greenwich College in the past, and the cadets were the first Chinese party to obtain training there.

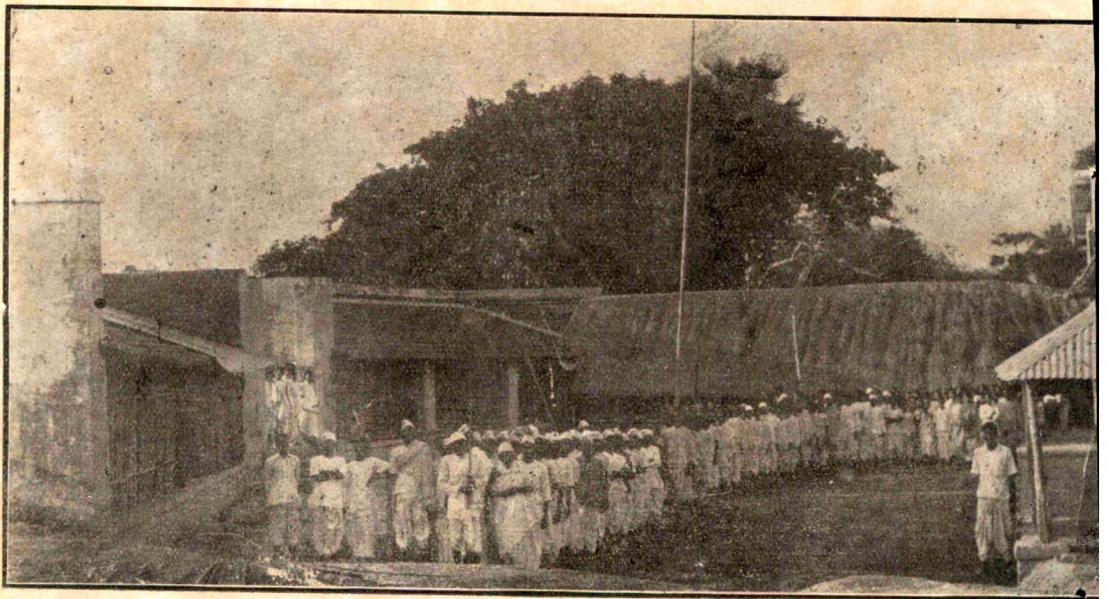
There is nothing surprising in Chinese being more favoured by Britain as regards facilities for naval education than Indians. For Britishers are our "trustees."



Mahatmaji going to the seashore
to break the Salt Laws



Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta who has been
Mayor of Calcutta for the fifth time. Mr.
Gupta it will be recalled is now in prison



Volunteers' Muster at Contai

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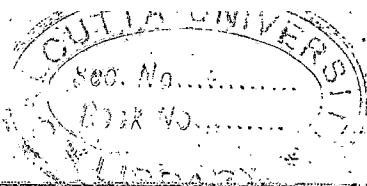
MANAGER, THE MODERN REVIEW

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY S. K. DAS, AT THE PRABASI PRESS,
120-2 UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD, CALCUTTA



BUDDHA'S RENUNCIATION
By Ramendranath Chakravarty

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.



VOL. XLVII
NO. 6

JUNE, 1930

WHOLE NO.
282

A Great Seer

By MOHANDAS KARAMOHAND GANDHI

[Editor's Note.—This brief article by Mahatma Gandhi has a little history behind it. Years ago—it may be ten or fifteen years ago,—I read in one of the literary productions of the Mahatma that, of the three moderns who have left a deep impress on his life, he was more indebted to the Gujarati poet Rajchandra or Raychandbhai than to any one else. On reading this I wrote to Gandhi-ji to favour me with an article on Rajchandra. He promised to give me the article. But as he has been for years past a very busy man, I did not send him any reminders and he forgot all about it. Last year I requested him to send me a short article and incidentally reminded him of his former promise. In reply, he wrote to me from Wardha on the 16th December last :

“Dear Ramanand Babu, I received your letter of 26th Nov. only to-day. You want me to give you 1000 words. It is like drawing 1000 live teeth at present. And you wanted this for your X'mas number. Does it not mean I am too late? But if I am not, to find time for writing out something of the size you want, is physically impossible. Every minute is premortgaged.

“I have forgotten all about the promise, but I would gladly fulfil it if you can wait and send me a reminder, if you find that I am still not resting somewhere near Yerowada in January.

Yours Sincerely
M. K. GANDHI.”

I did not send him any reminder, because every minute of his waking hours was devoted to the service of mankind. But he has kept his promise! And he has done so before being lodged in Yerowada, which he anticipated. Evidently he wrote the article on his way to Dandi. For Shriyut Pyarelal, at that time his Secretary, writes to

me : “On or about the 15th March, during our march to Dandi, I sent you per registered post an article on Sjt. Raychand which Gandhi-ji had written for the *Modern Review* in fulfilment of his outstanding promise.”]

KAVI Rajchandra was born in a place called Vavana in Kathiawad. I came in touch with him in 1891, the day of my return from London, at Dr. P. J. Mehta's residence in Bombay. Kavi, as I used to call him, was nearly related to Dr. Mehta. He was introduced to me as a *Shatavadhani*, i. e., one who can remember a hundred things at a time. Kavi was quite young at the time, not much older than I was then, i. e., 21 years. He had however given up all public exhibition of his powers and was given to purely religious pursuits. I was much struck by his simplicity and independence of judgment. He was free from all touch of blind orthodoxy. What struck me perhaps more was his combining business with religion in practice. A student of the philosophy of religion, he tried to practise what he believed. Himself a Jain, his toleration of the other creeds was remarkable. He had a chance of going to England for studies, but he would not go. He would not learn English. His schooling was quite elementary. But he was a genius. He knew Sanskrit, Magadhi and, I believe, Pali. He was a voracious reader of religious literature and



Kavi Rajchandra

had acquired through Gujarati sources a knowledge, enough for his purpose, of Islam,

Christianity and Zoroastrianism. Such was the man who captivated my heart in religious matters as no other man has till now. I have said elsewhere that in moulding my inner life Tolstoy and Ruskin vied with Kavi. But Kavi's influence was undoubtedly deeper if only because I had come in closest personal touch with him. His judgment appealed to my moral sense in the vast majority of cases. The bedrock of his faith was unquestionably *ahimsa*. His *ahimsa* was not of the crude type we witness to-day among its so-called votaries who confine their attention merely to the saving of aged cattle and insect life. His *ahimsa*, if it included the tiniest insect, also covered the whole of humanity.

Yet I never could regard Kavi as a perfect man. But of all the men I knew he appeared to me to be nearer perfection than the rest. Alas! he died all too young (thirty-three years) when he felt that he was surely going to see truth face to face. He has left many worshippers but not as many followers. His writings, largely consisting of soulful letters to inquirers, have been collected and published. An attempt is being made to have them translated in *Hindi*. I know that they would bear an English translation. They are largely based on inward experience.

Napa

18-3-1930

Rev. C. F. Andrews in America

BY DR. J. T. SUNDERLAND

I am writing from New York, on this seventh day of April, to tell the readers of *The Modern Review* something about the important visit of Mr. Andrews to this country, which has just come to an end. He has been here about four months, and yesterday sailed for England. The evening before his departure the Women's University Club of New York, one of the most important women's organizations of the city, gave an "Indian dinner" in its fine club house, with Mr. Andrews as the leading speaker. He could hardly have received a warmer

"send-off," or more numerous, or more ardent expressions of desire for his return.

His months here have been crowded with work. I wonder that he could have accomplished so much. His activities have taken four forms:

I. PUBLIC SPEAKING

He has preached in many churches, where his deeply religious spirit has made a profound impression. In his sermons he has pleaded for a higher type of Christianity; one more like that of Jesus than the

Christianity displayed in most of the churches of the world; a Christianity of universal love and goodwill; one that teaches and practices brotherhood between rich and poor and between all races of mankind; one that settles all difficulties arising among nations by methods of friendship; that is, by conciliation and arbitration, and never by the brutal method of war. He has spoken often of Mahatma Gandhi—telling of the loftiness of his aims, the depth and sincerity of his piety, the nobleness, purity, and strength of his character; the close identity of his religion with that of the Sermon on the Mount; his very important "spinning wheel movement" through which he is doing so much to relieve the awful poverty of millions by introducing hand-spinning and weaving into homes; his ceaseless activity in all the most important social reforms of the country, such as the removal of the opium menace and the drink menace; the abolition of child marriage and *purda*; the mitigation of the evils of caste, and the lifting up of the untouchables. All these subjects he has not hesitated to introduce in some degrees into his sermons.

But the larger part of his speaking has been done in the form of lectures and addresses, delivered in great numbers, in colleges and schools, in theatres, halls and private parlours, and before all kinds of gatherings. In these addresses, he has spoken more or less on social, educational and religious conditions in India, but most often on political conditions and the present very serious political crisis.

Realizing that it was more important for him to get a hearing in New York than anywhere else, he spoke here oftener than elsewhere. But he travelled widely, visiting our Southern, Middle-Western and New England States and Canada, and speaking in most of the largest cities, including Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago and Montreal.

II. WRITING FOR THE AMERICAN PRESS

Mr. Andrews has been remarkably successful in getting a hearing through the press. Not fewer than half a dozen extended articles from his pen have appeared in our best magazines and reviews, such as the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Yale Review*, and others of like standing. Also the daily papers have been freely open to him, and

in these he has had a number of letters and short articles of importance.

He is so well known in India that readers of *The Modern Review* need not be told his views on Indian problems generally. Yet it may interest them to learn something of what he has thought it important and necessary to say in America, in order to correct misunderstandings like those caused by Miss Mayo, and to do what he could to create a popular sentiment here in sympathy with India's determination to shake off her bondage and attain once more a place among the world's great nations. The theme on which he has both written and spoken oftenest and which seemed most to interest the American people has been Mahatma Gandhi. Unquestionably he has done more than has ever been done before; to give America a true idea of what India's great saint and public leader is and is not, and what he is and is not endeavouring to achieve for the Indian people, politically, socially, educationally, and religiously.

Mr. Andrews has defended earnestly India's right to freedom, her right to freedom now; and her full competence to rule herself as soon as proper arrangements can be made to transfer the government from the hands of present officials to those of officials, national, provincial and local, elected by the Indian people themselves. As between independence and dominion status, he declared his preference for the latter. He deplored what he regards as the great mistake of Great Britain in not granting it last year. He looks forward to the proposed Round Table Conference, which is to be held in London, with a faint hope that the result of it may be a definite offer of dominion status which India may possibly be able to accept even yet. But he stands strongly with the National Congress and with Gandhi in holding that India must have self-government in some real and substantial form soon, and he firmly supports Gandhi's non-violent, non-co-operation movement.

III. INTERVIEWS

Mr. Andrews has done much valuable work for India in private ways, by interviews and conversations with influential public leaders, thus endeavouring to influence American public opinion through them. For example, he has had long conversations with a number of influential national officials

concerning the injustice done to Indians by our present naturalization laws, and has obtained promises from them to look into the matter more carefully than they had done, and to exert their influence to right the wrongs.

IV. A NEW BOOK

While here Mr. Andrews secured the publication of an important book upon which for some time he has been working, namely, *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*. The work is issued by the great Macmillan Publishing House, and I am glad to say is already having a large sale. He told me that he hopes to follow it in perhaps four months with another—a companion volume entitled "The Story of Gandhi" (Gandhi's Life or Biography). I was also greatly pleased to have him add that he is planning to do for the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, (a little later), essentially the same service that he is now doing for Mahatma Gandhi, namely, give the world one or two books on him (Tagore). Unquestionably he is the best able of any living man to portray for the world the real Gandhi and the real Tagore.

I have said that Mr. Andrews goes from here directly to England. He is expecting to stay there three or four months, working to help India, and also to help Britain, in the serious crisis which is upon both nations. He hopes to be there at the time of the report of the Simon Commission and the holding of the promised Round Table Conference. He will do all in his power to influence Great Britain to be just to India, and to help India to secure freedom and self-government soon and without bloodshed. He

is not sanguine as to what he can accomplish; but he will do his best.

I trust my readers will pardon me if I say a word in closing, about my book, *India in Bondage*, which appeared chapter by chapter in *The Modern Review*, was published in book form by the honoured editor of *The Review*, passed quickly through a first edition, went far into a second, and then was suppressed by the British Government. It is interesting to reflect that its suppression has called out many and weighty protests, not only in India but in America and even on the floor of the British House of Commons. You will be glad to be informed that an American edition of the book has been published,* which is attracting wide attention and sales—all the wider because the work was suppressed in India.

You may also be interested to know that almost the last act of Mr. Andrews before leaving America, was to ask permission, on reaching England, to arrange, if he can, for the publication of an English edition, for which he expressed his wish to write an introduction. The friends of India in America are all glad that Mr. Andrews came, and stayed so long. We are sure that he has rendered an important service to both India and America, by helping to create a better understanding between the two countries, and also by opening the eyes of not a few Americans to the fact that India's struggle is a matter of world concern. The world can never have permanent peace so long as one-sixth of the human race is in bondage.

* By the Lewis Copeland Co., 119 West 57th St., New York City

The New President of Chicago University

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M. A., PH. D.,

Lecturer in Political Science, State University of Iowa

WITH stately academic ceremonies Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins was installed last month as the fifth President of the University of Chicago. The thirty-seven-year-old Chicago University is a leader among institutions of higher learning in America. It is a mammoth educational plant. It was founded by John D. Rockefeller and possesses immense material resources. There are today only two or three universities in the United States whose teaching faculties can be said to rival that of Chicago. And in some of its chosen fields, the University of Chicago has no rival.

ERA OF YOUTH

Dr. Hutchins, who is only thirty years old, is the youngest President of a large university in this country, if not in the world. At twenty-five he was head of the Law School of Yale University.

In the Western World, oftener than in India, great things were done by the very young: Alexander, Napoleon, Pitt, etc. Young Captain Nelson, later Admiral and Lord Nelson, when only twenty-five, was rebuked by an older officer for youthful presumption. Young Nelson replied: "Sir, I have the honour to be of the same age as the Prime Minister of England."

The New President of the Chicago University might quote that Nelson remark to anybody criticizing his youth. He is five years older than Pitt was when he first became Prime Minister.

Age is no crime. The Indian detractors of youthful President Jawaharlal Nehru will be interested to know that there are at least two very capable members now in the United States Senate, "the highest deliberate assembly of the world," who are not yet thirty. They are admiringly referred to as "Boy Senators."

Robert M. Hutchins, who has ascended to the presidency of the University of Chicago, is just thirty. He is not much younger than its first President, the late William Rainey Harper, who took office at

thirty-four. Neither is Hutchins much younger than Charles W. Elliot, who became President of the Harvard University at thirty-five. Yet it is generally conceded that Hutchins has had more experience than either Harper or Elliot. Hutchins was Secretary of Yale University for five years, and then became Dean of Yale's Law School.

BRILLIANT CAREER

The New Chicago President was born in 1899. He joined the Italian army during the Great War, and drove an ambulance for two years. It won him a medal from the Crown of Italy. At the close of the war, he returned home and entered Yale University from which institution he received his B. A. degree in 1921.

As a student at Yale, Mr. Hutchins was self-supporting. One of the means by which he paid his expenses was the organization and management of the Co-operative Tutoring Bureau, a group of student tutors.

He took his LL.B. degree from the Law School of Yale University in 1925. Immediately he was appointed a law professor at Yale, and in little over a year he was appointed Dean of the Yale Law School.

President Hutchins has already established an enviable record as a scholar and administrator. At Yale University, for example, he was chiefly instrumental in organizing a school of Human Relations.

"As Dean of the Yale Law School," says an announcement from the University of Chicago, "he organized in co-operation with Dr. Milton C. Winternitz, Dean of the Yale Medical School, the Institute of Human Relations, which is to focus the social and biological sciences in a study of man and human relationships. As his individual contribution to this new type of study he has investigated the psychological aspects of the law of evidence.

"While Mr. Hutchins was developing the application of social science to the law, a similar experiment was being made in the

Medical School by Dean Winternitz. The two Yale experimenters in education planned their efforts in the two fields together, and finally, to correlate the programme and make it effective in all branches of human endeavour, conceived the plan of the Institute."

LEARN TO THINK

Oxford, Cambridge, Gottingen, Paris, St. Andrews, Basel, Harvard were centuries old before the University of Chicago was even a conception; but the representatives of these and a hundred other universities stood at salute to the young Chicago University, and its younger President. It was not only the academic world that paid its tribute. Governors, city officials, financiers, leaders of industry, and leaders in the domain of creative thought paid their acknowledgment to everything that the new President stood for. The entire pageant was a promise for the future of education.

That promise, implied in the ceremonial gathering, was confirmed by young Mr. Hutchins in his augural address.

"It is the object of higher education to unsettle the minds of young men, to widen their horizons, to inflame their intellects," he said. "And by this series of mixed metaphors I mean to assert that education is not to teach men facts, theories, or laws; it is not to reform them or amuse them or to make them expert technicians in any field; it is to teach them to think, to think straight, if possible; but to think always for themselves. If we should send a graduate of our law school to the bar who had memorized the Constitution and all the statutes and decisions in the country, I should think we had miserably failed, unless he had developed a critical faculty and a power of independent reasoning which probably could not live along with so much detailed information. By the same token a graduate of our law school who could not repeat a line of the Constitution, and had never got a case by heart would still be a product of whom we could be proud if he had found here a habit of work, an ability to handle his material, to effect new combinations, to exercise creative imagination, in a word, to think.

"At every age their elders have a way of underestimating the development of the young. As a result many people seem to have the notion that the processes of

education are simple and easy, that the student comes to college a sort of plastic mass to be moulded by the teacher in whatever likeness he will. It is for this reason that parents have sometimes felt they could solve their domestic problems by turning them over to the educator.

"The college is there, with all its opportunities. Broadly speaking he may take it or leave it. And what this comes down to is that if a man has not *character*, if he has not the germs of intellectual interest, if he does not care to amount to anything, the college cannot give him a character or intellectual interest or make him amount to anything. It may complete the task. It is too late to begin it."

TOUCH LIFE AS IT IS

President Hutchins declared that the Chicago University's value has been to try out ideas, to undertake new ventures to pioneer. "Research is going far toward bringing scholarship in touch with life as it is being lived today; and it may eventually lead to some slight advance in the life that is to be lived tomorrow.

"The university has learned that only by keeping in touch with reality can real life be understood. And by maintaining close contact between research and the actual problems of life—by fronting this university on reality—we can do our greatest service to humanity."

Pointing out that American institutions of higher education are turning out 120,000 graduates a year, Dr. Hutchins emphasized the need of insight to revalue the matter, methods and organization of the university, to add and modify in the light of its immense public responsibility.

The university, according to President Hutchins, is no more, no less, than the unfolding of the future. "The university will always maintain its experimental attitude," he indicated. "It may institute new advanced degrees, to represent attainment of varied objectives. The doctor of philosophy degree, for instance, is now given both to students working toward the objective of research and to those who intend to be teachers—two widely dissimilar paths, which now must be forcibly converged into one track."

CREATIVE SCHOLARSHIP

Speaking in a very subdued tone at first and always without gesticulation, he named among others the following policies which he would endeavour to carry out in the administration of the University :

1. Increase of professorial salaries.
2. Radical reforms in the methods of the University's undergraduate colleges to the end that the specially gifted student shall not be held back by the mediocrities.
3. The widening of experimental work and the intensification of the trying out of ideas.
4. Closer co-operation of the University's experts on such problems as "the problem of the family" a problem which will involve the co-operation of eleven departments of the University, from art to chemistry, and of seven of its professional schools, from divinity to medicine."
5. Devising of the best methods of preparing men and women for research and creative scholarship, on the one hand, and for teaching, on the other.

The inaugural address of President Hutchins glittered with the gems of many valuable thoughts. Thus :

"A University is not a collection of buildings, nor a collection of books, nor even a collection of students. It is a community of scholars. It is men and nothing but men that make education."

"If the first teaching staff of the University of Chicago had met in a tent, this would still have been a great university."

"We are dedicated to the proposition that all men are entitled to whatever education they can use effectively."

"Only by keeping in touch with reality can real life be understood."

"The unfortunate circumstance that universities were founded by people who could read, and were proud of it, has tended to emphasize the importance of that exercise and to make the library the great centre of scientific inquiry."

"Emphasis on productive scholarship (as distinguished from teaching undergraduates) has characterized the University of Chicago from the beginning and must characterize it to the end."

Reading between the lines one can easily see that what Mr. Hutchins was stressing was the urgency of making education more and more scientific, of acquiring the scientific point of view. The facts thus far brought out by science are of course incomplete and changeable, because the methods of science are not yet perfect. Human mind has not yet attained omni-

science. But the task of the scholar is to search for truth by the most perfect methods of observation available at any given time. He should be the vanguard of scientific knowledge. To him science will always mean as the effort to discover truth by the method of observation and experimentation. This would cover social as well as natural science. It was not what Mr. Hutchins actually said, but it must have been in the back of his mind.



Robert Maynard Hutchins.

BRIGHT FUTURE

The eminent assembly of 2,500 learned guests listened to the promises, theories, and prophecies that the thirty-year-old leader of education voiced. It was his day, utterly his day when the ceremonies ended with his father standing before him to be honoured by the University of Chicago at President Hutchins' hands. Halting, modest, the father—William James Hutchins, President of Berea College, Kentucky—gazed down and took the hood of the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from his son,

Robert Maynard Hutchins. Impressive as were the ceremonial and the pageantry of what young Hutchins called "the greatest day of my life," the bestowal of the honorary degree upon his white-haired father was the most striking feature of the inauguration. It moved the beholders of the scene most deeply and will linger in their memory the longest.

Toward the eleventh hour of a day, crowded with speeches, songs and feasting, up rose Dr. George E. Vincent, retiring President of the Rockefeller Foundation. He took exception to the orations which showed a tendency to gush over Mr. Hutchins as "the boy wonder."

"President Hutchins is more, much more than that," implored Dr. Vincent. "Think of the multitude of senile adolescents

who will never grow up! Modern science has changed our ideas about age. Character and personality are nowadays not questions of chronology. Mere exposure to experience is no guarantee of wisdom. The vast majority register foggy outlines. Many require a long time exposure. Others, like the new President, have quick lenses.

"He has been promptly tested on both sides and has won early recognition for alert intelligence, resourceful imagination, a pioneering spirit, and a delightful personality. The University of Chicago and the City of Chicago hail him. Under his leadership the institution will make steady advance as a vital, stimulating, productive servant of the community, the nation and mankind."

Prolonged applause.



Industrial Reconstruction and Industrial Efficiency

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D.

II

3. DEVELOPMENT OF ENTERPRISE

INDUSTRIALIZATION and rationalization will not only establish the existing Indian industries on a more solid and economical basis both for national prosperity and international competition, but they will also stimulate new industrial enterprises and create new industrial opportunities. Their immediate effect might, however, tend to diminish the number of occupations in certain industries, especially in the transitional period of reorganization, as already referred to.

The most important effect of rationalization will be the decrease in the proportion of the population dependent upon agriculture which is at present too large. Civilization has reached such a stage of development and the requirements of modern life have become so fine, complex and numerous, that most of the modern nations employ from one-third to half of their actual workers for the production of the basic necessities, such as foodstuff and raw material. But the proportion of actual workers employed in agriculture with respect to the total actual workers amounts to 73 per cent in India as compared with 8 per cent in England and Wales, 32 per cent in the United States, 34 per cent in Germany and 40 per cent in France.*

Although the case of England which depends upon other countries for two-thirds of the annual food supply, is an exception, the industrial conditions in the other countries indicate the proportion of people which could be economically engaged in the modern state of industrial and cultural progress. The proportion of agricultural population in India should not exceed that of France, where agriculture and manufactures are well balanced. Even with this reduced number, India will be able to produce much more than what she produces now.

While the ultimate effect of agricultural rationalization will be reduction of the number of workers now employed, for the present the tendency of reduction will be partly counter-balanced by the increased activities in agricultural production. Thus, the utilization of waste land, intensification of cultivation, diversification of farming and the manufacture of some of the crops on the farm itself will create enough new occupations to absorb a part of the unemployed.

The rationalization of arts and crafts or the cottage industries by the utilization of modern industrial technique will, however, be followed by increased facilities for industrial employment. It has been noted that cottage industries have not become out of

* Proportion of population in different industries in various countries (in millions):

Country	Year	Actual workers	Agriculture		Industry transport and trade		Other occupations	
			No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
England and Wales	... 1911	16.2	1.3	8	11.5	71	3.4	21
Germany	... 1907	28.1	9.8	34	14.6	51	3.7	15
France	... 1911	20.9	8.5	40	9.5	45	2.9	15
United States	... 1910	38.1	12.5	32	19.4	50	6.2	18
India	... 1921	146.0	106.0	73	25.7	18	34.3	9

Compiled and adapted from *Annuaire Statistique, France, 1922*, pp. 190-91; *Statistical Abstract for British India, 1928*, pp. 37-38.

date and that they still retain their vitality. Modernization and rationalization will give them a new life both in economic stability and competitive ability against large-scale industry, whether foreign or domestic, and not only solve the problem of under-employment among the artisan classes but also draw a larger number of the village population into their scope.

Increasing facilities for industrial occupations in the country will, however, result mostly from the growth in number of large-scale industries, especially the industrialization of manufacturing processes for mass production under the factory system. The essential conditions for the development of large-scale industries including the factory system are the supply of iron and coal, raw materials, market facilities, efficient labour and sufficient capital. Of these the most important are, of course, iron and coal. For they are not only the products of large industrial enterprises, but also supply machinery and mechanical power for other large-scale industries.

The iron-ore reserves of India are surpassed by only those of America and France as noted before. The iron-ores of India are not only immense in reserves but are among the richest in iron-contents having 60 per cent. of iron-contents as compared with 50 per cent or less in most of the countries. Moreover, the presence of iron-ore, coal mines, flux and fireclay within an average distance of 125 miles makes it possible for India to become one of the greatest centres in the world for the manufacture of iron and steel.* "There is little doubt", says Sir Edwin Pascoe, Director of the Geological Survey of India, "that her vast resources in iron-ore

will one day give her an important, if not dominant, place in the steel of the world."*

The fuel resources of India are not very great, but the shortage of coal and oil are compensated by the supply of water-power, in which India stands second only to the United States in potentialities among the industrially advanced countries. If fully developed India will be able to supply electricity to many industries; such as railways, tramways, factories and even some cottage industries, and thus save coal for the purpose of her iron and steel industries.

As to raw materials, India has a vast supply and is a great contributor to the world's requirements. In 1927-28, for instance, India produced practically all the jute, over one-fifth of the cotton, about one-fourth of cotton seed, over five-sixths of rape seed and about one-tenth of linseed.† Having one-third of the world's cattle including buffaloes, and one-seventh of the world's sheep and goats, the production of hides and skins, one of the most important raw materials in modern industries, is also considerable. In the production of some minerals, such as, mica and manganese, India holds a very high place. While she

* See his "A General Survey of India's Mineral Resources." *Capital, Indian Industries and Transport Supplement*, Calcutta 19 December, 1929, p. 13.

† India's share in the production of some of the world's raw material in 1927-28. (In million quintals)

Material	World production	Production in India
Jute	18.52	18.47
Cotton	50.08	10.85
Cotton seed	102.20	24.85
Rape seed	12.00	10.20
Linseed	40.80	4.10

Compiled from the *International Yearbook of Agricultural Statistics*, 1927-28.

* Records of the Geological Survey of India, Calcutta, 1922, Vol. 2, Part II, pp. 203-212.

enjoys practical monopoly of mica production, the production of manganese in 1927 amounted to over 35 per cent of the world's total.* India suffers potential loss by the fact that most of the raw materials are exported in a raw state. For example, India exported in 1928-29 3.7 million (400 lbs. each) bales of raw cotton, *i. e.*, about two-thirds of the crops, 5 million bales of jute, or half the production, 1.3 million tons of seeds, 66,000 tons of hides and skins and 681,000 tons of manganese ores.† In fact, out of the 330 crores worth of exports in 1928-29 170 crores worth of merchandise, *i. e.*, over half, consisted of raw materials and articles mainly unmanufactured. It has also been found that the same ship which carries hides and skins out of the country also carries the tanning materials. Most of the raw materials are sent out only to be brought back as manufactured articles.

India has also great facilities in marketing. Her own home market can consume a vast amount of manufactured articles. In 1928-29, for instance, she imported 67 crores worth of cotton manufactures, 16 crores worth of sugar, 8 crores worth of wool and silk manufactures, 6 crores worth of provision and oilman's stores and many other articles for which there exist all the materials for home production. In fact, of the Rs. 180 crores worth of wholly or partly manufactured goods, consisting of 71 per cent. of her total imports, India could produce a considerable part at home. §

As to the supply of efficient labour there exists, however, a difference of opinion. It has been stated, as noted before, that India's factory worker is only 40 per cent as efficient as an English factory worker. Although the inefficiency of the Indian worker as compared with that of a British worker cannot be denied, neither the proportion of difference nor the basis of calculation can be accepted to represent the real state of things. In the first place, unlike the British labourer, the Indian labourer is not educated and trained for factory work nor is he expected to work in a factory all his life. He is generally an

illiterate peasant, who takes to factory life and resorts to his former occupation whenever opportunity occurs. In the second place, there is a good deal of difference in raw material, hours of work, comfort and management. In India the cotton used is coarser and more liable to break, hours are longer, temperature is much higher and management is less efficient. In the third place, the main object of an industrial undertaking being to make profits, a factory, following the economic law, employs more of the cheaper factors in production than the dearer ones. In fact, due to the cheapness, many more extra hands are employed in India. Moreover, although the same machinery might be used in both countries, all latest improvements are not to be found as quickly in India as in England. Improvements in hand tools and implements even in handy work also help the English worker to minimize the time of work.

Whatever might be the present conditions, Indian labourers are not inferior to those of any other country in their potential efficiency. The most important source of labour supply in India is, and will be, the agricultural labourers and cultivators or peasants. As to the latter, says Dr. Voelker of the Royal Agricultural Society, after an enquiry into Indian agriculture, "At his best, the Indian ryot or cultivator is quite as good as, and in some respects the superior of, the average British farmer." * An investigation carried out by the present writer under the auspices of the Bureau of Labour Statistics, United States, Department of Labour, into the social and economic conditions of the Hindustanis, *i. e.* East Indians on the Pacific Coast of the United States and Canada, revealed the fact that in industrial efficiency the Indian workers were as good as, if not better than the Chinese, Japanese, Mexican, American and Canadian workers.† In the evidence before the Industrial Commission of 1916-18, Mr. T. H. Tutwiller, the General Manager of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, stated that many European and American artisans had been successfully replaced by Indian artisans. "Where Indians have been substituted for Europeans in these works", continues Mr. Tutwiller, "the quality of our products has

* See the *Capital*, Calcutta, December 19, 1929, p. 14.

† Compiled from the *Review of the Trade of India in 1928-29*, pp. 67, 69, 161-166.

§ *Ibid*, pp. 150-153.

* Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908, 3: 6.

† See the present writer's *Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast*, Berlin, 1923, pp. 45-52.

not suffered.”* In fact, given the equal facilities for health and education, Indian labourers are capable of doing the same efficient work as that of the labourers in other industrially advanced countries.

As far as capital is concerned, India is, however, in a different situation. In the face of extreme poverty, India could not be expected to possess sufficient capital for rapid industrialization. But with an adequate banking system, she can amass considerable amount of necessary capital from her own people. The largest industry of India is the cotton mill, which is practically financed by indigenous capital. “Money begets money”, and once industrialization starts and foreign ‘drain’ ceases there will be increasing supply of capital for investment within the country. Moreover, foreign capital with adequate security can be attracted from abroad for investment in India.

Thus there exist in India great possibilities for the development of large-scale industries for mass production. Improvement in existing industries, such as cotton and jute manufactures, especially cotton goods of finer counts as recommended by the Tariff Board on Cotton Textile in 1926, will also lead to the creation of new industrial opportunities. Moreover, with the introduction of modern technique in production, there are great prospects for the improvement in forestry, fishing, mining, transporting, banking and trading industries, thus creating new industrial opportunities and absorbing a much larger population. In industry, transport and trade, India employed only 18 per cent of the population in 1921 as compared with 45 per cent in France, 50 per cent in the United States and 51 per cent in Germany.†

With the growth of industrialism, there is no reason why India should not employ about one half of her working population in manufacturing, transport and trade.

4. CONSERVATION OF RESOURCES

The utilization of natural resources for human purposes is one of the essential conditions of production. Since the resources are limited in quantity, to conserve them by preventing wastage and economizing usage so that they may remain a permanent source of utility is a question of vital importance

to national welfare and forms one of the most important phases of industrial efficiency. Rationalization of industry implies conservation of resources, but the importance of the subject needs separate treatment.

The most important natural resources of a country are the arable land or soil fertility, of which the chief elements are nitrogen, potassium and phosphoric acid. Since these elements are limited in quantity and costly in price, permanent agriculture depends upon their preservation in sufficient quantity. This can be done either by the addition of fresh supply to the soil or by bringing the potential supply into available form. The general principle of conserving soil fertility is that what is taken out must be put back in some form or other.

A considerable part of India's fertility is lost by erosion and a still greater part is depleted by constant cropping without return of these elements in the form of farm-yard manure or commercial fertilizers. The continuous export of food and raw material is a heavy drain upon India's soil fertility, especially as India is scarcely in a position to buy commercial fertilizers from abroad. While the purchase of commercial fertilizers is more or less impossible for the average Indian cultivator, a good deal can be done towards the utilization of farm-yard manure. This depends altogether upon the possibility of finding a cheap fuel substitute for the farm-yard manure. Among the other lines of work for preservation of soil fertility is the rotation of crops, fixation of nitrogen from the air, prevention of erosion, finer tillage and use of oil-cakes, bone-ash and similar other fertilizing material.

Next to fertility is the question of conserving forest resources. The principle of conserving forest is that the annual cut should be replaced by annual growth. Since a forest generally takes from 50 to 100 years or even more for maturity, according to the nature of the wood, it becomes evident that only from one-fiftieth to one-hundredth of the forest resources of the country can be consumed in any one year. Moreover, conservation should include afforestation of waste land, substitution of the present forests by better ones, elimination of waste from fire, and substitution of timber by cement, stone, brick and iron and steel wherever possible.

One of the most complicated problems of the Forest Department in India is to find cheap and easily grown varieties of trees

* Indian Industrial Commission. Evidence, Calcutta, 1918, 2: p. 356.

† See the foot-note above.

which could be used as fuel instead of farm-yard manure. The generation of electricity from water-power resources for railways and factories might release a considerable portion of coal for domestic use. The encouragement of horticultural industries for which younger trees are preferable may also be helpful in supplying the disused trees for fuel supply. As at present, many old fruit trees occupy the orchard, which are neither good for fruit bearing nor supply quick turnover of wood supply. But the most important sources of fuel supply must come from the rapidly grown trees on the waysides and waste lands, and full encouragement must be given for their cultivation.

The principle of conserving fisheries is practically the same as that of forests. The annual hatch must replace the annual catch. The silting of the rivers and indiscriminate use of the existing resources have greatly diminished the fresh water fisheries of the country. What is needed is the provision for spawning and maintenance of hatcheries, rearing of fish including mussels in all the available water resources of the country. The occasional dredging of rivers will help both navigation and fishing. These must be followed by the provision of facilities for transporting, refrigerating, curing and reducing. It is the duty of every provincial government, especially those having sufficient fresh-water and marine fisheries, to establish or revive a department of fisheries with all facilities for scientific research both in the culture and commerce of fish. Moreover the Government must encourage and advance money for enterprise especially in marine fisheries.

The last but not the least important class of natural resources is the minerals, the conservation of which is also a very important question, especially in view of the fact that these are limited in quantity and like plants and fisheries cannot be reproduced. The minerals might be classified under two headings, namely, those which are exhausted in a single use and those which can be used more than once. Besides, there is also water, the supply of which is practically perpetual, although limited in quantity. The conservation consists in more economic use of them, elimination of wastage in mining and extracting and in the use of substitutes whenever possible.

Coal and iron are the most important minerals, the one supplying the mechanical power and the other machinery. The iron-ore reserves in India are one of the largest in the world, but the same is not true of coal. That sunlight might one day be utilized as energy source is quite possible, but for the present is beyond the control of human efforts. The possibility of utilizing water for generating electricity and power is a great solution of the problem of India's fuel shortage.

The Indian Ocean, the meridian sun, the monsoon and the Himalaya mountains keep the water resources of India in complete annual circulation from the ocean to the mountains. This circulation is not, however, evenly distributed throughout the year nor throughout the country. The annual rainfall, for example, varies from 460 inches at Cherrapunji to 3 inches in Upper Sind, and the wet season of almost daily rainfall is followed by the dry season without any precipitation. The conservation of water consists in its distribution throughout the year and in conveying it to those regions where it is most needed.

The usage of water might be classified under four categories, namely, domestic needs, navigation, irrigation and mechanical power. The problem of supplying sufficient pure water for domestic usage can be solved by building tube-wells and large tanks, the latter might be utilized for irrigation and also for fishery. The question of navigation becomes important for a twofold reason. In the first place, the water transport is much cheaper than railway transport; and in the second place, navigation is also helpful to irrigation. It has often been pointed out by writers that the Government sacrificed waterways for railways in India. It is worth while considering the question in all its aspects, and the appointment by the Government of Bengal of a permanent Waterway Board is a step in the right direction. The more important question is that of irrigation. The value of irrigation to agriculture was realized even in ancient India and provision was made for the elaborate irrigation system, which has gradually fallen into disuse. In the meantime, irrigation has been introduced and partly revived by the present British Government and at present about 48 million acres of land, i. e., about one-fifth of the

total area sown, are thus irrigated.* The irrigation projects under construction will no doubt add several million acres more to the irrigated area. India needs a more rapid progress in irrigation. The last but not the least important question is that of generating electricity from India's vast waterpower resources. Several projects are already under construction. The railway line from Bombay to Poona has already been electrified. What is needed is a bold project for developing all the water-power resources of the country for navigation, irrigation and electrification. It must be remembered that all these are investments.

5. ORGANIZATION OF CAPITAL

As noted before, the insufficient supply of capital is one of the most fundamental causes of India's low productivity. How to increase the margin of savings, to mobilize the savings for productive purposes and to make the best use of the capital goods are, therefore, some of the problems for increasing productive power or industrial efficiency.

The ultimate sources of all capital are the savings or the margin of production over consumption. The problem is how economy could be effected and wastage avoided in consumption so that there might be a decided increase in the savings. The most important cause of wasteful consumption in India is the pompous and extravagant ceremonies like marriages and funerals. They not only cost the savings of many years, but often leads a man to spend the earnings of several years much ahead and thus incurring extortionate debts from which many of them can never get out in their lifetime. The second important cause of wasteful consumption is drinking. The extent of drinking in the country is indicated by the fact that about one-quarter of the total provincial revenue is dependent upon the excise, the proportion rising to 33 per cent in Madras and 34 per cent in Bihar and Orissa. Since the total provincial revenue amounted to 86 crores of rupees in 1926-27, that would mean that the excise revenue amounted to 21.5 crores. That the actual expenditure by the people on drinks amounts to several times more can be easily assumed.

To show the folly and ruinous effect of these wasteful consumptions is the first step towards increasing the desire for savings. The crusade against drink evil by Mahatma Gandhi and others is a progressive move. Agitation against marriage dowry and pompous ceremony will also have salutary results. In its positive aspects, increased savings can be accumulated by the cultivation of forethought and thrift, which can be socially acquired by India, where "high thinking and plain living" has been the ideal of life.

The most important motive force in saving is, however, the security of investment. Nothing gives better opportunity for this purpose than the banking and insurance institutions. Moreover, they also mobilize the social savings into national capital. The banking institutions in India might be classified under four headings, namely, indigenous banks, postal savings banks, general banks including industrial and mortgage banks, and co-operative banks. Nothing is known about the extent and deposits of the indigenous banks. The deposits in the Postal Savings Banks increased from 10 crores of rupees in 1900-01 to 26 crores in 1926-27. The general banks in India are represented by the Imperial Bank, Indian joint-stock banks * and exchange banks with head offices located outside of India. The deposits in those three classes of banks rose from 37 crores in 1900 to 211 crores in 1926. †

The co-operative societies were started in 1904 and by 1926-27, the total wasting capital stood at 25 crores.‡ Insurance companies are also important instrumentalities for encouraging and mobilizing capital. But they have made very little headway in India, the total income of 51 companies amounting to only 3.3 crores by 1926.

These banks are quite inadequate to meet the industrial demands of such a great

* With paid-up capital and reserves of Rs 5 lakhs and over.

† The growth of deposits in crores of rupees :—
 Year Imperial Bank Joint-stock Exchange Total
 (former Presidency Banks Banks with
 Banks) Deposits in
 India only

1900	18.4	8.01	10.5	36.9
1926	70.3	59.6	71.5	211.4

compiled from Statistical Abstract.

‡ Abridged Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, 1928, p. 51.

* The Abridged Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, 1928, p. 35.

country as India and one of the greatest drawbacks to the development of modern industries is this lack of adequate banking facilities. Indian banking and finance being the tail end of British banking and finance with head office in England have had scarcely any scope for development. Modern banking has not been brought within the easy reach of the people nor has there been anything done to restore their confidence in those banks which have been available to them. It is no wonder that a considerable part of India's savings lies idle or invested in gold and silver. Even the insurance companies have not been endowed with enough security. The result is that about 15 crores of India's savings have been invested in foreign insurance companies.* Banking enquiry started recently has not been appointed too soon. It is hoped that Indian banking should be raised to the same level of efficiency both as regards savings and investment as those of other industrially advanced countries.

The direct means of mobilizing social savings for industrial purposes is the industrial enterprise itself, whether undertaken by an individual or a corporation. While nothing is known as to private investment, the paid-up capital of various joint-stock companies registered in India rose from 24 crores in 1890-91 to 267 crores in 1926-27, besides the investment by foreign joint-stock companies registered abroad. What is of more importance is that most of the social savings find their way automatically into productive processes, such as tools, implements, machinery, raw material and plants.

Government can also help much in attaching social savings for industrial investment in both private and public enterprises. This is especially true in India where private initiative has not yet found full scope for development, and all the industrial activities of national importance have been so long controlled by foreigners. There are several acts by which Government have been entrusted to make advances for industrial purposes, such as the Land Improvement Loan Act of 1883, the Agriculturists' Loan Act of 1884 and the recent Cottage Industries Aid Act in the provinces of Madras and Bihar and Orissa. But

the activities of the Government in this respect are quite inadequate to the national needs.

The lack of sufficient capital in the country naturally raises the question whether India should welcome foreign capital. But whether India likes it or not, foreign capital to the extent of about £600 million or Rs. 800 crores has already been invested in the country, as already noted before. That due to the political subjugation, this capital has been invested often at a great disadvantage of the country scarcely needs discussion. But India does not expect to be always in the helpless condition and in fact she is already striving for the Swaraj. The problem is that if she needs further capital, on what condition she will invite or accept it.

As to the need of foreign capital in India there cannot be two opinions. India must be rapidly industrialized, if she wants to solve the problem of extreme poverty, and stand the world competition and preserve her industrial independence. In fact, there is no time for her to pass through the slow degree of industrial evolution, she needs industrial revolution as far as she can adjust her social conditions to modern industrialism. What she needs is the "jumping over" several stages; this is only possible with the help of foreign capital.

There are two ways in which foreign capital can be brought into the country. In the case of loan capital, the main question is that of the rate of interest. India is undergoing rapid political development and there is scarcely any hope that in this transitory period, the rate of interest will be low. As far as investment is concerned, the problem is much more complicated. Foreign investment has often drained away high profits, employed foreign officials in the superior position and secured the monopolistic control of national industries to the detriment of the growth of indigenous enterprise. These evils can, however, be much mitigated, if not altogether eliminated, especially under Swaraj, by requiring foreign companies to incorporate in India and to have an adequate proportion of Indian directorate and technical staff.

The last but not the least important question of the most efficient administration of the capital resources of the country is the most economic utilization of its capital goods. This resolves itself into three problems, namely, (1) the substitution of older tools,

* Cf. *The Welfare*, Calcutta, October 26, 1929, p. 155.

implements, machinery, live-stocks and other capital goods by the new ones whenever economical ; (2) introduction of tools, implements and machinery, and other capital goods, whenever there are none and whenever it can be done economically, and (3) making the fullest use of the existing tools, implements, machinery, live-stock and other capital goods.

The most important way of dealing with these questions is the establishment of agricultural and engineering colleges in every province or important section of the province like those in the United States. They should be supplied with agricultural experimental stations and engineering workshops. These stations and workshops in conjunction with various departments of agriculture and industries should be specially charged with the improvement of live-stock, farm implements, and tools and machines for cottage industries, and household work suitable to the local conditions. Encouragement to invention, patents and copyrights are some of the means of introducing new and more efficient tools, implements and machinery as well as other industrial technique into industrial processes.

One of the most important means of making best use of the capital goods, especially expensive machinery, is the use of the shift system. Two shifts of eight or even nine hours a day have been tried with advantage in many countries and three shifts of seven hours a day are now being tried in Russia. India with insufficient capital resources and vast man-power can ill-afford not to take advantage of at least the two shift system. It might not be very convenient for the city of Bombay on account of the scarcity of space, but other cities are not so unfortunately situated. The difficulty of employing women and children at night can be avoided by making them work only in early hours of the day. Nothing could be more convenient for tropical countries than that of working very early in the morning.* Other difficulties can be similarly well arranged.

* In the Imperial Valley of Southern California, where the temperature rises as high as 117° F., the Hindustani farmers, who are settled there, begin work at 3 A. M. and work until 10 A. M. and commence work again late in the afternoon, if necessary.

6. ADMINISTRATION OF LABOUR.

The last and by far the most important question in achieving industrial efficiency is the organization of human resources for productive purposes. Although the improvement of race and health and the reorganization of social and political institutions are the essential conditions, the industrial efficiency of a nation depends, in its final analysis, upon its ability to mobilize human energy into productive power. Labour being the active agent in productive processes, industrial efficiency really means the scientific organization of man-power with a view to obtaining the maximum production with the minimum effort. Industrial research, technical education industrialization of production, rationalization of industry, development of enterprise, conservation of resources and organization of capital are nothing but the different aspects of adjusting labour forces to productive processes. Since under the modern system of production an increasingly large number of industrial population depends upon labour, a word must be said on administration of labour, which presents a problem of great importance to every industrially advanced country.

The development of large-scale industries has given rise to various problems in relation to working and living conditions and to industrial relations. The use of machinery and mechanical power, employment of large numbers of people in a certain time and place, the use of material of often unknown origin, minute division of labour and consequently profitable employment of cheap labour of women and children, transportation of workers from the place of birth and residence to the place of work, often of a long distance, the necessity of living nearer to the place of work and the consequent congestion and crowding, production much ahead of consumption and for distant market, and trade depression, the rise of trade unionism and of self-consciousness on the part of workers and increasing conflict between employers and employees, are the causes of several complicated problems, of which the most important are those in relation to recruitment, safety, health, hours, women, children, disputes, wages, housing and unemployment.

The obligation of the State to the labour question rises from a threefold reason : first, protection of the wage-workers, who neither

singly nor often even in combination can make a fair bargain with large business concerns as to the conditions of work and other similar matters ; second, expert and specialized service in the case of accidents and diseases, which is often beyond the power of both employers and employees ; third, preserving the general welfare of society as a whole, which both employers and employees are apt to forget. Among such problems must be included child and woman labour and industrial peace. For the solution of these problems almost all countries have developed labour or social legislation.

Social legislation in India might be said to have begun as early as 1835 when Indians were sent out to the colonies as indentured workers. This was followed by plantation legislation in 1863, factory legislation in 1881, and mining legislation in 1901. Since then all labour legislation has been greatly amended and amplified. With the establishment of the International Labour Organization in 1919, social legislation has made rapid progress in India as in fact in several other countries. Most important of these new labour acts are those relating to compensation and trade unionism.

The most serious defects of the existing social legislation are the narrowness of scope and the lack of uniformity. In the first place, the application of the labour law is restricted only to a limited number of workers even in organized industries, for instance, transport workers do not come under any existing labour law. In the second place, there is no uniform labour law for all classes of workers even in the same industry. Plantation labour is, for example, employed under different laws in Madras and Assam. There is a similar lack of uniformity between the labour law of British provinces and that of Indian States. Even the first Factory Act of 1881 avoided the defect of sectionalism and provincialism by making it universal throughout British India. Since the Government of India Act of 1919 things have become worse by the assignment of the welfare legislation to the discretion of the provinces. Thus the cotton mills of Bombay have to pay maternity benefit, while those in the United Provinces are quite free from any such provision, although they compete with each other. In the third place, the social legislation in India is still behind most of

the industrially advanced countries in progressive measures, such as the minimum wage, sickness insurance and employment bureaux.

What is needed in India is a uniform and universal labour legislation for all India including both British provinces and Indian States alike and for all industries of at least similar character. Unless there is levied a tariff between Indian States and British provinces and even between one province and another the industries of one locality cannot be discriminated against those of others. Such an Act can be passed only by one central government and the application may be left to the provincial governments or Indian States according to the local conditions but subject to one central authority. It is fully realized that this is not an easy task, especially as far as Indian States are concerned. But the next constitutional reform is expected to find a solution. Whether the next constitution should be unitary or federal the residual power must be preserved with the Central Government as far as labour legislation is concerned, especially for British provinces. Nothing could be more harmful to the progress of social legislation than the policy of sectionalism or provincialism which is bound to result in discrimination and in retardation. The best example of such a condition is presented by the United States, where the labour laws are different in different States and the Federal Government has not even the power of passing the child labour law without infringing upon the right of the States. In India provision should be made in the new constitution so that such difficulties might be avoided. The Government should introduce progressive measures into labour legislation. The International Labour Conference may give a lead on this point.

One of the most important problems of modern industrialism is that of housing. The standard of housing in a poor country like India has always been very low as far as comfort and aesthetics are concerned. But modern industrialism with centralized industries and congested accommodation has made it also insanitary and unhealthy. The problem of housing is, however, more complex than it appears to be. Inasmuch as the industry is a benefit to society, it is the society or more strictly the State, which is responsible for improving the conditions of life outside the

factory or the place of work. Moreover, compulsion upon employers to accommodate employees may not only be detrimental to the growth of industry, but its effect might be deleterious upon the employees themselves. When the labourer has to work in the employer's plant and to live in the employer's house from which he cannot very well move at will, he is liable to become nothing but a serf as under the feudal system. The best solution of the problem is to build industrial towns, either on the co-operative basis or at public expense, near industrial towns where the workers can dwell with their families by the payment of an economic rent. There are, however, industries such as mining and plantation, especially seasonal industries where employers will have to make provision for the employees, and housing in such cases must be regarded as a part of the industrial enterprise, and the regulation of housing conditions must be a part of social legislation as far as sanitation, decency and comfort are concerned.

Another vexed problem is that of the minimum wage. The main object of industrial activities of a nation is to improve the material condition and general welfare of the people as indicated by high standard of living. Of all the civilized countries of the world, the standard of living is the lowest in India. The effect of the low standard of life upon national vitality and social progress is anything but salutary. It must be at once realized that the number of workers in organized industries is only a small fraction of the total workers living upon wages and is still smaller of the total population of the country. It is not possible to increase the wages of one class at a level much higher than the rest nor is it possible to increase the wages or income of the large majority of the population without increasing the productive power of the country. There is thus a vicious circle. The problem of higher wages is still a very vital one and a solution must be found by the State.

The best way to approach the problem is the establishment by the Government of a minimum wage board, the duty of which will be to estimate a minimum wage for each province or a section of a province if necessary. The effect of such estimate will be very beneficial. It will not only set a standard which will be a basis of bargaining

for the workers but will focuss the attention of the public on the necessity of increasing national dividend both by increasing national production and decreasing social population. Not the least important is the duty of the State to see that this minimum standard is given effect to by all the important industries, such as tea, jute, cotton and coal. Moreover, the Government itself must introduce the standard of minimum wage for its own employees. Nothing shows more clearly the unsoundness of the whole economic organization of Indian society than the existence of starving wages, which do not exceed more than a few rupees a month on the one hand, and the luxurious salaries amounting to several thousands a month on the other. Nobody would suggest that there should not be any gradation in the wage-scale, but that such a disparity in national income can exist only in a country where there are a few masters and the rest, and by far the majority, are nothing but slaves. The readjustment of the salary on the basis of India's national income has been long overdue. * *Compare Gandhi's first letter to Viceroy.*

The most difficult problem before the country is, however, that of unemployment which is only a part of the general under-employment and to which has been ascribed the loss of at least one-third of the nation's man-power. Among the causes of general unemployment must be mentioned the following: (1) the growth of population faster than the available farmland and consequent decrease in the size of the farm; (2) decline of arts and crafts in the face of foreign competition; (3) disappearance of most of the subsidiary industries which found their places in the household of both the farmer and the artisan; (4) lack of capital as a result of the growing poverty of the people; (5) lack of introduction of modern science and art including industrial technique commensurate with the growth of population in India and with the industrial progress of the world; and (6) failure to modernize the productive processes which the rising generations of the educated classes could join for following an honourable career and for gaining a decent livelihood.

The problem of under-employment can be solved only by creating more industrial

* According to the census of 1921, out of 682,619 railway employees, 411,176 or over 60 per cent were getting a salary of less than Rs. 20 a month. See Census Report, 1: 288.

opportunities or development of industrial enterprise, as noted before. The first and foremost method of developing national industries of India is to base them on such sound economic basis by industrialization and rationalization that they can compete with those of other nations. The immediate effect of rationalization on employment has been already discussed. Secondly, these industries need multiplication and diversification for which there are also ample opportunities in India, as already noted. Both industrialization and rationalization will also offer to the educated younger generations opportunities for an industrial career and gainful occupation and thus solve one of the most acute problems of unemployment in the country. Moreover, it is only through the continual utilization of scientific and technical education of enterprising younger generations for industrial purposes that the productive processes of the country can be kept abreast of other industrial nations of the world. Lastly, there must be created subsidiary industries which occupy both artisans and cultivators in the off-season. Here comes the economy of the *khaddar*, and nobody has done more for rebuilding the subsidiary industry of India than Mahatma Gandhi and the All-India Spinners' Association. Un-economic aspects of the *khaddar* have already been referred to. But whatever might be its

ultimate end, for the present no other industry has shown itself to be more practical and economical.

The last but by no means the least important aspect of social legislation is social insurance. With the growth of the sense of responsibilities on the one hand, and the conception of social solidarity on the other, society has realized the importance of devising means of distributing the risks and losses of a few among many. Accidents, sickness, invalidity, premature death, old age and unemployment are some of the common risks, especially in the case of work-people whose only asset is in most cases ability to labour, and anything interfering with this ability may deprive him of his income, thus causing distress not only to himself but also to his dependents. The under-employment of most of the working classes, the decadence of private charity and the breakdown of the old joint family system have brought before the public more and more the importance of introducing some kind of social insurance into India. The first step has been taken in this direction by the enactment of the Workmen's Compensation Act. The scope of that Act is, however, very much limited. It ought to be widened and include other phases of risks than mere accidents and disease.

Americanization of Europe

STANDARDIZATION Vs. INDIVIDUALISM

BY JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., Ph.D.

ONE of the most fascinating things about travel nowadays through the countries of Europe is the opportunity it affords the visitor to study how each of the war-wrecked nations is adapting itself to the new demands and requirements of the post-war world. Of the pre-war world Europe was the centre, European ideals its standard and European power its driving force. But the Great War ushered in new ideals, shifted the seat of power and made the United States the centre of the modern world. Further, it painted a new map of Europe, destroying old nations and creating new ones. In spite of these radical changes, Europeans were inclined

to think and act during the first half of the post-war period as though the war had not brought about any basic change in the life, thought and economic structure of Europe. Slowly but surely, they began to come out of that stupor and realize that a new universe had come into existence with a new economic outlook and a new philosophy of life. But the new outlook being radically opposed to that of old Europe, it has not been easy for Europeans to fall in line with this march of modernism headed by, as they saw it, the dollar-chasing Yankee. Nevertheless, the march of events made Europe realize that she could ill-afford to sit and watch modernity marching past her

if her lost place in the sun was to be regained.

Among the various forces which are actively engaged in modernizing Europe, the international activities of the American people must be put down as the most important. The influence of the American people is so profound and far-reaching that one may venture to say that what Paris was to Europe and America yesterday, that the United States is to the commercial world of today. The prosperity, resources, methods and ideas and the ever-increasing needs of the American people are raising the economic levels of the entire world; their financial resources are greatly helping to resurrect many of the countries of Europe, to revive old industries and build new ones for them. Take, for instance, the case of Poland. It was only on the Armistice Day, November 11, 1918, that Poland, after having been divided for more than a century among Russia, Austria and Germany, became once again an independent nation. In looking back on the past decade of its history, one is considerably surprised to note what a great part America and her money have played in the life of this young nation. Most of the Rs. 210,000,000 loan that has put Poland on a firmer financial footing came from the United States. Is it unnatural then if American ideas and ideals find a receptive soil there and if American business methods capture their imagination? Scarcely a work on scientific management is published in America today that is not translated immediately into Polish.

Poland has industries that were begun before the discovery of America, but now some of them are revived by American methods under the guidance of expert American engineers. One of the oldest of Poland's industries to be given a new lease of life by the introduction of American technique is her salt mines which have been adding to the savour of Central European foods since the tenth century. By helping these needy European states, America helps herself also inasmuch as such contacts enhance her trade relations with those countries. It is little wonder, therefore, if the United States exports more goods to Poland than any other country with the exception of Germany which is Poland's nearest western neighbour. America furnishes approximately sixteen per cent of all Polish imports. Poland, with 150,000 square miles, is sixth in size among European

countries, being surpassed only by Russia, France, Spain, Germany and Sweden; it has a population of approximately 30,000,000, a total exceeded only by Russia, France, Germany and Italy. America's traditional friendship dates from the time of American Revolution, when two young Poles, Kosciuzko and Pulaski, gave their services to Washington and commanded American troops.

THE NEW AGE IN GERMANY.

Much like Poland, other smaller states of Europe are also rapidly adopting Americanism, but the business of Americanization, which now seems to have got a fair start throughout Europe, receives nowhere so ready a response as in Germany. We may, therefore, say that among the European nations, the one which is adapting itself most easily to the new state of affairs is Germany. Strange as it may seem the principal defeated nation of the war is finding herself more at home in the world created by her defeat than any of the nations which defeated her. A decade ago Germany was in the grip of depression, economic, political and mental. She was demoralized, having lost a war and having lost faith in herself. She had lost her colonies, some 27,000 square miles of territory, nearly all her shipping and about 6,400,000 of her population. She had been deprived of Lorraine and its iron, of the Sarre and its coal, of Upper Silesia and Alsace. She even wondered if she would be allowed to retain the Rhineland, that most German of the German provinces. As late as 1923, the German Government seriously considered even the proposition of simply letting this rich industrial area be cut off temporarily at least from the Reich. Such indeed was her state of despair after the war.

But having charged up her defeat in the war to profit and loss, Germany soon began to envisage the world of the present and the future with the determination to find her place in the sun by some other means than by blasting her way to it. Indeed, a new spirit has come now to pervade the Germany of today, and it is this that strikes the traveller from the very moment he sets his foot on German soil. Though Germans are still intensely patriotic, yet they are loath to let patriotism stand in the way of what they consider their advantage. The idea of allowing Germany to be outdistanced by other nations simply because the latter apply

non-German methods never enters the average German's head. There is nothing that a German of today will not scrap if it stands in the path of his country's progress. He is ever ready to overthrow meaningless traditions and sweep out superstitions sanctified by time. In fact, as soon as he is persuaded that a new method of doing a thing may be better than the old way, he shows an eager readiness to try the method out.

This situation has, however, made Germany a ready market and apt pupil of the United States. More and more common has it now become with American firms to establish subsidiary companies in Germany. Some maintain only assembling plants, but many others manufacture their complete output in Germany itself. American firms, instead of finding restrictions as has often been the case when they tried to expand in Europe, are receiving encouragement today to carry on their manufacture on the German soil. This favourable condition for American business is partly due to the belief of the Germans that the coming in of so many American houses means greater employment for labour, as well as greater demand and larger sales for German raw materials. Take for example the American motor business. Many leading motor concerns such as the General Motors, Ford, Graham Paige, Hudson, Chrysler, Willys and Overland have rented or purchased big plants and have equipped them with the latest American machinery.

Many of these factories are using German materials. Chevrolet, for instance, uses Krupp steel for its chassis. By using German material wherever possible these American firms strive to lessen the opposition of German automobile manufacturers to American commercial penetration. Hence American firms take special pains always to point out in their advertising pamphlets the large percentage of German materials used in their goods and the great number of German workmen employed in their plants. Of all the American firms now established in Germany with subsidiary companies, the General Motors is now leading with 576 office employees, of whom only 30 are Americans. This factory is in the outskirts of Berlin and employs about 1,700 German workmen. Other American firms now manufacturing in Germany are the Mergenthale Linotype Company with 5,000 employees, International Harvester with 1,500 workmen, National Cash Register, Otis Elevator,

National Radiator, Singer Sewing Machine, Eastman Kodak which manufactures films and even exports them back to America; Palm Olive Soap, Wrigley Chewing gum, United Shoe Machinery, Goodyear Rubber Companies etc. The latest evidence of Berlin's Americanization is the establishment of chain stores on American model. Such invasion of Germany by American business cannot but result in the introduction of American ideas and methods into German business.

Germany does not mind becoming Americanized nor turning to the United States for inspiration; in fact, she is ever ready to rebuild her industries and reorganize her production in accordance with the directions of modern American industrialism. "In co-operation with America," observes Prof. Adolph Von Harnack, President of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for the promotion of Science, "we have much to gain, and so I hope our Americanization will increase. The war interrupted valuable relations between us which are not yet fully restored. Personal contact is still missing and its value cannot be fully balanced by mutual knowledge of the results of research. Germany can gain by more intensive personal and intellectual contact with the United States." Similarly Herman Dietrich, the Food Minister, is of the opinion that German farmers would be much better off if they followed American methods. "We must make many reforms," says he, "in order to be Americanized. We must improve our production methods, also our organization and selling methods. We must standardize our agrarian products, create a sensible credit policy and reconstruct our many out-of-date farms. The German farmers are badly off. We should be stimulated to transplant American ideas wherever possible." Dr. Willy Hellpach, a member of the Reichstag, sums up the general feeling in his declaration that the Fatherland has a better chance if it goes on towards complete Americanization rather than "one quarter Americanized" as at present.

No other country has gone forward with such seriousness of purpose in the reconstruction of its economic life nor has introduced so fearlessly new experiments and novel methods in the reorganization of its industry. She shows no hesitation at all about Americanizing herself to find her right place once again among the nations of the world. As a result of this attitude Germany has now become as strong, if not stronger, than she was before the war so far as her industrial

capacity is concerned. Her general production has increased 20 per cent in the last three years; her share of the world's trade was 5.8 per cent in 1927 as compared to 4.6 in 1911-13; her share of the world's exports of manufactured articles was 20 per cent as compared to 25 per cent just before the war. Her aggregate coal production was greater in 1928 than in 1913, though mined from a smaller area and by fewer workmen. Her iron and steel production have far exceeded the level of pre-war days. Her merchant fleet, reduced almost to zero, by the Treaty of Versailles, is now fourth in size. She owns only 6 per cent of the world's tonnage now as compared to 12 per cent in 1914. Germany has been prompt in the payment of her debts. After paying reparations, Germans had Rs. 4,800,000,000 in their savings banks at the end of the year 1928. This extraordinary achievement has been the result of hard labour, inventiveness and a superb organization. Germany showed herself to be ready even to the extent of Americanizing herself to achieve this result. What she has been able to achieve within a decade is indeed without precedent in the economic history of any nation.

CONFLICT OF IDEALS IN FRANCE

As the traveller crosses from Germany into France he finds a different attitude of mind. France has little sympathy with the trend of post-war thought; she looks askance at a world where materialistic and technical development, business and financial expansion, are flourishing at the expense of art and culture. Thoroughly convinced that they have arrived at such a logical conception of what is good and what is bad, the French are fighting hard to remain what they are in spite of the march of materialism which is threatening to conquer Europe. Therefore, in comparison to what is going on in Germany, the changes wrought in France since the war, do not seem very striking. Rather than risk being left behind in the post-war world, the German is willing, if need be, to turn himself into an American; But the Frenchman, rather than turn himself into an American, will cheerfully take the last place in this "unspiritual" march of modern progress. Therein lies a basic difference between the Germans and the French. The German is a man of flexible ideals, capable of amalgamation with foreign ideals. He is not at

all bewildered by a world influx. He constantly balances the old against the new and discards whichever he deems unsuited to his ends. The Frenchman, on the other hand, gazes upon a world influx with cynical detachment.

Nevertheless, France, like Germany, has been stimulated into activity by deepened adversity caused by the Great War. The ten departments of her territory, forming her most highly industrialized regions, were in ruins as a result of the war. Coal and iron mines had been damaged, factories had been wrecked, roads and bridges, railways and canals had been destroyed. A region inhabited by 4,890,000 people in 1914 had to be reconstructed, and then there was the gigantic war debt staring her in the face. At this juncture she had to face also a shortage of labour. How great was that shortage is seen from the fact that between 1921 and 1927 about 1,500,000 foreign workers entered into France in response to the demand. In the midst of such depressing conditions, it was fortunate that she found herself in possession of the rich provinces of Alsace and Lorraine as a result of the war. These provinces greatly added to her resources, and made France aspire again to become a great commercial nation. France had always lagged behind in industrializing the country, her traditions being highly individualistic. Mass production has never appealed to the French and does not even now.

But the war created new industries and forced France to modernize her factories and make more extensive use of machinery. Thus the industrial equipment of the country had come to be strengthened. In spite of her unwillingness, she is being forced into it. Her industrial advance may be judged from the following figures: Her production of pig-iron has risen from 5,207,000 metric tons in 1913 to 9,293,000 in 1927; steel production has increased from 4,687,000 tons to 8,275,000; coal production which was 40,844,000 tons in 1913 is now about 52,000,000 tons a year. Exports of manufactured articles were two and one-half times greater in 1927 than in 1913, exports of industrial raw materials two and one-fourth times greater. In spite of her conservatism, France has succeeded in completely overhauling her productive system and is now enjoying a greater measure of prosperity. Though she resents the idea of being Americanized, yet France has undergone in her own way a veritable economic revolution in the last decade and is trying to keep pace

with the other leading manufacturing nations of the world.

If we go over to Czechoslovakia, we notice that the first thoroughfare the traveller sees on entering Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia is "Hoover Ulice" or the Hoover Avenue. The name speaks for the cordial relations existing between Czechoslovakia and its earliest benefactor; the United States of America. About ten years ago, the Czechs and Slovaks cut loose from traditional imperial moorings, only to find themselves drifting rapidly towards disaster. Undernourishment and starvation threatened the population during war-time and after. It was during that time of dark despair and hopeless despondency that American credits and American supplies began to flow into Czechoslovakia. American flour and fat brought in by the Hoover Food Relief Administration went far towards saving the life of the people and American credit towards saving the Government from hopeless collapse. America's timely assistance, together with Woodrow Wilson's recognition of Czechoslovakia's national aspirations jointly helped to set the country upon its feet and to create a vast fund of goodwill for America.

Out in Austria one finds a powerful means of propaganda for America in the Viennese opera which in recent times has been using more and more American material. The quick success of American writers, particularly such novelists as Sinclair Lewis, Theodore Dreiser and Thornton Wilder is proof that Europeans of German stock understand readily the American mentality. American plays are also very popular. The Viennese has changed greatly. He is no worshipper of idols, and when he sees something good that has come from America, he is ever ready to take it up. That tendency is apparent in the zeal with which the English language is studied by the Austrians. It is not money alone,—the European sees many methods and technique in America which are better than those in old Europe, and his genuine admiration for those ideas and ideals makes the Americanization of Europe a most natural process. Many American methods of handling foodstuffs on their way from the producers to the markets are now being introduced rapidly into European countries.

It must also be pointed out that societies for the cultural exchange between European countries and the United States also help greatly to accelerate the process of Americaniza-

tion of Europe. Hundreds of students from Europe go to America to study American industrial methods and to introduce them into Europe on their return. American educational procedure and administrative methods are also having an increasingly greater influence on institutions of learning in Europe. One of the American ideas gaining a foothold in Europe is the college and university dormitory plan. Before the war, says Dr. S. Duggan of the Institute of International Education, that system of student residence was virtually unknown in Continental Europe. Students lived with private families or in *pensions*. Now one finds in places like Prague, Munich and other university centres some of the finest hostels for students. The whole plan of *Cité Universitaire* in Paris is based on the scheme of American life. Another way in which academic America is influencing Europe is seen in the lessening of the rigidity which formerly characterized educational administration. The American idea of vacation courses is also spreading now in Europe. In some instances the sessions have been deliberately modelled upon those of American institutions. American ideas are carried into Europe not only by American students who go there to study, but even more by European students who go to America for graduate and undergraduate studies; they bring back with them something of American educational ideals and methods. Last year there were not less than 10,000 foreign students enrolled in American institutions of higher learning.

AMERICANISM IN GREAT BRITAIN

While the Germans are enthusiastic in their acceptance of this new spirit of industrialism and the French are anxious to reject it if possible, the British are solemnly regarding it without the enthusiasm of the German or the detachment of the French. Though the British, like the French, resent being forced to adopt other methods than their own, the domination of America is so great and the movement of her industrialism so powerful that in spite of themselves they find Americanism taking possession of them. Even things of minor interest such as American chewing gums and American slangs are becoming popular in spite of the English conservatism. The United Kingdom which ranks first among the customers of the United States, is the largest market for the consumption of

American chewing gum. American slang, much like the despised chewing gum, is taking hold of the English. That this is the case was ascertained by means of a popular competition in *The Manchester Guardian*. Prizes were to go to the two best lists of six most expressive slang phrases. First prize was awarded to the list below, and second to another constructed more or less on similar lines :

A pain in the neck
To get away with it
To let in on the ground floor
Bats in the belfry
To bump off
To spill the beans

"It is clear" says the judgment "that American slang predominates and incredible as it may seem, no one quoted any of the good old British slang phrases, perhaps because they are no longer known."

There seems to be a great demand for American books in Great Britain. There are already 150,000 American volumes in the "British Library of Politics and Economic Science," and they are being added to at the rate of 6,000 annually, but the demand for American books far exceeds the supply. The Bodleian Library of Oxford,—a library noted for its collection of rare books and manuscripts,—has so many volumes from the United States that their disposal has become one of the most serious problems of the Bodleian's present plan to increase storage space. The Bodleian now spends about Rs. 45,000 annually for the best foreign books and periodicals. About one-third of this amount is spent on American books alone while two-thirds is reserved for books published in the rest of the whole world. About 30,000 of Bodleian's American volumes, dealing chiefly with history, jurisprudence and political science, have recently been assembled and placed in Rhodes House though still under Bodleian jurisdiction, as a separate departmental library for the American colonial students.

Concerning the 150,000 American volumes in the British Library of Political Science in London, Sir William Beveridge, Director of the London School of Economics, says that it is only a part of what English students should have for research on American questions and problems. "It is from the American" writes he, "that we can learn much that is interesting and valuable because

of the economic and political conditions in the United States. The American output of books on these subjects is of tremendous value, and we should miss nothing of it." According to Sir William's estimate there should be a sum of Rs. 1,200,000 available to furnish books for the use of British students. This would be, he adds, far cheaper than sending students to America for research and would benefit a much larger number. Nevertheless, there are great many British students who, like the Continental students, go over to the United States to study American educational procedure and American business and industrial methods.

Britain has not, however, begun to Americanize her industries to the same extent as Germany. Recent statistics of British trade show that the export trade of Britain's manufactured goods has decreased. The impoverishment of many of Britain's former customers as a result of the war, the increasing industrialization of other nations and the growing tendency on the part of each nation to become its own manufacturer, and the relatively high cost of British production are among the principal causes of the shrinkage of British exports. Spurred by the ambition to regain her lost place in the sun, Germany has adopted American mass production methods and geared up its industrial machine to a high point. But Great Britain, unwilling to Americanize her industries to meet the present situation, is seeking for a way out of the difficulty. The circumstances in which British trade was built up have been greatly changed by the world war, and so Britain faces now the most difficult problem of how to adjust her economy to a new age. She thinks that she has the key to the solution of the problem in an economic federation of her far-flung dominions. But dominion sovereignty is making such a federation well-nigh impossible. It is no wonder, therefore, if many British economists are pessimistic about Britain's economic future.

TOURIST TRADE AN AMERICANIZING FORCE

Few realize how great a part the American tourist industry plays in the Americanization of Europe. Since wealth flows in the wake of these tourists the countries of Europe are anxious to Americanize themselves to attract the much coveted trade. According to the American Government estimate American tourists spent in 1928 in

Europe about \$525,000,000,—more than two-and-a-half times the total paid by Europeans to the United States on account of war debts. So there is a general scramble to do everything possible to make it attractive to American tourists. Each European country tries to outdo the other in advertising and welcoming them. A recent estimate indicates that something like half-a-million American tourists go abroad each year where a generation ago the average was scarcely above 50,000. The tremendous amount of money these tourists spend abroad goes toward contributing materially to the settlement of international balances. The vast sums coming from this trade are so important in the economic life of the various European nations that they do everything possible to Americanize themselves, their hotels and their pleasure resorts in order to attract the tourist trade. Thus the American tourist industry has come to be a powerful force in this process of Americanization of Europe.

In the year 1928 the American tourists spent in France about \$200,000,000 but in 1929 they spent \$40,000,000 less than the amount they spent in the previous year. It is no wonder, therefore, that recently Premier Tardieu realizing this to be too serious a loss stood up in the French Chamber of Deputies the other day and advocated the expenditure of more than \$1,000,000 in 1930 for the encouragement of tourists. The French are, therefore, busy building new hotels, renovating old ones, improving their railways and contributing in numerous other ways toward making things pleasant for the foreigners in their midst. France has hitherto held the first place in attracting the American tourist trade. In fact, no other nation in Europe is within a near reach of her when it comes to what she gets out of this trade. How great is the difference in the incomes that France and other European nations derive from American tourists is seen from the fact that whereas Americans spend around \$200,000,000 yearly in France, her nearest competitor for American dollars, Great Britain, garners only \$50,000,000; Italy gets about \$32,000,000 from American visitors and Germany but \$20,000,000.

Because England's share of the millions of dollars spent each year by tourists is considered far too small, one of the biggest publicity campaigns ever undertaken in Great Britain is being planned for this year. The

tourist is to be considered henceforth by the British not as a stranger within Britain's gates but as a national asset, a potential buyer of British goods and a paying guest at British hotels. The latest example of Americanization of Britain in its attempt to attract American tourists is seen in the announcement made recently of a \$5,000,000 hotel to be built near the Marble Arch with 2,000 bedrooms and 2,000 baths. This hotel is to be built more or less on American plan to make Americans feel at home and draw a larger share of the tourist traffic. This is the outcome of an investigation made last year which showed that while as many as 100,000 American tourists visit London, there are but 4,000 rooms in the whole of the British Metropolis of the modern type demanded by the average American traveller. In order therefore to meet the taste and requirements of the American tourist this modern hotel is to be built in London.

Unfortunately however the process of Americanization of Europe does not stop here. For the sake of American dollars Europe stoops even to the extent of catering to the lowest and meanest prejudices of the American. Shamelessly has she begun to draw colour line where such lines never existed. Only last summer Mr. Stephen Alexis, a member of the *Croix Diplomatique* and hailing from the Haitian Republic, was refused admittance into a Parisian dance hall. The proprietor excused himself for this indignity by stating that admission was denied to all coloured persons, irrespective of status in order to spare the feeling of the American clients. This is one of the many such cases that have taken place in France recently. It seems a pity that even France should sacrifice her great ideals of equality, fraternity and liberty, the three corner stones of her Republic, for the sake of winning American patronage. London too is surrendering to this temptation. Paul Robeson, the well-known American Negro actor and singer was recently barred from the grill of a prominent London hotel where he was to be the guest of his English white friends. Another prominent American negro from Chicago was refused admission to thirty London hotels last summer. Europe now seems ready to prostitute herself for the sake of the "Almighty dollar" and allow her culture to be threatened by the intense American racialism.

The undoubted superiority and economic predominance of America is stimulating Europe to Americanize herself further into an economic federation, a United States of Europe, but as this aspect has been dealt with in a separate article in a previous issue of the *Modern Review*, no attempt is here made to deal with it in this connection. American civilization in the course of its development has given rise to some distinctive features. Though Europe supplied the background for the rise of American civilization, yet Americanism as a culture in the form in which it now exists, is very different from the culture that America received from Europe in the early days of her history. Some maintain that the American type is a genuine mutation in the history of culture, that it is new, a product of the last century and that it is stamped with success. It is transforming the external conditions of life; it is assimilating other types to itself and recoinng them.

No world conquest, whether that of Rome or Christendom compares with that of Americanism in extent or effectiveness. Her influence is certainly felt all over the world and is seen at its best in the way it is causing even age-old Europe with her ingrained ideal of individualism to Americanize herself. The distinctive features of Americanism,—quantification, mechanization and standardization,—are conquering not only Europe, but in fact the whole world. The civilization of Europe is cultural but that of America is industrial. It is natural therefore that the thinking Europeans should be greatly alarmed at what is now taking place in Europe. Every year numerous articles and a large number of books are coming out of the European press whose burden is the threat of America to the traditional culture of Europe. But is Europe prepared to challenge the imperialism of American industrialism and pay the cost in the interest of culture and humanity?

Bankim Chandra Chatterji

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

FIFTY years ago no name stood higher in the literature of Bengal than that of Bankim Chandra Chatterji, and his fame has not faded in the years that have passed. Out in the West literature has been recognized as a profession for a considerable time. Men and women have made a living out of it; some have prospered, a few have become wealthy. Perhaps a few people in India now devote their whole time to literature, but it is only a doubtful and scanty living that can be made out of it. There is a familiar saying in this country that Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, and Sarasvati, the goddess of learning, do not agree and are seldom found together. It was so even in the West, for the greatest writers in Europe in earlier times were usually very poor. There is authority in Holy Writ for the truth that one cannot serve God and Mammon at the same time. Equally was it true that Mammon and the Muses could not be served together.

Bankim Chandra did not derive a living from literature. He was one of the first two graduates of the Calcutta University and almost immediately after obtaining the B. A. degree he was appointed a Deputy Magistrate, an office he held till nearly the end of his life, for he did not live long after his retirement from the service of the Government, and he was barely fifty-six years of age at the time of his death. Year in and year out, with the exception of Sundays and the few public holidays he was in his office for six or seven hours every day. This is usually sufficient occupation for men of average energy, but Bankim Chandra utilized the few hours of leisure every day out of office for literary work which has enriched the Bengali language and secured for him a permanent place among the immortals.

There is no good likeness of him in existence. He seldom sat for his photograph and no painter or sculptor drew or chiselled his image. In his lifetime no photograph

ever appeared in any of his books. After his death the only likeness found in his works represents him with a large turban on his head. He belonged to a race which generally goes about bare-headed, but Bankim Chandra was evidently photographed in his official dress. This photograph fails to convey an accurate idea of the face and the contour of the head. He was a man of a slender build and slightly above the medium height. His head and features were highly intellectual and could not fail to arrest attention anywhere. The forehead was not very high but it was broad and smooth. The eyes were deep-seated, grey and keen. Bankim Chandra had a habit of looking through narrowed eyes so that they were rarely wide open, but they gleamed and flashed with humour in conversation and became brilliant in moods of earnestness and exaltation. The nose was prominent, Roman, and curved over the upper lip with sensitive nostrils. The lips were thin and closed firmly over remarkably small teeth, while the strong jaws bore evidence to great strength of mind and character. It was the head, however, that showed a high order of intellect. It was of the finest Brahminical type mentioned by Sir William Hunter. It was not unusually large but perfectly proportioned, a head that a Roman sculptor would have loved to reproduce in plaster and marble. The keen, strong, aquiline face, the splendid head with its curling, ruffled hair which was rarely combed or brushed, stamped Bankim Chandra Chatterji as a man with a great intellect.

Of the greatness of his intellect there cannot be the slightest question. He was profoundly versed in Sanskrit and English literature and the versatility of his genius found scope in various directions. First and foremost, he was a novelist, a romancer whose books display the novelist's art at its highest. There has been no greater stylist in Bengali prose. Lyrical poetry in Bengal had reached a high level in the time of the Vaishnava poets. Chandidasa who lived over five hundred years ago, was the first great poet of Bengal and he was a supreme artist, and his language was remarkably simple and musical. Bengali prose, however, was of much slower evolution. Rammohun Roy was the first Bengali prose writer of distinction and he also composed some beautiful hymns. Later on, Akshay Kumar Dutt was an eminent prose writer, though his language was not very elegant and

agreeable to the ear. Iswara Chandra Vidyasagara introduced a much smoother and more classical prose, but both these writers translated and adapted their subjects from either Sanskrit or English. They did not display the creative faculty of genius, or introduce an original literature. Bankim Chandra appeared in the literary firmament of Bengal as a dazzling luminary, a star of the first magnitude. He first discovered the possibilities of Bengali prose, and the music and the rhythm that can be found in it. As a youthful aspirant to the favour of the Muses he had served his apprenticeship under Iswara Chandra Gupta, at that time the most popular poet of Bengal and also the Editor of the Bengali newspaper, *Sangbad Prabhakar*. Bankim Chandra wrote verses of no particular merit, but soon found out that the proper vehicle for his creative faculty was prose. His first novel appeared when he was twenty-seven years of age, and at once made a profound impression.

To the close student it is a fascinating study to note the gradual formation and the growing clarity of Bankim's style. As a romance his first book is excellent reading, but the style is at times stilted, burdened with the elaborations and the long and difficult words then in vogue. There can be no mistaking, however, of the hand of the true artist throughout the book. The story is well sustained and hangs well together, the plot is skilfully arranged, the characters are well developed, and the sense of humour, the hall-mark of the true artist, is often present. Another characteristic feature of creative art is the conception of tragedy, and there are glimpses of it in Bankim's first novel.

This book is called *Durgesnandini*, or the "Chieftain's Daughter." The second, *Kapalakundala*, a name taken from the Sanskrit drama, *Malati-Madhava*, bears vividly on every page the signmanual of the master-artist, the wizard who waves his magic wand and shapes emerge out of the shadows and materialize into living, palpitating beings. The book is a prose-poem, a drama in which the actors move sometimes like shadowy figures and again as living realities, the poetic touch appearing at every turn, and the story, perfectly proportioned and powerfully conceived, moves onward to sudden and swift tragedy. *Kapalakundala*, the central figure, is a creation of the finest imagination. She is a

spirit-woman, elusive, untouched by life or the world, virginal of mind and body, passing calmly and unruffled through the brief span of her short life.

Shortly afterwards Bankim Chandra founded the *Bangadarsana* or the "Mirror of Bengal," a monthly magazine which established a new era in the literary history of Bengal. Nothing like it had ever been seen before in any part of India. It was the most brilliant and scholarly periodical ever known in Bengal. For four years it was edited by Bankim Chandra and during that period it afforded full scope for the display of his versatile literary genius. His great social novel, *Vishabriksha*, or the "Poison Tree," first appeared as a serial in this magazine. This was followed by *Chandrasekhar*, an epic romance of which the style is representative of Bankim's marvellous art at its highest, the dramatic development being as effective and impressive as the glowing passages are full of power and poetry. To the pages of the magazine he contributed criticisms of classic Sanskrit works and some important Bengali books showing critical acumen of a high order, unequalled powers of analysis and a literary judgment beyond praise. He wrote serious and thoughtful articles on many problems, he exposed the untruthful character of several chapters of modern British Indian history, he wrote bright humorous papers with an undercurrent of deep feeling. As a controversialist he had no equal and no rival. In argument his razor-like intellect flashed and thrust like a finely tempered Toledo rapier. In his matchless strength he was frequently pitiless, but there was no denying his dazzling skill and superiority in controversy.

At this distance of time it is somewhat difficult to realize to the fullest extent the effect produced by the emergence of Bankim as a force in periodical literature. The literary atmosphere in Bengal at that time was peculiar and artificial. The educated classes despised the Bengali language and literature. They prided themselves on nothing so much as the ability to speak and write English. They invariably discussed English authors and recited English poets. They were ignorant of the great wealth of lyrical poetry to be found among the Vaishnava poets of Bengal. The exquisite poetry of the Maithil poets Vidyapati and Govindadas Jha, so widely appreciated by the Vaishnavas of Bengal, was a sealed

book to them. Bankim himself was one of the finest scholars and writers of English in his time. Under the assumed name of Ram Sarma he once engaged in a controversy in the columns of the *Statesman* newspaper with the Rev. Dr. William Hastie, then Principal of the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta, and the manner in which he used the English language and proved himself a past master of controversy elicited wide admiration. But Bankim was much greater than a mere scholar. He was a born artist and creator of literature, and the highest literary art invariably finds expression in the language lisped and learned at the mother's knees. In the creation of all true imaginative literature the heart has as large a share, if not larger, as the head, and the heart has only one language, that in which the child heart speaks to the mother heart.

The appearance of the *Bangadarsana* monthly magazine was nothing short of a literary revolution. It was a revelation as well as a revolution. It revealed to the educated Bengalis the potentialities and the fascination of the Bengali language when used by a highly gifted writer. Almost all the subscribers of this periodical were Bengalis who had been in the habit of scoffing at their own language. In spite of their partiality for the English language and literature they could not resist the fascination of this new Bengali writer, who used the Bengali language with a power and witchery that held every reader breathless with admiration. Round Bankim had gathered a small and select band of writers, who, after him, were the most important contributors to the *Bangadarsana*. Some of them had been in the habit of writing English books and papers, but were very diffident about their ability to write in their own language. Bankim prevailed upon them to overcome their diffidence and they became distinguished Bengali writers. Some of the Sanskrit Pandits of the old school, men who favoured the use of long and difficult words in Bengali prose, savagely denounced Bankim for his marked tendency to simplify the Bengali language and to bring it within the easy comprehension of all readers. But this opposition was swept away by the flood-tide of popular enthusiasm. If the *Bangadarsana* had three thousand subscribers it had thirty thousand readers. Every number of the magazine was awaited with

eager impatience and hailed as a literary event. Men and women read it from cover to cover with avid and unabated interest, and keenly discussed what they read. The finer passages in his novels were read over and over again and were frequently committed to memory. I have heard a Nair gentleman, a native of Malabar, reciting whole passages of the original Bengali text of *Vishabriksha*, using of course the Sanskrit accent. They are books which, once read, can never be forgotten. This is specially true of the best and greatest of his novels *Kapalkundala*, *Vishabriksha*, *Chandrasekhar*, *Krishnakanta's Will*, *Anandamath*, *Rajsimha*, *Devi-Chaudhurani* and *Sitaram*. Any Bengali who confesses to ignorance of any of these books must be considered ignorant of the greatest masterpieces of Bengali literature. They are perfect productions of the novelist's art and some of the characters, such as Pratap and Chandrasekhar and the leading figures in *Anandamath* are worthy of the great ancient Aryan masters. These stories grip the imagination while many of the dramatic situations and scenes everlastingly haunt the memory.

In the appearance of the modern novel in Indian literature some people have endeavoured to trace the influence of English fiction. This is certainly true to this extent that the main features of the novel are western, in form, arrangement and execution. English fiction itself is by no means original. Cervantes wrote *Don Quixote* long before any English novel was written and that masterly and unromantic romance has exercised a powerful influence on all fiction in Europe. The *Hitopadesha*, *Kathasaritsagara*, the Buddha Jatakas and many narratives were written long before such a thing as the English language was in existence. As stories those of the *Arabian Nights* have never been surpassed. There is also a remarkable and suggestive parallelism between different literatures. In the ancient polite literature of the Aryans the epics come first and these are followed by the dramas. In Greece it was the same, but any suggestion that this sequence is due to Sanskrit influence must be repudiated. The novel is in reality the modern form of the epic and the saga, the unfolding of a sustained narrative and the delineation of character. The form is immaterial so long as the stamp of individuality is clear. Take, for example, *Chandrasekhara*, in which Bankim's art

shows itself at its best. It is unquestionably an epic in prose and characters like Pratap and Chandrasekhar are clearly Aryan in conception and might have stepped out of the pages of the Mahabharata. Again the patriotism that glows and throbs and rises to devotional heights of exaltation in *Anandamath* can never be felt or understood out of Aryan India. The greatest writer may owe a great deal to other influences, but only a man of the highest genius can achieve what Bankim has done.

The series of papers called *Kamalakanta's Daptar* (note book) occupies a place apart. There is no other book precisely like it in any other literature. Kamalakanta Chakravarti was an opium addict and these papers were supposed to have been written by him in scrap books and on stray sheets of paper. This faintly suggests DeQuincey's *Confessions of an Opium-eater*, but there is no other similarity between the two books. The personality of Kamalakanta, the drug fiend, is that of Bankim himself. Under the veneer of the opium-eater's humour and apparent absurdities lies a deep, strong, profoundly thoughtful personality, the burning heart of an intense patriot, whose passionate and eloquently pathetic references to the Motherland cannot be read without the eyes being dimmed with tears. There are papers of sparkling fancy and pure poetic imagination, flashes of irresistible raillery and bright banter, and then, without an effort, the theme moves to serious purpose and the reader sees the pierced and bleeding heart of a patriot bared before his eyes. The charm of the style never flags; it bubbles over with humour and is pointed with sarcasm. At the next turn it rises to the sublime heights of passion and attains the note of prophetic fervour. Persiflage and the slinging of wit form the outer crust; at the core there is the white flame of truth, the ardent devotion of earnest patriotism. *Kamalakanta's Daptar* is undeniably a great book.

Bankim's writings and style leave a very definite and clear impression on the mind. His range is wide: he is romancer, critic, humorist, patriot; later on, he wrote on religious subjects, and translated the *Bhagavadgita*. His *Krishnacharitra*, or the "Character of Krishna," is a work of great analytical power and dialectic skill. The precision and perspicacity of expression are everywhere noticeable. In reasoning and

controversy the directness and incisiveness of his style are always obvious, but even in narrative he is usually pithy and concise, and it is only in descriptive and reflective passages that his diction flows and sweeps forward in graceful or impassioned periods. But through it all one consciousness never leaves the reader, namely, the strength of the style and of the personality behind it. If a single word could indicate the preponderating characteristic of Bankim Chandra Chatterji's style it would be strength and again strength. It were as if he wielded the brand Excalibar in one hand and the hammer of Thor in the other. Never was intellect more masculine and virile than his, never were simple words charged with such tremendous strength. Well did Jyotirindra Nath Tagore, *litterateur* and dramatist, once write that when Bankim met another man in controversy his unfortunate opponent knew what it was to be struck by a thunderbolt.

During all these years while Bankim was fashioning with his brain and hand a literature which has ensured his place among the immortals he was living the drab and scarcely elevating life of a subordinate Magistrate, transferred periodically from one district to another, and serving under men generally incapable of forming any idea of his literary genius. He was not always well treated, though towards the end of his service he received titles to which he did not attach the slightest importance. His work in office generally consisted of trying criminal cases and perhaps attending to some details of the treasury. It was all petty work and he never once spoke of it out of office. It is a sign of no small strength that despite his surroundings and the trivial work that occupied so many hours of his time day after day he could accomplish so much and turn out literary work of such a distinctly high order.

Some of Bankim Chandra's novels were translated into English, but the translations were not always very good and did not convey the attractiveness of his style. Mrs. Knight's translation of *Vishabriksha* however, was appreciated in England and the *Punch* wrote the following two characteristic lines about it:

"Have you read the Poison Tree
By Bankim Chandra Chatterjee?"

Bankim's widest fame does not rest upon his great novels and other brilliant writings, but on the *Bande Mataram* song, which appeared in the novel called *Anandamath* or the "Happy Monastery." The story is founded upon a slight historical event, the rebellion of a sect of Hindu monks against the Mahomedan power in Bengal. While the story was appearing as a serial in the *Bangadarsana* which had been revived and was being edited by Bankim's brother, Sanjib Chandra Chatterji, also a Bengali writer of distinction, there was much speculation as to the ulterior purpose and motive of the novel. In all the previous books of Bankim it had been noticed that they were placed on the market without any press notices or extracts from favourable reviews. Bankim was a proud man by nature and he would not permit his books to be advertised backed by the commendations of the Press. His name was sufficient to insure the popularity and sale of his works, though the buyers of books in those days were few. In the case of *Anandamath* alone Bankim made an exception. To prevent misunderstanding and the attribution of any ulterior motive he attached to *Anandamath*, when it appeared as a book, the opinion of the *Liberal* newspaper, then edited by Krishna Bihari Sen, the youngest brother of Keshub Chunder Sen, and a scholarly thoughtful writer and critic. It was the only instance in which a book written by Bankim appeared with a press notice.

Neither at the time *Anandamath* was running as a serial nor on its appearance as a book did the *Bande Mataram* song attract any particular attention or create any stir. Only one incident, now nearly forgotten, can be recalled in this connection. A certain Bengali poet, who owed much of his popularity to Bankim's appreciation in the *Bangadarsana*, had a discussion with Bankim on this song. He wanted to know why it had been composed partly in Bengali and partly in Sanskrit. Bankim replied that he saw no objection to such a method considering the peculiar character of the song, but his interrogator persisted with his questions and objections until Bankim abruptly closed the discussion by saying that he wrote the song as it occurred to him and there was no more to be said.

The book *Anandamath* appeared in the early eighties of the last century. The song lay buried in it for nearly twenty-five years

and it was hardly ever sung in private or public. The tune to which it had been originally set was scarcely in keeping with the solemn impressiveness of the words. In 1905 came the partition of Bengal and then this song leaped into sudden, glorious life, electrifying the frenzied and harrowed feelings of Bengal by its exalted adoration of the Motherland, the exquisite beauty of language and expression, the intensity of devotion, and the purifying and elevating influence on the mind and the spirit. And from Bengal the song and the words passed over all India as a living unifying force, the rallying call of nationalism. Whenever the national heart is stirred the cry of *Bande Mataram* is heard. Whenever Indians congregate, whether it is in America or England, Australia or Japan, the greeting is ever *Bande Mataram*, and every gathering, political, social or any other, ends with shouts of *Bande Mataram*.

Here, then, is the answer to the perplexed question put to the composer by the Bengali poet who had no vision. If this song had been composed in Bengali throughout how could it have been taken up by the whole population of India speaking such a bewildering variety of languages? There is at present no man, woman or child in India, or out of India, who is an Indian by birth that does not know the first two lines of the *Bande Mataram* song. How did Bankim himself come to write it? A story has come down the years, and some reliable persons have vouchsafed for it, that Bankim had said on one occasion that a time would come when this song would be heard on every lip. Had he a prophetic intuition of this kind? To this question no answer can be given. That the song was inspired may be easily believed. Whether the inspiration was conscious or unconscious is beyond our knowledge and understanding. There is a power outside of man that impels him at times to compass some great purpose without any conscious volition on his part. It may be the light of genius, it may be the spirit of prophecy, whatever it was the *Bande Mataram* song was not composed for Bengal alone. The portion composed in Bengali creates no difficulty as regards its universal acceptance throughout India. The Sanskrit is so simple that it can be understood even by those who are ignorant of that classic language. In north India and southern, to people speaking languages derived from a

Sanskrit or Prakrit origin, to others who speak languages derived from the Dravidian stock this universal national song is as simple as their own language. At a given and pre-arranged signal the millions of India can sing this song in chorus throughout the land, neither language nor religion dividing them.

As a national anthem this song is unique. There is no note of exultation and defiance usually so characteristic of such compositions. There is a vast difference between invoking the homeland as Fatherland and apostrophizing it as Motherland. The first personifies roughness and arrogance, the second is the embodiment of gentleness and sweetness. From the first words to the last line the *Bande Mataram* song is a hymn of adoration, an offering of love and reverence. The land, the fertile country of Bengal is saluted as the Mother of seven crores of children. It is glorified as a land of plenty, fruitful and bestowing many blessings upon her children. The charge of her weakness is repudiated but still there is no note of vainglory, no wild defiance shouted to the four winds of heaven. The patriot who first sang this immortal song in *Anandamath* was weeping freely by the time he had finished it. This is not the sign of proud defiance but of utter humility and an overwhelming love. It is a song of devotion, the prayer of a devotee who worships the image of the Mother. This song exalts patriotism as a religion; patriotism is not depicted as an aggressive sentiment, but a feeling that fills the heart with love and the spirit with gratitude. Other patriotic songs in other lands mention the greatness and power of the country, the fearlessness and puissance of the people; this song celebrates the beauty of the country, the green-clad fields, the soft, scented breeze from the south, the glad nights with the white moonlight, the flowers everywhere in bloom, the musical notes of the birds, the boons freely bestowed by the loving and prodigal Mother. The ancient Sanskrit saying represents the mother and the motherland as more exalted than heaven, and this song is in keeping with the tradition and temperament of the people of India. Bankim is great as the creator of a fine literature of remarkable beauty and power, but he is greater as the high priest of a pure and noble patriotism, the composer of one of the loftiest and most beautiful.

patriotic songs in the literature of the world.

And this man, so great, so gifted, so highly inspired, never stood in the limelight and consistently and resolutely shunned the light of publicity. From his quiet study he exercised a power of which he was fully conscious and he dominated the literature of Bengal with his genius and virile strength, but he was rarely, if ever, seen in public. He disliked all demonstrations and his countrymen in his time, were not so demonstrative as they are now. To the last he followed the course of Bengali literature with unabating vigilance, and every new writer of promise received cordial encouragement from him. Many were not admitted to his intimacy but he was always accessible to young aspirants in literature. The profound thoughtfulness of his nature was concealed underneath a light exterior. He was a man of superb silences, of long solitary hours spent in profound contemplation. The little room outside his ancestral

residence at Kantalpara, a few miles from Calcutta on the Eastern Bengal Railway, was the scene of many night visits, much thought and high literary work. He died, as he had lived and no crowd followed his remains to the cremation ground at Nimtola Ghat on the banks of the Hooghly. I was present. On his countenance was the peace and majesty of death, the final and beautiful slumber that knows no awakening, and the setting sun lighted up the features in perfect repose and cast a halo around the splendid head which had finished its triumphant work.

In a country like India, a land of diverse peoples and many tongues, the inspired genius of Bankim created a common bond of nationhood in the *Bande Mataram* hymn. Over every man, woman and child who utters or sings *Bande Mataram* hovers the spirit of the master who has linked a whole nation together by the words of a song, a song that will be heard as the hymn of a free India in the years to come.

Orissa States and British Policy

By PROF. P. C. LAHIRI, M.A.

II

WELLESLEY'S object of establishing a barrier between the province of Cuttack and the Raja of Berar's territories was achieved when engagements were entered into with the Orissa States, and the treaty of Deogaon was concluded. Had Wellesley, however, been re-appointed in his office like Cornwallis and come to India some ten years later, he would have seen that there was no real cause for fear from the Maratha power of Nagpur whose field of military action was already becoming more and more circumscribed by the Company's gradual territorial acquisitions, establishment of protectorates, etc. Moreover, by his supremely aggressive and successful subsidiary policy Wellesley had clipped the wings of the Maratha houses. The Orissa States, therefore, did not fare very well, as they might have at first expected, primarily because there was

seldom any great necessity felt by the Company to improve the position of these States both politically and territorially to balance the power of Nagpur. It must be understood that the real object of contracting relations with the States, not only of Orissa but also of Bundelkhand and Kathiawar, was to break up the great Maratha Confederacy. Consequently, the first batch of engagements entered into with the Orissa States was more favourable from the point of view of their sovereignty than the later ones.

As has already been said, the Orissa States may be divided into two groups from their history. The first or the Cuttack group received *Qaulnamas* from the East India Company in 1803 in return for the treaties of submission by them, without much reference to their earlier historical status so that even zamindars (in the present sense) were

included in this list. In the treaty engagement the Raja engaged to maintain himself in submission and loyalty to the Company's Government, and for himself to pay annually a *peshkush* to that Government; and after providing for extradition of offenders and the passage of the troops of the Hon'ble Company through his territories further engaged himself in the event of any Raja or other person offering opposition to the Company's Government to depute contingents of his own troops to act in concert with those of the Company to coerce and bring such Raja or person into subjection. Of the *Qaulnama*, some specimen clauses are given below :

Clause I. The annual *peshkush* payable by the Raja.....is fixed in perpetuity.

Clause II. No further demand, however small, shall be made on the said Raja or received from him, as *naxxar*, supplies, or otherwise.

Clause III. The Government of the Hon'ble East India Company.....is ever gracious to those Rajas who are always obedient to them, and constant in the impartial administration of justice to all its subjects alike, and therefore in like manner extends the same impartially to the Rajas, such as have been indicated above, and seeks always their prosperity and peace.*

The engagements with Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj, in 1804 and 1829 respectively, as already discussed, are independent of Article 10 of the treaty of Deogaon though the terms of their treaty engagements are almost similar to that summarized above. Only in the case of Mayurbhanj the Raja engaged for himself and his "heirs and successors" with regard to the payment of tribute, whereas there was no such express hereditary obligation in case of the other chiefs. Mayurbhanj did not obtain any *Qaulnama* in return as the other States did, and this seems to have been interpreted by the Calcutta High Court as being favourable to its political status.† It is noteworthy that in the case of Keonjhar there is no obligation to furnish troops nor is there any specific mention in its treaty that Keonjhar would afford facilities for the passage of troops of the Hon'ble Company's

government through its territory, as in the case of the treaties with others.

It is not known if the second group (that is the Sambalpur group of States), which was also included by Wellesley after the treaty of Deogaon, did enter into any independent engagements on lines similar to the above. It was only after their final cession to the Company in 1826 that they received *Kabuliyats* in February, 1827. These *Kabuliyats* appear to have been of a temporary nature as will be apparent from the following specimen :

"Whereas the whole of Khalsa Patna, which is my zamindary, has been settled with me for *five years*..., at an annual *jumma* of...rupees..., I, Maharaja Bhoopal Deo of Patna, do freely and voluntarily execute this agreement, in which I promise that I will... punctually pay in my revenue at Sumbulpore every year. I will conciliate my *ryots*, and adopt such measures as shall tend to the improvement of my estate. I will not harbour offenders against public justice...; and should I detect any such persons within my estate I will promptly apprehend and bring them to justice. I will duly report to the authorities all that occurs within my estate."*

It may be noticed, however, that in the treaties with the first group there was no undertaking given as to the nature of internal administration, whereas in the *Kabuliyats* of the second group there has been definite pledges on questions of administration of justice and good government.

Besides all these, the Chota Nagpur State of Singbhum (Porahat) was treated as "feudal tributary" as its engagement shows :

"Whereas His Excellency the most Noble the Governor-General in Council has been graciously pleased to extend to me the protection of the Hon'ble Company, and to admit me within the list of Feudal Tributaries of the British Empire in India, I hereby engage and bind myself and my posterity to a loyal devotion to the interest of my new Sovereign, and to implicit obedience to such orders as I or they may, from time to time, receive from a competent authority. I further engage for the purpose of marking my feudal dependence in the British Government to pay an annual tribute of 101 *Sicca* rupees..."†

And while executing this engagement, the principal object of Singbhum is stated

*Aitchison's *Treaties* : Vol. I., p. 316.

† Queen Empress *vs.* Keshab Mahajan—I. L. R. ; Calcutta, 1882, Vol. VIII, p. 985.

* Aitchison's *Treaties*, Vol. I., p. 443.

† Aitchison's *Treaties*, Vol. I. p. 370.

to have been to gain recognition as owning the allegiance of Seraikela and Kharswan. To this, however, the British would not agree, and it is believed that independent engagements on the lines of Singbhum were made to Seraikela and Kharswan. These two States, as have already been stated, were originally fiefs granted by Singbhum or Porahat, but no copies of their engagements of 1820 are extant.* They gave valuable assistance to the British Government during the Mutiny of 1857 against Singbhum (Porahat) itself which was confiscated, and were therefore rewarded for their services with grants of territory out of this confiscated State. The *Sanads* conferring these additional territories which were granted to them in 1860 seem to have treated them almost in the footing of zamindars, with strictly limited powers of administration. Their jurisdiction does not appear to have improved till 1899.

Thus, we see that at first in 1803 it was for all practical purposes a political treaty engagement with the chiefs of the Cuttack group. Next, when the Maratha aggression was very satisfactorily checked, the second group of engagements were entered into with the Sambalpur group among others. They were *Kabuliyats* and permitted little jurisdictional authority to the chiefs. And with the Chota Nagpur group, where it was merely the question of extending the Company's protectorate policy with no risk of any protest from any external power, the engagement (in 1820) was also a *Kabuliyat* and the chiefs of Singbhum was called a "Feudal Tributary." Henceforth the question of external and internal powers of the chiefs was to be decided by the Company and the powers extended or limited as they would think desirable.

It will be seen that in all cases there were two sets of important engagements which definitely delineated the powers of the Orissa States. With the Cuttack group the engagements were made in 1803 (with Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj in 1804 and 1829 respectively) and 1894. Though the former was a political engagement and was a "Treaty" which left the Rajas full internal administrative powers, the engagement of 1894 was a *sanad* by which the Rajas were "formally recognized as feudatory chiefs" and their powers of internal

sovereignty circumscribed. There were later *sanads* also in 1903 and 1915 but they did not mark changes of any material importance. They proceeded on the same principles as the *sanads* of 1894, and though less definite in details, vested large discretionary authority in the British Government, and expected the Rajas to take advice and suggestions from political officers in all matters of administration. Next, the Sambalpur group entered into engagements in 1827 and 1867. In the first engagement with the chiefs, called *Kabuliyats*, their tribute was subject to revision every five years, and they had very limited administrative powers delegated by the British Government. The preamble to their engagements of 1867, which were called '*sanads*', states that the chiefs of the Sambalpur group were formerly 'Tributary Chiefs', that they were now 'recognized as *feudatories*', and that they were "permitted to govern their own territories" in all matters whether civil, criminal or revenue, subject to the condition that no capital sentence was to be carried out without confirmation by a British officer. They were to follow advice and instructions of British authorities. Unlike the other groups, in this *sanad* also their tribute has been liable to revision periodically (every twenty years), and what is more significant is that if their excise administration affects British revenue their tribute would be liable to be increased. Regarding Seraikela and Kharswan, as have already been said above, their position improved with their *sanads* of 1899 wherein their possessions were called "Political States" (whatever that may mean) and the Rajas were "recognized as Feudatory Chiefs."

The assumption in these *sanads* has uniformly been that the 'recognition' and 'nomination' as 'Feudatory' amounted to improvement in status. But this is hardly correct. A 'tributary' is not necessarily a 'feudatory,' and mere payment of tribute (as in the case of the Cuttack group) did not involve any cession of sovereign powers in internal affairs even although there may have been an encroachment upon the tributary's rights by the obligation to pay tribute. The word 'feudatory' has often been misused. In its proper sense it usually connotes limited sovereignty received from the suzerain State for some consideration such as military service. The Government of the East India Company is not known to have contracted relations

* *Ibid.*, Vol. I. p. 367.

that are 'Feudal' strictly so called, with the Native States of India. The relations were mostly of a tributary nature, though some times, the expression 'Feudal' was used. The position has thus been set forth in the publication *British Crown and Indian States* which was presented to the Indian States Committee :

"Before, however, dismissing the idea of the States being bound to the Empire by the feudal tie, we may point out that the existence of such a tie, which Lord Ellenborough first broaches in his letter to Queen Victoria, and which Lord Dalhousie asserts on several occasions was never asserted in correspondence between the Company and the States. While the Company's Government was recognized by all as the Paramount Power in India, the States were officially held to be in alliance with that power. Even if that Power was on occasions called the Suzerain Power, it was never asserted that the States stood in a feudatory position towards it. The terms of the treaties contained no hint of feudal relations even in the case of the so called 'dependent' States."* The position of the zamindaries in Central Provinces, later recognized as Feudatory States, has been summed up by Sir Richard Temple thus:† "On the one hand, they were not sovereigns being in reality quite dependent on Government, having no fixed power of their own, but exercising more or less of authority by sufferance or by relegation, and being altogether subject to the pleasure of Government as declared from time to time ; yet, on the other hand, they are quite above the rank of ordinary subjects ; their Governmental and administrative authority however undefined and however liable to interruption has always existed and still exists, and such authority ought not and indeed cannot be done away with." He also added : "It is never precisely understood how far they are ordinary subjects destitute of authority, or how far they are more than ordinary subjects possessing authority."

* *British Crown and Indian States : an Outline Sketch* (Presented to the Indian States Committee on behalf of the Standing Committee to the Chamber of Princes), p. 77.

† *Report on the Zaminders and other petty Chieftainships in the Central Provinces*—by Sir Richard Temple ; quoted from Sir Reginald Craddock's *Note on the Status of the Zamindars of the Central Provinces*, p. 4.

This description covers the case of the Sambalpur group of States which were then in the Central Provinces, and which thus occupied a dubious constitutional position according to Sir Richard Temple.

Presumably, the Cuttack group, which were originally turned tributary *Mehals*, were not, like the chiefs of the Sambalpur group which lay close to the seat of the Nagpur power, very greatly handicapped by the feudal claims of the Maratha power. Their description in the Deogaon treaty as 'Feudatories' of Nagpur is perhaps not quite accurate, since they were in practice only 'Tributaries' (exactions from whom were generally made by the Maratha with the help of arms) ; but it helps to explain what was in the mind of the Company in regard to the relationship of these States with Nagpur before the treaty of Deogaon and with the British after that treaty. Unfortunately, the term 'feudatory' was then either used carelessly or wholly misunderstood. It had been applied on many occasions, though not very accurately, to every Indian State. Even the proclamation of King Edward in 1901 runs—"To all my Feudatories and subjects throughout India..." The proclamation of King George in 1912 is also similar. In the same manner, even the State of Kashmir was called feudatory in the letter from the Government of India to the Secretary of State, dated April 7th, 1884, about the appointment of a Resident in Kashmir upon the death of the then ruling Maharaja.

As has already been said, the Sambalpur group of States were at first treated as holding almost temporary tenures under British Government as is apparent from the specimen *Kabuliyat* of Patna quoted above ; and in the case of the chief of the now defunct Sambalpur State, he was liable to any penalty imposed upon him by the Hon'ble Company for any breach of the conditions of the engagements. Their criminal powers were originally limited to passing up to six months' imprisonment while in the civil and revenue matters, "though non-interference was the prevailing policy" in practice "interference was the principle ; every act or order of the Raja is open to revision by the Governor-General's Agent, however trivial the matter." In contrast to this "with the Gurjhat Mahals of Cuttack, the principle has been to recognize the Rajas as chiefs within their

boundaries; and in all trivial matters, as further, in all matters not of a heinous character, or having no general interest, to regard them as free to act as they pleased.”*

Whatever powers the chief of the Sambalpur group wielded including civil justice and police, all had to be authorized by the British officer-in-charge. Their anomalous position did not improve until *sanads* were granted to them in 1867, and even till 1865 their status was left undefined. This will be evident from the fact that the *sanads* of adoption which were conferred on all the Indian Princes “governing their own territories” by Lord Canning in 1862, including the chief of Cuttack Mahals, were withheld from the chiefs of the Sambalpur and Chota Nagpur groups till 1865. And then they were granted to particular State after careful inquiries had been made as to the exact political status of each of them. Thus in case of Bonai, Gangpur, Seraikela and Kharswan the adoption *sanads* were granted to them as late as 1915.

It was from 1867, when *sanads* were granted to the Sambalpur group, that we notice a change in the status of many of the States then in the Central Provinces. Some were raised to the position of Feudatory chiefs while others remained as ordinary British subjects with zamindaries or landed property. This division was due to Sir Richard Temple's report on the chiefs of the Central Provinces, which was submitted in 1863.† According to him the

chiefs were arranged to be divided into two classes, according to the principles of sovereignty or no sovereignty with a suggestion that there would be an intermediate class of chiefs possessing quasi-sovereign rights. Finally, the Government of India after revising the classification divided the Zamindars of Central Provinces into two Sections only in 1864 :—(a) Feudatory, and (b) Ordinary subjects, the expression ‘Feudatory’ being substituted for quasi-sovereign. In this class were placed among others Kalahandi, Patna, Bamra, Sonepur, to which in 1866 Rehracole was also added. It will be interesting to note however that the rights and privileges granted by *sanads* in 1867 to these States were in many respects superior to those which the Cuttack group of States were for a long time permitted to exercise in spite of their treaties. In the case of the former group, rights of internal sovereignty underwent a process of growth in course of time, whereas in the case of the latter group these rights suffered from a process of gradual attrition.

Such distinctions were at once inconsistent and illogical. This was even recognized by Sir Andrew Fraser as is evinced from his view in the reports on his administration of Bengal, 1903-1908 :

“The difference in powers was probably due originally to mere chance at the time when the powers were recognized.”*

He made an examination of the *sanads* and of the history of their States and found that the distinction was not justified on historical grounds. It appeared to him to be also unsound on other grounds. But it does not seem that he succeeded in applying the remedy according to his own convictions.

* Sir Henry Rickett's Report on Sambalpur States, 1855; para 16.

† *Report on the Zamindars and other petty Chieftainships in Central Provinces* by Sir Richard Temple; quoted from Sir Reginald Craddock's *Note on the Status of the Zamindars of the Central Provinces*; Introduction, p. 5.

* *Report on the Administration of Bengal under Sir Andrew Fraser, 1903-1908*, P. 54.

Hindu Exogamy *

A REVIEW

By PROF. J. C. RAY

I

THERE are three laws regulating marriage among Hindus. These are,—(1) A man desirous of marriage must marry in his own 'jāti,' caste : (2) but the girl must not belong to the 'gotra,' line, of his father : (3) nor must she be a 'sapinda', blood relation, of either his father or mother within certain specified degrees. Marriage inside a group is endogamy, and outside a group exogamy. The first law may thus be called 'jāti' endogamy, the second gotra exogamy, and the third sapinda exogamy. These three laws are binding upon every Hindu, Brahmin or non-Brahmin, the only difference being in counting sapindas, and in some castes in extending the law of gotra exogamy to include the gotra of the mother also.

The author has given in this book an exhaustive account of the two laws of exogamy. He has diligently ransacked the sastras on the subject, dating to the earliest times down to the present, the Vedas, Brahmanas, Sūtras, Smritis and their commentaries, and Nibandhas. He has examined the texts with great ability and noted the practices obtaining among non-Brahmins by selecting typical examples. In the last chapter he has tested the laws in the light of modern Biology and Eugenics. Such a mass of materials for study of the subject was never collected before. He therefore deserves high praise for his painstaking research, and the Bombay University is to be congratulated upon the publication of this handy and useful volume.

The book is, however, not a chronological history of the two laws of exogamy. It purports to be a criticism of, and a judgment upon their merits. The author writes in the preface that "in consideration of gradual Brahmanization of all Hindu castes, I found it necessary to examine the Brahminical rules of exogamy at some length in the present work." And he ends it with a warning to non-Brahmins in these words :—"With all their laudable zeal for following the Brahmanical ideals, they [the non-Brahmins] would be acting in their own interests if they analyse and sift before they embrace any Brahmanical dogma." But the ideal is there, and unless the Brahmins relax some of the rules and show the way, it is futile to preach any reform which may be found necessary. The author has appealed to the Brahmins in their interests "to re-examine the restrictions and introduce suitable changes in the rules [of exogamy] just as their forefathers did under similar [altered] circumstances two thousand years before." For, he says that "under the two-fold restrictions of endogamy and exogamy, a Hindu youth's field for selecting a bride has been unnaturally [?] narrowed down." The author has not touched upon endogamy which is, in our opinion, the cause of the trouble, but seeks

remedy by abolishing gotra exogamy and introducing cousin marriage as among Mahomedans and Christians. For, his evidence is that "there is no rational defence for Hindu sept exogamy," (a sept, according to the author, is the same as gotra), and that the evil effects of kin marriage have been unduly exaggerated.

The book is thus a revolt against the time-honoured laws, and the question naturally arises : Is the evidence on which the author relies for his judgment correctly interpreted ? It cannot be expected that marriage laws dating back to hoary antiquity and developing among a widely spread population placed in a variety of environments can be all explained to the satisfaction of every kind of inquirer. Nor can they be expected to remain uniform everywhere and for all time to come. It is not surprising that they underwent modification in long course of time and became complex and hardened with age. But it is surprising that the rules differed only in details. One, therefore, naturally wishes to discover the underlying principle. We regret, the author has not attempted to furnish the key, but has felt contented by narrating the changes that happened in successive periods of time. He has viewed the customs like a foreigner from the outside, and his lack of sympathy and unmistakable bias against the institutions dissected by him are, we believe, responsible for his missing the spirit which bound them together into a living whole. We are not opposed to reform, if it is found necessary, but that is no reason why one should not endeavour to view the customs in the way the ancients did. As we have said above, if there be difficulty in finding many eligible girls in any caste, the remedy lies in the mitigation of endogamy, the basis of countless castes and sub-castes. There is a perfectly intelligible and rational principle in exogamy, but none, at least in the present condition of easy communication and the general levelling up of various sections of castes to a common standard, in endogamy save the savage instinct of suspicion against an outsider. It will be therefore useful to survey broadly the general features of the three laws of marriage and to see if there are any rational basis. In this attempt we shall not trouble ourselves with discussion of texts and endless controversies and conflicting opinions regarding the rules.

II

The following scheme of classification of Brahmins will make the present position clear. To illustrate it we take the late Sir Surendranath Banerjee as an example.

Sir Surendranath Banerji. (Bandya-upādhyāya)
Order ... Varna,—Brahmana
Genus ... Gotra,—Sāndilya
Series ... Sreni,—Gaudiya (territorial)

* Hindu Exogamy. By S. V. Karandikar, M.A.
Pp. 308, Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Rs. 6.

Sub-series ... Upasreni,—Rārhiya (territorial)
 Species ... Kula,—Bandya-upādhyāya
 Individual ... Nāma,—Surendranatha

It will be seen that the classification is partly based on lineage and partly on the place of abode of the ancestors. The members of a 'kula' have certainly a common ancestor, and since a 'gotra' consists of many 'kulas' it follows that the idea of gotra is based on lineage, only beginning remote in time. The gotras are named after Rishis, who are believed to have been the original founders of the kulas. At one time the name, gotra, was applied to kula, and there were innumerable gotras. There was thus confusion between the old established gotras, the wider groups, and the new, the narrower groups, which were really included in the old. Since marriage cannot take place by customary law between members of the same gotra it became necessary to define the gotras by naming one or more, up to five, illustrious persons who happened to adorn each. These were called 'pravaras,' and the rule of marriage necessarily required the exclusion of gotras having the same pravaras. Thus, the gotra Sandilya is that gotra of which Sandilya, Asita and Devala were members. It is to be noted that this was the only possible way of distinguishing gotras. It is generally held that the pravaras of each gotra were not all descendants of the line. Some were disciples, who in ancient times were regarded as sons of their preceptors who gave them re-birth. The author has examined the point and is of opinion that the pravaras of a gotra were all disciples and not descendants. This can hardly be wholly true. For example, the pravara Sandilya could not but be a descendant of the Sandilya family. One ordinarily follows the school of his ancestors unless he chooses to abandon the family tradition and ritual for a different school. An examination of the gotras and pravaras shews that such changes did happen; and the ultimate result was what the author has found. It is the business of genealogists to settle disputes in genealogy. But unfortunately they come always too late after any mischief had been done. They have to depend upon tradition for their decision, and it seems the whole work of re-arranging the gotras and pravaras was not done by one man or at one time. For, there are anomalies almost like those in animal and plant names. There are gotra names, *e. g.* Vatsya and Savarni, which have the same identical pravaras; while there are others, *e. g.* Ghrita-Kausika, which have sets of pravaras. The whole subject is complicated. Fortunately it is not necessary to enter into it. Since the Brahmins have formed themselves in endogamous groups and are scattered in various parts no practical difficulty arises on account of pravaras. As a matter of fact these have lost their importance and marriages are settled if gotras in the endogamous groups are different, provided, of course, other restrictions do not bar them.

Whether one should proceed directly from kula to gotra, from species to genus, or through some intermediate grouping is a matter of convenience. Surendranath belonged to sub-series Rārhi of the country of Rārhi (West Bengal) of the series of Gauda, as distinguished from Dravida. These divisions have nothing to do with lineage and are purely artificial. The reason for them arose from

the fact that long residence in an entirely different environment and practically cut off from the "home" country is sure to induce changes both in body and mind and particularly in habits and culture, which are analogous to the characters of races of Biology. The word, jāti, is not usually applied to the series of Brahmins. Strictly speaking, they are jatis or castes, the endogamous groups of the Hindu society. As in Bengal, so in every other province, the numerous artificial sub-divisions which were perhaps justifiable in old days have worked as castes, and the first attempt at reform should be to break down these artificial barriers of marriage.

In ancient times when the Aryan population was not large and there was no necessity for leaving the home country, the classification was simpler and more natural. It was like the following :

Varna or colour	Aryans			Non-Aryans
	white Brah- mana	red Kshatriya	yellow Vaisya	black Sudra
Gotra	A B C etc.			
Kula	a, b, c, d, e, f etc.	a, b, c etc.	a, b, c, etc.	a, b, c, etc.
Nama	x, y, z. etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

Kula is a family, and gotra a larger family. The word gotra has a curious history. In Rigvedic times it meant an enclosure for cows. They were kept in them during the night to prevent depredation by wild animals and thieves. At day-break they were let loose for grazing in fields, goshthas. Naturally the cows belonging to one family used to be kept in one gotra, which thus came to mean a family. The gotra-pati like kulapati, the head of the family, became the gotra Rishi. The grazing ground, goshtha, would on the other hand find room for cows of many families. Hence the word came to mean a number of allied families, or of persons meeting together for a common purpose, a club.

We can imagine that the number of gotras was at first very few. The statement in the Mahabharata (quoted by the author) that there were only four primary gotras, though evidently based on tradition, has nothing improbable in it. The number increased to eight, to ten, and so on by repeated fission in course of time. When the number was small, kula and gotra were co-extensive, and nāma and gotra, the name and surname, were quite sufficient for identification. Sometimes as a mark of respect the name was omitted, and gotra alone was found sufficient to indicate the person meant. This practice of naming persons by their family names has been a fruitful source of confusion in later times, and every Sanskrit scholar is aware of the difficulty of assigning a date to an author who bears a patronymic. The matter is further complicated by the fact that, as we have seen in the case of many pravara names, disciples sometimes adopted the gotras of their teachers. A confirmation of the ancient custom is curiously preserved in Bengali. One surprised at the conduct of another exclaims and asks the question, "To what gotra does he belong?" Here gotra stands for a school of training or discipleship. The word may mean family also, on which upbringing depends. By analogy Kshatriya and Vaisya 'yajamana', house-holder, borrowed or lay claim to the gotras of their Brahmin priests.

All authorities agree that these two orders have no gotras of their own. Not that the families had no ancestors, all that is meant is that they did not care to remember their names and probably they were not Rishis. The question is beset with difficulties, and the author has devoted pages to reconcile the irreconcilable. To give an instance, Visvamitra was certainly a Vedic Rishi who composed hymns. He was a Kshatriya and also one of the primary gotra Rishis. When a Hindu offers water to the memory of Bhishma of the Mahabharata his gotra and pravara are recited which may be after all those of his spiritual ancestor. For, a Kshatriya son could not have a Brahman father. According to the usage prevailing in ancient times a son of a Brahman father and Kshatriya mother would be taken into the Brahman Varna. There were however, pure Kshatriyas who took the gotras and pravaras of their spiritual ancestors. By analogy the higher class Sudras claim gotras of their priests on the ground that their ancestors served in the families, gotras, of their priests. The lower classes also have gotras, but these are totemistic.

From the outline given above it will be seen that gotras are either ancestral or spiritual and that all are not equally ancient. Among orders other than Brahmins the gotra of a family may be of recent date. For instance, if any family removes to a distant country without taking the family priest, it will have to appoint a new one bearing a new gotra. The effect of the change will be creation of a new line and the object of gotra exogamy may be frustrated by marriage taking place between the old and the new lines. On the other hand, there may be, and are in fact common priests serving separate families, sometimes of different castes, which have no relationship with one another, and are yet liable to be excluded from the circle of marriageable families on account of the mistaken identity of the families from accidental identity of gotras. Barring such cases the assumption of gotra, real or fictitious, has served the purpose of separating families into distinct units, though not for an equal number of generations. A gotra may be compared with a Banian tree spreading numerous branches which are of various ages, the older ones sending down roots into the soil below and becoming independent trees. The law of gotra exogamy takes no account of their difference in age, recognizes them as branches from one main tree and prohibits marriage between their members, because the same blood runs in all. What is true of one is true of all. The gotras are allied, but each is nourished by its own peculiar sap. The result is gotra exogamy which makes crossing compulsory.

Like all social customs it too had a small beginning in the dim age of the pre-Vedic Indo-Aryans. For, we find in the Rig-Veda that marriage used to take place outside the family, often between strangers. The word, gotra, was perhaps not in use to denote a family. But it is apparent that the Rig-Vedic Aryans had long ago laid down the foundation of marriage outside the gotra. It prohibited marriage between members descended from the same stock, as between brother and sister and between a son and his father's brother's daughter. We do not know for how many generations the kinship was recognized. But considering the fact that the families contracting marriage alliance lived sometimes at considerable distance from one another it appears that they represented

distance in generations also. The families descended from the same stock being few at the time, they probably lived near one another, and the strange families of which the bride was expected to be the mistress represented an entirely different stock. The question of the present day did not arise at the time, and there was neither need for counting generations nor for examining genealogy of families. The difference of the family name which was called gotra later on was enough warrant for difference of blood.

The author thinks that the Rig-Vedic Aryans did not evolve the custom themselves but imitated it from their non-Aryan neighbours who were exogamous "to flatter their tastes and to prove their own social purity" (p. 172). But this novel hypothesis shifts the burden from one shoulder to another and does not explain the origin at all. The difficulty seems to be the author's own creation. For, though he has repeatedly told us that gotra meant a family, he appears to have missed its implications. It is obvious, since a family consists of one or more generations, past or present, gotra meant a male-line of descendants as explained by Panini. It was therefore an easy step from marriage outside the family to marriage outside the gotra. No one can have knowledge of actual descent from an ancestor. It is only a belief that one's ancestor was, for instance, Sandilya. He may have been a fiction and may not have lived at all. But his descendants are related to one another as father is to son.

III

Gotra exogamy touches only one part of kinship. It takes no account of kinship outside the direct paternal line. For instance, was marriage with father's sister's daughter or with mother's brothers or sister's daughter prohibited in the Rigvedic times? These by the rule of gotra exogamy could never be of

* The author has discussed the various theories which have been put forward by sociologists to account for the custom of exogamy but have found them inadequate. It is needless to say that there is some truth in everyone. Not having studied the question we are unable to express an opinion. The author is, however, mistaken in thinking that the Gandharva form of marriage, marriage by courtship, was the only form among the Rig-Vedic Aryans. Besides this there were other forms. There was marriage by capture, e. g. Vimada carrying off the daughter of Purumitra, and by purchase (Rg. 1. 10. 2). That there was scarcity of girls is also proved by the usage of the Arsha form in which Rishis begged for girls. We believe all the eight forms of marriage, together with intermarriage were in vogue more or less, because they represent the possible forms and all the people in the Aryan community were neither saints nor morally of one standard. The best evidence is the recognition of the forms in the sutras and smritis. The case of Ghosha adduced by the author was peculiar. She was afflicted with an incurable skin disease, and, though a princess, she did not find a husband until middle age when through the grace of Asvins she was cured and restored to youth. (*Rig-Vedic Culture*, by Abinas Chandra Das, Calcutta.)

the gotra of the father. Similarly father's brother's daughter's daughter belongs to a different gotra. The author has pointed to a passage in the Rig-Veda in which the maternal uncle's daughter and the paternal aunt's daughter are described as one's share in marriage. They form the third generation. We think he is right when he says that "in the Indo-Aryan society cognates could intermarry in the third generation" (p. 14). But it is impossible to say that this was the universal practice. The Veda is not a Dharma-sastra, and it is risky to generalize from a casual reference to a custom. The limit was gradually fixed beyond three generations on the mother's side and five generations on the father's side, and this remained for many centuries the rule on the point. A formula was found in the term, *sapinda*. It means having the same 'pinda' or body. The father is re-born in the son, hence the son is the *atmaja*, born of the father. The idea gave rise to the custom of offering oblations in the form of balls of rice to the ancestors. The author quotes Vijnanesvara, the celebrated commentator of Yajñabalkya, who explains the idea of *sapinda* in clear terms. "Sapinda relationship arises between two persons through their being connected by particles of one body." The son is his father's as well as his mother's *sapinda*, inasmuch as particles of their body are present in his body,—a statement scientifically true. It was held, since at least the days of Manu that the male element is more potent than the female in determining the characters of the offspring, and the modern biologists have confirmed the truth by saying that the sperm is the fertilizing element while the ovum furnishes the nourishing substance. Charaka discusses in general terms the necessity of marriage outside the gotra, and Susruta gives separate lists of characters which are inherited through the father and the mother, and though they may not be accurate they shew that the ancient Hindus anticipated the modern eugenists. At first when the rule was made definite, as observed above, the ancients counted five generations on the father's and three generations on the mother's side as *sapindas*, who transmit their quota of characters to the offspring. They were therefore excluded. Theoretically the number is infinite, but the Vedic Aryans thought that blood becomes practically fresh beyond those degrees. Later sociologists about the beginning of the Christian era raised the limits to seven and five, but as might be expected the older law continued to guide many parts of the country as it does even now the Deccan. The question as to the number of generations the blood may be considered to remain of the same nature is a matter of opinion, presumably based on observed inheritance of noticeable characters, such as insanity. The later authors and commentators were divided in their opinion, a few supporting the old law the majority condemning it, some excluding the fifth and the third or the seventh and the fifth others including them, and some going so far as to exclude the mother's gotra as well. That the object was the avoidance of old blood is proved by the fact that some authorities allowed marriage of a girl within the prohibited degrees if she had through mother, grandmother and great-grandmother passed through three different gotras.

We are aware that a very large number of

girls become ineligible on account of excluding seven and five generations. But as girls are not scarce, there is no necessity of relaxing the rule.

The origin of exogamy which will take us back to the time when man behaved like an animal will remain as mysterious as his evolution. There may have been more than one factor. There are perhaps no savages among whom mating of brother and sister, mother and son, or of father and daughter is of common occurrence. If there be none and if there be a feeling of aversion to such mating, it is because the race or community given to it has long been extinct, and those families that desisted from it either by accident or by choice have survived. A sense of incest has thus been evolved, which is strengthened in infancy by home influence to different degrees. If an infant brother and his infant sister be separated from each other and removed to two different homes the sense of incest will fail to work. That is to say, it has not yet become an instinct. The author has referred to the dialogue between Yama and Yami in the Rig-Veda and the story of Prajapati related in the A. and S. Brahmanas, lustfully pursuing his daughter. Though these are astronomical allegories relating to the commencement of the year as shewn by Tilak long ago, they conclusively prove that the sense of incest had been strongly developed before the time to which the stories refer. It was an easy step to extend the relation of brother and sister to cousins. Indeed in Sanskrit and Sanskrit vernaculars the father's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter and mother's sister's daughter are all addressed as sister. Since a brother cannot think of marrying his sister, the same feeling may have acted and prevented cousin marriage. Among the lower classes, at least in Northern India, who do not know *sapindas* and cannot count them, the universal rule is to avoid marriage with these four sisters. They represent the third generation.

But this cannot be the whole explanation of a custom which distinguishes kinship to different degrees on the father's and mother's side. This fact leads us to believe that the effect of consanguinity on the issue of marriage was observed and the different degrees of kinship were not the result of mere chance or whim of legislators. It does not require much intelligence to observe the effect of crossing on domestic animals, nor to arrive at the truth that "like begets like." The facts are common knowledge. The fact that marriage with maternal uncle's daughter and paternal uncle's daughter is still current in the South does not prove that such marriages though approved by local custom or tolerated in certain Smritis is right from the point of view of eugenics. Knowledge grew and later writers on Dharmasastras had the courage of conviction and were bold enough to go against the custom of the Vedic Aryans, and their forefathers and to alter the rule of *sapinda* exclusion. This surely was not popular at first and did not facilitate selection of brides. We cannot therefore treat the reform lightly and go back to the days of Vedic civilization, high or low. The author remarks that "in the whole Sanskrit literature, ancient and modern, wherever in-breeding is condemned, it is condemned on religious grounds and not on eugenical grounds" (p. 176). This statement is

hardly accurate. For, the word, 'dharma' is not equivalent to religion, embracing as it does all the activities of life considered as a whole, and Sastras on dharma give us practical rules for our guidance. All prohibited acts are declared sinful, and sin attaches to those acts which are anti-social. This is how the ancient authors of Dharma-sastras made the observance of certain rules compulsory. By enunciating the principle of sapinda in marriage they barred the way to kin-marriage so that the people may be compelled to improve the breed by crossing with carefully selected specimens. They have given us hints as to this selection, the points to be considered of the family, the qualifications of the bride and the bridegroom and even the age of the parties. The duty of selection was taken over by their parents from young men and women, and, last of all, marriage of a girl was considered a gift to the best chosen, a gift to the race. Even the rule of hypergamy by which a man of a higher varna was permitted to marry a woman of a lower varna and not otherwise tells the same tale of the anxiety felt for improvement of the race. Well may the eugenisists of the West envy India which began to carry out their desires into practice more than twenty-five centuries ago.

It is now a well-established truth that "not only bodily characters but also those of the mind are essentially determined by the hereditary endowment received from the parents" including tendencies to certain diseases. It is a common saying in Bengali that an ass cannot be trained into a horse, and Manu expressed the truth by saying that a paddy seed will always give rise to a paddy plant and never a sesamum. If this be the case as it undoubtedly is, it will be suicidal to the race if selection of the seed is discouraged by marrying cousins. The biologists who have been engaged in the study of heredity in man tell us that "in general the resemblance of a child to its grand-parent is rather more than half of that to its parent, and that the resemblance between uncle and nephew, or between first cousins, is very slightly less than between grand-child and grand-parent." If this be the case marriage of first cousins as proposed by the author cannot be permitted unless one wishes to perpetuate their characters.

The author seems to have entirely overlooked the necessity of variation to race improvement and writes that "in-breeding" by itself cannot produce good results or bad results." No, if it be not continuous. He is right in the statement that "it depends upon the stocks in-bred." This is exactly the point at issue. If all men and all women were perfect in every respect, and we could be sure that the limit of perfection had been reached, in-breeding should have been the rule. But unfortunately there is no perfection in creation, and nature shrinks from stagnation which means death, and is ever busy in creation of new forms which means variation. Man like animals and plants has to fight for existence, and nature alone knows what makes him fit. Improvement in one direction is accompanied by deterioration in some other, and it has not yet been possible to define points and to suggest methods by which they may be combined.

We may take a lesson out of the experiment tried in Bengal in the beginning of the 12th century

to produce a "pure" line of Brahmins by Vallabha Sena, king of Bengal, by selecting Brahmins considered worthy, 'kulina' and confining marriage within the selected families. These could not be too many, and yet the experiment failed to maintain the standard. This was evidently due partly to the inevitable confusion between what are called inherent and acquired characters, a point still disputed, partly to want of selection of wives of the worthy Brahmins and partly to the failure to eliminate the "unworthy" sons in the succeeding generations until the "pure" line was established. In the course of three centuries all the families had become impure, when a genealogist and a match-maker by profession tried the next experiment by balancing one set of "impurities" against another, and re-arranging the families between which marriage could take place. By the double process of arrangement the population was divided into small endogamous groups, and close in-breeding was the inevitable result. Though it would be rash to assert, but it is a fact that many families became extinct. There were more girls to be married than bachelors, and the saddest part of the story is that the parents of the unfortunate girls thought too highly of the benefits of hypergamy without caring to understand the principle, and gave away their daughters in batches to kulina drones who were not ashamed to own dozens of wives. Be it noted that these "worthy" husbands were the products of the experiment. The rule of sapinda exogamy must have been cast away to the winds when polygamy on an unprecedented scale was the rule. Bengal could boast of giant intellects when it began, there was Raghunandana, the Bengal authority in Smriti, there were masters of Logic to found a new school. It is astonishing that they permitted the practice born of ignorance of the spirit of the Sastras. The only explanation which suggests itself to us is that they valued race improvement more than happiness of the girls and forgot to consider the necessary conditions.

In the last argument in support of cousin marriage the author writes: "For a Hindu mind the Mahomedans and the Christians practise in-breeding, inasmuch as they approve of marriage of parallel cousins and cross cousins. These two communities are practising cousin marriage for hundreds of years; and they have not shown the slightest sign of degeneration, mental or physical. The vigour of these communities is unquestionable" (p. 287). So again, "when the Indo-Aryans habitually married their cognatic relations in the third generation, they were the leading race of the world" (p. 288). From these examples the author wants us to draw the inference that marriage with cousins agnatic and cognatic, results in vigorous and virile progeny. But he forgets to examine his premises. The fact is that the Mahomedans and Christians are not endogamous. Nor were the Indo-Aryans. Their undoubted vigour is due to frequent fusion with foreign blood, the effect of which lasts long and does not disappear on occasional kin-marriage. It is continuous in-breeding that tells on the vigour of a race. The Indo-Aryans did not "habitually" marry their cognatic cousins. There was no ban against such marriage, but it would be wrong to make a generalization from isolated instances. There was inter-marriage between the Varnas, and though the

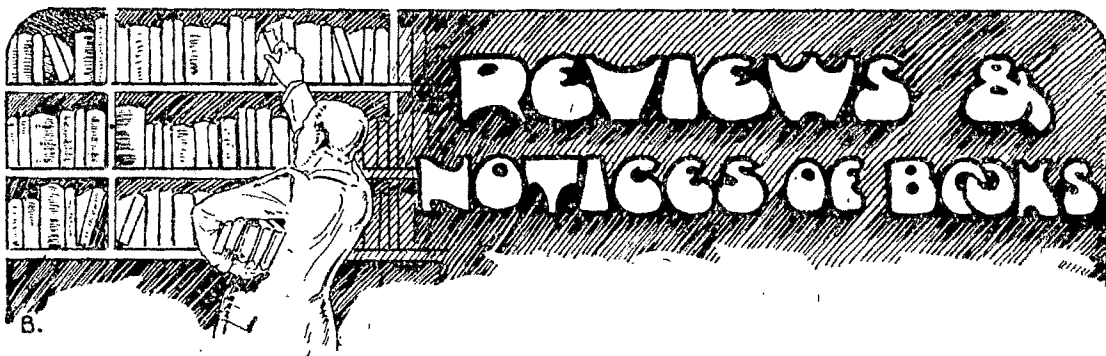
first three Varnas belonged to the Aryan stock, they were three different clans, distinguishable from one another by the colour of their skin. This is why the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas could not by right claim descent from Rishis. It is true the Brahmins preferred hypergamy which was favoured by natural instinct and rationalized by the theory of heredity making seed more potent than soil. But there was no barrier against a Brahmin marrying a Kshatriya, a Vaisya and even a Sudra woman. There was thus wide scope for the mingling of fresh blood just as in the case of Mahomedans and Christians. The three communities agree also in their meat-eating habit. This is not a small matter in maintaining the vigour of a race.

IV

As the subject dealt with in the book is of the highest importance to the Hindus we have thought it fit to examine the position at some length. We find that gotra meant a family, in its widest sense, and when the Brahmin community was small it served the useful purpose of insisting upon marriage between different families, and favouring variation of type through selection. As the population has become large, the gotra exogamy is no longer necessary to the extent of excluding remote branches. The sapindas of the father's side including the tenth generation are, we believe, enough to ensure the mingling of desirable blood. In castes of small population gotras irrespective of their origin ought to continue until it merges itself into a larger caste. For instance, there are small endogamous sections of Brahmins unequally divided into three gotras, among whom sapinda exogamy has been reduced to a farce. The sooner such sections amalgamate with larger sections, the better will be their chance of race improvement. For various reasons people who have never thought of prudential mating feel inclined to contract marriage with relations, the two laws of exogamy put a check upon their unwise action. We cannot therefore recommend abolition of gotra exogamy for all castes and sub-castes. The Brahmins irrespective of their various grades now number more than a crore and forty-three lakhs. The number of gotras into which they are divided is not known. Probably it is about sixty or seventy. If they could make up their mind to form a homogeneous population, the difficulty of finding girls would not arise. It is satisfactory to note that people have become alive to the necessity of amalgamation of sub-castes into larger bodies and though the motive is to enlarge the field of eligible bridegrooms it helps in the free mingling of fresh blood. It is to be distinctly remembered that there is no other way of race progress than the application of eugenic principles, fortunately embodied in our Sastras.

If our information is correct, the Sarasvata Brahmins marry in the same gotra, but not in the same family. The section is distributed in various parts of the country, especially in the West and South. This custom could not be an innovation. It is an instance of survival of the old relic, and we know all important social customs obey the first Law of Motion. The Nambudiri Brahmins of Malabar have preserved some other features of the old times when girls were scarce and Brahmin girls could not be found for all brothers. The eldest married a girl of the same Varna to preserve a race of unmixed blood and the younger had to marry in Kshatriya families, the next higher Varna. The Nayars happened to be a military caste and they furnished wives to the younger brothers. In this case there is no question of gotra or sapinda. The Nambudiris appear to have migrated from Mithila taking with them the ancient customs which had not yet been stereotyped by the Smritis. The Sarasvata and Nambudiri Brahmins have been able to retain their Brahminhood in spite of their dissenting from the current Smritis. This is the peculiarity of the Hindu society. It is divided into Soviet Republics which kings recognised and Dharma-sastras made customs as valid as their laws. There is therefore no inherent difficulty excepting deep-rooted sentiment in making the Sapinda law as shown above the only law of marriage.*

* The author has referred to the special Marriage Amendment Act of 1923 by which marriage inside one's gotra has been rendered possible. But apart from other disabilities such as severance of family ties and Hindu Law of succession the fact that marriage has to be registered under the Act takes away the solemnity of the ceremony which is rightly considered as a religious sacrament. We are aware that there are legal difficulties in making the Act conformable to Hindu sentiments. But surely ways could be found if the points were duly considered. As it is, it is a hybrid and has proved sterile. Severest condemnation has proceeded from the Brahmos at whose instance, we believe, the previous Act was amended. Many of them ignore the new Act and are content with building up *factum valet*. But these will not help the Hindus who are subject to Hindu Law of inheritance, and inter-caste, inter-subcaste and sagotra marriage duly solemnized before a large number of respectable persons may be disputed and pronounced null and void by the Courts. The remedy lies with the caste associations which are reviving rapidly. They can function like the caste guilds of ancient times and introduce any reform they think desirable without recourse to legislative action.



[Books in the following languages will be noticed : Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

THE GITA IDEA OF GOD by *Brahmachari Gitanand*, Author of *Dialogue Divine and Dramatic*, published by B. G. Paul & Co., Madras, 1930 Price Rs. 5.

The book is a poser. It is impossible to understand what the author 'wants to convey to his readers. The author seems to be under an obsession of alliteration and he has a curious way of using compound words in describing the simplest thought. "Not 'Deliverance' but veridically righteous and conscientiously conscious *Deed-Accomplishment*—not 'Renunciation' nor even mere 'Regeneration' but the instantaneous *At-One-Ment of Instinct-Intuition-Passion-Interest-Intelligence*, and nothing short of that, is the only true fulfilment of Life's functioning freedom and freedom of function. The living Body-Mind is the dually developing, dividing and coalescing Form-function and Function-form whose sustaining, impelling and ordaining Authority and Impeller is the Psycho-physico-spiritual Suzerainty and Sovereignty of undivided and indivisible Life-Beauty-Love. Pure and perpetually persistent function is what is specifically called *Life*; Form, Fixity-of-Familiarity and Freedom-of-Novelty together constitute *Beauty*; and Fulfilment of the functioning freedom of both Life Hunger and Beauty-pursuing-Enjoyment is *Love*!" and so on and so forth from start to finish.

G. BOSE

PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS OF THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION, Vol. XI, Government of India Central Publication Branch: pp. 265, Rs. 6-12.

The Indian Historical Records Commission and its useful activity hardly need introduction. Its annual session has now become a sort of Historical Conference which evokes great enthusiasm and where learned papers are read and discussed. Last year the Commission held its sitting at

Nagpur, and judging from the volume of its proceedings under review, the session seems to have been a great success. This volume contains some very learned and suggestive papers and valuable lists of historical manuscripts, paintings and historical relics exhibited at Nagpur on this occasion. Of the twenty-three papers eight deal with various phases of the Maratha history. Those who are eager to traverse unexplored fields and fresh lines of research in the Medieval and Modern periods of Indian history will find many valuable suggestions in these papers. Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his paper on Mahadji Sindhia mentions several sources of the history of that great Maratha soldier and statesman still lying unused in the Government archives and in private possession. Mr. Rawlinson's "Visit to the Parasani Museum," comes as a great stimulus. He reports sixty bundles of correspondence of Nana Farnavis still awaiting investigation. There is enough work in the Parasani Museum for the present generation of Marathi scholars. Mr. Rawlinson speaks of a key to secret correspondence carried between Nana's agents and the central government at Poona regarding the British in Bombay. In these news-letters, disguised names were used; e.g. Kumbh—England, Ketu—General Hornby, Kanya—Madras. "The Expansion Wars of Venkatappa Nayaka of Ikheri" contributed by Rev. H. Heras embodies the result of much patient research and study of topography. He has done a great service by identifying many obscure and curiously spelt place-names in two Portuguese documents translated by him. Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali's paper on the "Commercial and Social intercourse between the Honourable East India Company and the Poona Court in the Eighteenth century" is brilliant and suggestive. It appears from his paper that a very interesting volume on the Social and Economic history of the Maratha State in the Eighteenth century may be compiled from the archives in the Imperial Record Office. Mr. Sardesai, the greatest living historian of Maharashtra, has very ably reviewed the relation between the Peshwas and

the Bhonslés of Nagpur in the introduction to his paper, "The Treaty of Kanakpur."

It is a happy sign that papers read before the Commission also invite criticism from scholars outside. Hakim Habib-ur-Rahaman Khan of Dacca has in this volume subjected the alleged will of Shaista Khan (published by Khan Bahadur Abdul Latif Khan in Vol. X of Proceedings), to a pointed criticism. The learned Hakim on the ground of internal as well as external evidence holds the alleged will to be a spurious forgery. Till the Khan Bahadur clears up his position and meets the contentions of Hakim Habib-ur-Rahaman, the alleged will shall stand condemned as a forgery. Other papers in this volume are also interesting and well written. Those who are curious about the fate of the unfortunate Rajah Chait Singh will find an authentic account of the last days of Chait Singh in the paper contributed by Mr. Brajendranath Banerjee. In a note on some of the Berar exhibits "Mr Agha Haidar Abidi, M.A., L.T. draws our attention to a manuscript, *Akhabar-nama-i-Haft Kishwar* which he calls an encyclopaedia of current events in India. But the typical passages quoted by him throw doubt on its value as a historical document. To quote two examples only : (i) "One day Maharajah Mulhar Rao Holkar went to see Lord Wellesley, and presented him a telescope." How could Mulhar Rao meet Lord Wellesley who came to India more than three decades after Mulhar's death?

(ii) "For punishing Surajmal Jat two British battalions with six guns and two regiments of cavalry left Shahjahanabad for Bikakir." This is as absurd as the imaginary meeting of Mulhar Rao and Lord Wellesley.

In a sense the Appendix H. *viz.*, the descriptive list of Historical MSS., Painting, etc., will prove very useful to every student of Indian history. A glance through the list is itself a study.

This volume of proceedings undoubtedly ranks high among learned historical journals. No library should be without a copy of it.

K. R. QANUNGO

THE MESSAGE OF MOSES : By A. S. N. Wadia. Published by J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London and Toronto. Pp. 100. Price 2s.6d.

Besides the preface it contains twelve chapters dealing with the following subjects—

(i) The Legacy from the past, (ii) The Exile in Egypt, (iii) The Star of Israel, (iv) In the Wilderness, (v) The Mission, (vi) The Decalogue, (vii) The Covenant, (viii) Jehovah, (ix) Sin, (x) Towards Pisgah, (xi) Moses the Man, and (xii) The Future of Israel, and also Index.

An excellent introduction. Brief but clear. Remarks impartial. Recommended to the general reader.

VEDIC INDIA : Not England the mother of Parliaments of Tertiary Antiquity by N. B. Pargsee. Published by Narayan Bhavanrao Pargsee, 982 Sadashiv Peth, Poona City. Pp xxxv+334+12. Price Rs. 4-0-0

Besides the introduction, there are twelve chapters in the book dealing with (i) Vedas—Source of all knowledge and of the spirit of independence, (ii) The Dawn of Parliament, (iii) Our Vedic world empire,

(iv) India's glorious achievements, (v) Our first lessons to the world in imparting knowledge, (vi) Democratic institutions in India during Vedic times and after, (vii) Anglo-Saxon Institutions and their antecedents, (viii) Old wine in new bottles, (ix) The Secret of our stupendous empires, (x) British Rule in India, (xi) England weighed in the balance and found deplorably wanting, (xii) The Romance and the Reality, and also Index.

The author tries to prove that the Rigvedic Aryans belonged to the Tertiary period which means that they flourished at least "a hundred thousand years ago." This claim is extravagant. He has quoted many passages from the Rigveda but most of them have been distorted, or misunderstood and misinterpreted. The book is uncritical and unscientific. Its main object is political propagandism. It has extolled India and its past achievements and has shewn that its civilization is far superior to British civilization. The author has collected many facts which are very interesting and worth-knowing.

OUR TERTIARY INDO-ARYAN ANCESTORS—Not Nomads—but autochthonous agriculturists in the Land of Seven Rivers by the same author. Pp 31. Price 0-10-0.

The title is self-explanatory.

THE DIVINE MASTER : A study of the life and teachings of Sri Guru Nanak Dev. by Sewaram Singh, B.A., LL. B. Published by Rai Sahib M. Gulab Singh and Sons, Lahore. Pp. xv+317. Price Rs. 5-0-0.

The original edition of the book was published in 1904. It has been out of print for nearly twenty years. That book has now been almost entirely re-written and published under a new title.

There is a dearth of Guru Nanak's life in English. The author has removed a longfelt want. The book is worth-reading.

BEHOLD THE MAN, OR KESRUB AND THE SADIHARAN BRAHMO SAMAJ : By Prof. Dwijadas Datta, M.A. Published by the author (Kandharpari, Comilla). Pp xvii+289. Price Rs. 1-8-0.

Unworthy of Professor Datta. We expected from him sober, dignified and judicial attitude. We often forget that violent, intemperate and contumelious language defeats its own end.

The book may contain only truths as the author gives us to understand ; or it may contain also half-truths, distortions of truths and untruths as the opponents will assert. Even without discussing these questions we can positively assert that the book will not convince those for whom it is principally intended.—neither the opponents, nor the outsiders. It will produce no good results but the mischief it will do is incalculable.

MAHES CH. GHOSE

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA : By Vera Anstey, B. Sc. (Econ.). London : Lecturer in Commerce, London School of Economics. Longmans, Green & Co., 25 s. net. Pp. 581. 1929.

The authoress, Mrs. Vera Anstey, née Powell, was a distinguished scholar of London University,

She and her husband, who was the first Principal of Sydenham College of Commerce, Bombay, spent many years in India and made a close study of Indian economic problems, as a result of which they "became convinced (as the authoress says in the preface) that India's economic problems could never be solved by the mere adoption of certain specific lines of policy, but that the obstacles to progress were rooted deeply in the everyday life, customs, and social organization of the people. Much hard thought and harder persistent effort on the part of the governed, as well as of the governing classes, will be necessary before these obstacles can even begin to be removed."

Among the factors retarding the economic progress of the country on Western lines, the pride of place is therefore given to the "medieval outlook" of the masses, as manifested in the predominance of religion, custom, tradition, the caste system, a fatalistic conception of life, etc., and the lack of a scientific spirit and of the desire for material progress. The authoress admits, however, that "up to the eighteenth century, the economic condition of India was relatively advanced, and Indian methods of production and of industrial and commercial organization could stand comparison with those in vogue in any other part of the world" (p. 5). Can India's present "arrested economic development," then, be said to be due mainly to the causes mentioned above, since these were not certainly less strong up to the 18th century than they are today? May it not rather, in a large measure, be due to the fact that India, during the last two centuries, has not been able to count upon the help of the state for the development of her industries and economic life generally, in the same way as the countries of the West? "The changes [introduced under British rule] brought about," says the authoress, "a peculiar interdependence between India and the West, whereby India tended to produce and export in the main raw materials and foodstuffs, and to import textiles, iron and steel goods, machinery and miscellaneous manufactures of the most varied description." This seems to support the Indian contention that the result of British connection has been that "India has lost her ancient industries and that her people have been relegated to the contemptible position of 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'."

It would be unnecessary to repeat these old complaints but for the fact that the Government seems to be still unwilling to give India's interest the foremost place in the determination of the country's economic policy, as was recently illustrated in the lack of official support for Mr. Haji's Coastal Reservation Bill. The statement made by the authoress (p. 473) that "the economic policy of the Government nowadays, whatever may have been the case in the past, is undeniably guided primarily by the interests and desires of the people—in so far as these can be, or have been, understood or ascertained," seems to require a good deal of qualification.

After a close and impartial study of the progress attained in the different spheres of Indian economic life up to 1928, the authoress comes to the conclusion that "up to the end of the 19th century the effects of British rule on the prosperity of the people were undoubtedly disappointing," as "the concurrent increase in population counterbalanced the increase in total production, so that no consider-

able increase in product per head could be traced." But since the beginning of the present century, when Lord Curzon estimated the average annual income *per capita* at not less than Rs. 30, there has been a considerable increase in the real income per head of the population, though estimates differ as to the actual amount of the increase.

As regards the incidence of taxation also, the authoress's views will be found to differ from those of orthodox Indian economists. She says (p. 414): "Although the incidence per head has increased substantially of recent years, it is still low in comparison with that of other countries, although it is frequently asserted that in relation to *per capita* income it is high, and that India has been heavily burdened with taxes in order to maintain her military and civil services at a higher standard than she needs or can afford." She is, however, careful to point out that this does not imply that the distribution of taxation might not be improved, nor that in certain districts or instances the burden is not excessive. But "on the whole, increased taxation for expenditure upon directly and indirectly productive services would probably eventually prove to be in the true interests of the masses."

A country like India, where the bulk of the people belong to the class of peasant cultivators, would, on the whole, be benefited by a rise in prices, if the rise is slow and gradual, as was largely the case during the early years of the present century. Moreover, the rise in prices during these years occurred mainly in the case of foodstuffs and raw materials; since 1914, however, it has occurred mainly in the case of manufactured goods. Consequently, "during the pre-war period the effect of the rise in prices was to cause on the whole an increase in the incomes of the cultivators in proportion to expenditure"; but since 1914 this process has been reversed. During the earlier period wage-earners of all classes also secured increased 'real' wages; but during the later period there seems to have been no such general rise, while latterly manufacturers and wage-earners have also suffered from the prevalent depression in trade and industry.

The authoress concludes in the same strain as she began. Speaking of the future, she says that nothing that the Government can do will effect any radical improvement in the economic condition of the people unless some fundamental obstacles are first removed. Of these the principal are the following:—(i) the tendency towards any increase in the income of individuals to be absorbed by an increase in the population; (ii) the present un-economic outlook of the people; and (iii) the lack of co-operation between the Government and the governed, due largely to a justifiable suspicion of the Government's motives, resulting from its policies and actions in the past.

PRASADCHANDRA BANERJEE

KRISHNA: *A study in the theory of Avatara*, by Bhagavan Das. Pp. 500; Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

The author, well-known as the writer of several theosophical works, says in his prefatory note, dated 27th June 1924: "In 1919 I was asked by the students of a hostel connected with the Allahabad

University to preside at their celebration of the Janmastami, the Nativity of Krishna, on the 8th day of the dark fortnight of the lunar month of Bhādrapada (the 18th of August in that year). I read a paper to them on Krishna's life. It was printed by many journals. But there has been a demand for it in separate book form. This revised and enlarged version is the result." In his prefatory note to the third edition, dated 18th July, 1929, he says that he has further enlarged the book by adding "large sections and notes on various aspects of the *Gita*." The book is written in an earnest and devout spirit and this makes it pleasant and profitable reading even for those who may differ with him as regards his main conclusions. The author seems quite unfamiliar, if not quite unacquainted, with the results of recent antiquarian research on the historicity of Krishna and the age of the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas*. He only knows that Krishna's historicity has been questioned but seems not to have inquired on what grounds it has been questioned. These grounds are briefly stated in my *Krishna and the Gita and Krishna and the Puranas*. If he had known the results of "higher criticism" on Krishna and Jesus, I doubt if he would have cared to write this book, and I am sure that if he had nevertheless written it, it would have been very different from what it is. When the historicity of persons in whose name good and great things are said is doubted or disproved, these things do not indeed lose their value, but they are in that case found to have proceeded from various persons instead of one, in fact, to belong to different ages, and the problem of reconciling them, in case they differ in tone and purport, is much simplified. Our author treats Krishna throughout as a historical person and is not troubled with the thought how a story growing through ages from the *Bhagavadgita* and the other parts of the *Mahabharata*, the *Vishnu*, the *Bhagavata* and the later *Puranas* like the *Brahmavivarta* and the *Padma* could be the life and teachings of a single person. *Puranas* later than the *Bhagavata*, he does not even mention. If he had taken them into consideration, specially their Radha-Krishna cult, his estimate of Krishna would surely have been very different from what he has given in his book. Even the *Bhagavata*, at which he stops, and from which he makes long extracts, he treats with a good deal of bias and reserve. There is indeed much that is very valuable in the book. But there is also much in it which is highly objectionable. Can these two sorts of things proceed from the same speaker or writer? I have shown in my *Krishna and the Puranas* that like the *Mahabharata*, the *Bhagavata* has also grown, and is the work of many writers. Our author tries to save Krishna to a certain extent from the blame that might attach to him in regard to his dealings with the *Gopis* in the *Rasakila*. He does so by pointing out that according to the *Bhagavata* itself Krishna was only eleven years when he left Brindaban for Mathura. "If this be so," says he, "then his dancings and flirtings show nothing seriously wrong, but rather only a precocious manifestation, even in early boyhood, of another aspect of Krishna's richly artistic and vital nature." In saying this our author forgets much of what the writer of the *Rasa-panchadhyaaya* says, specially in stanza 25, chap. 33, canto x.

However, in speaking of a boy of eleven as '*atmanyabaruddha-sauratah*' in the passage referred to, the writer seems evidently to be aware that he was writing not history, but poetry, though poetry of a very bad taste. But in spite of the uncritical nature of his treatment of Krishna and of our *sasthas*, our author shows a highly liberal spirit in dealing with religious and social problems. He is against hereditary caste, priest-craft and other social abuses, and we have no doubt that his book will, on the whole, help the sacred cause of Indian progress.

SITANATH TATTVABHUSAN

THE CASE OF CHILDREN IN THE TROPICS. By Eric C. Spoar, B. A., M. D., B. S. (London) M. R. C. P. Pp. XIV+265 One Plate. Published by Baillière Tindal & Co., Price 7-6 net.

This book is written by the learned author chiefly to help the inexperienced mother in bringing up her child. At the same time he has kept in sight the requirements of the general practitioner in managing his little ward. He has gathered a rich mine of information which could only be had by wearily going through the wide range of literature. In time of stress and strain the doctor will readily get what is wanted under the circumstances.

The book has been divided into three parts. First part deals with the general management of the infant. Here he has given very good advice for preserving the health of the mother as well. Part II has been devoted to describe the modern method of artificial feeding. Part III deals with the case of the sick child which will be of great use to the doctor.

As digestive troubles are very common in the tropics, he has wisely devoted a good deal of his work in describing the proper method of feeding infants.

Starting with the newly born babe he has described all the likely problems of its diet one after another in chronological sequence and the tried remedies to meet the difficulties.

The description is lucid and clear and any intelligent person though uninitiated in medicine will be readily able to understand what the author says. Indeed the first two parts are specially intended for intelligent mothers and so he has carefully omitted all technical terms in the description.

He has emphasized the importance of breast feeding up to six months which should not be lightly given up for convenience. Even if the mother cannot undertake full nursing she should try to give partial nursing by giving daily 2 or 3 feeds from the breast. Of course medical prohibition must be respected.

Artificial feeding hastily undertaken gives rise to a vicious circle. Very commonly the mother thinks that her breast milk is insufficient and gives the infant a bottle feed. The child's appetite is satisfied and he does not lustily suck when put to breast and consequently the breast devoid of stimulation stops secretion.

Details in breast feeding is given; times of nursing, number per day, 15 minutes' nursing at alternate breast, first bottle after the sixth month introduction of starchy food into diet between sixth to ninth month; weaning and wet nursing.

On the question of artificial feeding which is a tiresome topic full of a maze of dry figures difficult to memorize, he has reduced the requirements of the child in forms of breast milk according to age, weight and build of the child.

Cow's milk, goat's milk and patent foods have been broadly considered. Part III intended for medical men, describes the sick child as observed at the bed-side. Though the description of symptoms in various diseases are short and concise, it will serve the useful purpose of refreshing one's memory on useful topics.

The importance of the book has been much enhanced by the chapters dealing with emergencies and nursing recipes. The author is to be congratulated on the remarkable success of his self-imposed task.

We strongly hope that the public will derive immense benefit out of its reading and every practising doctor will do well to keep a copy on his reading table for ready reference along with his never-failing friends Whittles and Burney Yeds.

B. SHAHA

PROPHETS AND PATRIOTS (FIRST SERIES): By Nripendra Chandra Banerji. The Arya Publishing House, College Street Market, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.

This small book of 62 pages consists of twelve interesting essays on persons and personalities of our age, ranging from Tilak, Gandhi and Tagore to Montague and Andrews. The style throbs with a fervour and an emotion which bespeak a great warmth of heart on the part of the author; and the love and admiration he cherishes for those great men with whom he came in contact, in course of a life dedicated to the service of country, gives an added charm and colour to some of these pen-pictures.

S. LAW

FRENCH

BULLETIN DE L'ECOLE FRANCAISE D'EXTREME ORIENT. Tome XXVIII (1928) Nos. 1-4. Hanoi (1929).

The French School of Far Eastern Studies in Hanoi will soon complete the 30th year of its existence and the *Bulletins* under review bring the history of its archaeological and other scholarly activities down to the 28th year which is marked by the sad demise of Mon. Emile Senart, the *doyen* of French Indology and one of the founder patrons of the *Ecole* to whom Mon. Finot dedicates a feeling tribute in his Necrology. Mon. Finot, as we know just now, has retired after thirty long years of strenuous service ever since his nomination to the post of the Director in 1900. Every student of Asiatic history and of Greater Indian history in particular, will join us in offering to Mon. Finot a tribute of grateful remembrances on his retirement. His ever lucid notes on the new Sanskrit inscriptions of Cambodia (Sambor) together with a valuable monograph on the *Voyage of Kamsin* (742-54) by Dr. J. Takakusu which is printed in this *Bulletin* testify to the importance

of the work done by this notable French School of Indo-China, now placed under the charge of Mon. Georges Coedes, of late President of the Siam Society, Bangkok. Mon. Coedes, as we know, is one of the most brilliant of the rising generation of French archaeologists who have enriched our stock of knowledge about the culture of Cambodia and of the empire of *Sri Vijaya*. A better successor to Mon. Finot could not possibly be imagined and we wish Mon. Coedes and his colleagues a fresh career of fruitful researches and discoveries of enduring work.

ASIE DES MOUSSONS: By Prof. Jules Sion of the University of Montpellier. Pp. 548. Published by Armand Colin, 103, Boulevard Saint. Michel, Paris (1929).

This is the ninth volume of the series *Geographie Universelle* edited by the illustrious French Geographers M. Vidal de la Blache and Gallois. Out of the fifteen volumes announced seven are devoted to Europe, three to America, two to Africa, two to Asia and one to Oceania. The volume under review is written by an eminent professor of the French University of Montpellier who has not only made the geography of eastern Asia his special preserve but has demonstrated through his book a method of presentation of geographical data of unique value. In the first part of his book he discusses the climate, the vegetation and cultivation, as well as the grades of occupation and livelihood of the peoples of Asia under the monsoons. Then the author in two hundred closely printed pages delineates the geography of China and Japan which comprises the second part of the book.

The third part is devoted exclusively to India and Ceylon. Surveying the general character of Indian seasons Prof. Sion describes the north-east and the south-west monsoons, the regional diversities and the zones of relative humidity. Then follows a detailed survey of the northern chain of mountains of the Gangetic plains and the peninsular plateau of the Deccan. The sections on economic geography and on the peoples of India from the point of view of Demography, the density and internal migrations as well as the reaction of the city and the village are extremely interesting accompanied as they are with maps and charts of rare value.

The fourth section is devoted to French Indo-China and the Dutch East-Indies not forgetting the Philippine islands which come under this group geographically if not politically. The political implications of this survey of Asia juxtaposed against the Occident and the future problems are brought out in the concluding section, which is as halting as it is speculative. The author finally hopes that future conflict is not the only thing in the region of possibility, co-operation between the East and the West might as well emerge as a principle of future reconstruction of mankind. We recommend the book to every serious student of Asiatic geography.

K. NAG

SANSKRIT

THE MAHABHARATA ADIPARVAN : *Fascicule 3* critically edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar. Ph. D. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona (1929).

The publication of the first critically edited text of the Mahabharata might be considered as the crowning achievement of Indological research and the Bhandarkar Institute of Poona with which this monumental work will ever be associated, might take legitimate pride in presenting to the public three fascicules of collated texts in three years. The first fascicule was published in 1927, the second in 1928 and the third under review is dated 1929, bringing the narrative down to the end of the *Astikaparva*. The total number of pages printed, text and critical notes are 232, and to laymen the work done might seem to be too little compared against the "undone vast," the rest of the Great Epic. But to those initiated into the mysteries of textual criticism specially under the lamentable conditions of research and of manuscript collection here in India, the publication of the three fascicules in course of the last three years, is a veritable achievement and we find that the leading Sanskritists and Indologists are praising with one voice this remarkable production of the Institute. The critical apparatus designed by that eminent scholar Dr. Sukthankar has been tested and found perfect by such exacting critics as Hillebrandt and Lueders, Winternitz and Thomas. How baffling are the "vagaries of the Mahabharat Mss. tradition," will be manifest to any one following closely a few pages of the newly edited text. Those who know Dr. Sukthankar, the learned Editor personally and have the privilege of watching him work at his critical machine set up at the Bhandarkar Institute in Poona, will testify to the exemplary devotion, caution and thoroughness demonstrated by the Chief and his staff in applying the "eclectic principles" inevitable under the circumstances, to prepare the first scientifically "constituted text." The relative importance, the reliability in fact the *Kaulinya* of each group of Mss. are proved by the editor beyond doubt for the first time, to rest not on provincial favouritism or parochial popularity but on a sound concordance of textual phenomena, which force us to rise above our local prepossessions to the place of a true pan-Indian objectivity. That there is a "cross-agreement between the Northern and Southern versions when, for instance, some Kashmiri and Malayalam Mss. agree in opposition to, say, Bengali and Grantha," is a discovery of utmost significance and a reward for days and days of exhaustive textual analysis, the like of which we have rarely seen here in India. It is a work as colossal in character as the Mahabharata in dimension amongst the book productions of humanity. As such, the Indologists and lovers of Indian culture all over the world have come forward to support this unique endeavour, the greatest made, since the publication of the *Rigveda Samhita* by Max Muller. Along with several leading chiefs of India who have come to be patrons, the generous Durbar of Nepal has very kindly offered every kind of help through its enlightened Raj Guru Pandit Hemraj, the Director of Public Instruction, Nepal, the American Oriental Society,

the International Congress of Orientalists Oxford, 1928 and the Fifth All-India Oriental Conference, Lahore have passed unanimous resolutions approving the work and offering co-operation. The third fascicule which we are reviewing presents for the first time in the history of Mahabharata Studies, collations of a *Sarada* manuscript of unique value. The result of this painstaking and conscientious work is a discovery of inestimable literary value. For example, the Adiparvan running from 8,479 slokas in the Calcutta edition to 10,889 in the Kumbhakonam edition, is now estimated by Dr. Sukthankar to have originally been composed of 7,984 slokas only. This is only an earnest of greater discoveries ahead. So we offer our warmest support and congratulations to the Bhandarkar Institute and its noble Secretary Prof. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar who have consecrated his whole energy to the successful completion of this great work and appeal to all Indians and lovers of Indian lore to support this gigantic enterprise as much national as international in its bearing and cultural significance.

K. NAG

BENGALI

HARAMANI : *A collection of Bengali Folk songs collected, edited and annotated by Maulavi Muhammad Mansooruddin, M. A. with a foreward by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.*

In his foreword Dr. Rabindranath Tagore remarks : "In the soul where the divergent streams of Hinduism and Islam found their confluence, there were formed permanent centres of pilgrimage for the Indian Mind. These sacred centres are not limited by space or time, but are established in the everlasting. Such pilgrimages are to be found in the lives of Ramananda, Kabir, Dadu, Ramadas, Nanak, and so many others. In them all differences and antagonisms, all the multitudinous clashes of variety, are found resolved in their united acclamations of the victory of the one."

Here we read the outline of a chapter of our national history as yet unwritten. The orthodox history books, even from the tender primary stage, trace in barbarous lines and gruesome colours the dismal episode of conflict between Hinduism and Islam, ignoring altogether the elements of silent *rapprochement* of spirit and collaboration in culture amongst the teeming millions of our masses, who cared so little for wars and slaughters and ever so much for religion and folklore.

Maulavi M. Mansooruddin has rendered a real service to our literature by taking to this much neglected line of study, and by offering us these valuable documents of our real folk-history and literature. The book should be in the hand of every teacher and higher student of Bengali literature. The author is a well-known writer on folk-literature and he has gratefully acknowledged his debt to his predecessors in the same field of work, who started publishing some of these priceless gems of folk-poetry in a special section of the *Prabasi* titled *Haramani* (The lost jewel) which is also the title of the present work. Rabindranath is one of the pioneers in this field, and

after him came Prof. Kshitimohan Sen, M. A. of *Visva-Bharati* whose "Spiritual Currents of Mediaeval India" just published by the University of Calcutta should be read along with M. Mansooruddin's book, in order to appreciate fully the value of such documentations.

We congratulate the author and recommend the book to the public for a careful perusal. A spirited sketch of the *Baul* by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore has enriched the volume, which is unfortunately marred by many typographical blemishes, possibly through hurried printing. We hope that these minor defects will be removed in a second edition, and that the author will add a special glossary of rare words at the end, together with short biographical notes of the folk-poets, where available.

KALIDAS NAG

HINDI

AFGANISTAN : *By Pundit Matasevak Pathak. Published by Mr. Umadatta Sarma. Hindi Sahitya Mandir, 2-3, Chittaranjan Avenue (South), Calcutta. 1929, pp. 276.*

Afghanistan has recently been in the limelight and its drama has attracted the attention of people all the world over. The Kabuli who is a weird figure in the planes of Hindustan has been roused to a new life of activities on modern lines by an unfortunate ruler who was denied a place of shelter within the boundaries of his country. This book is surely a timely publication. The geographical and historical background is ably set out, while the modern and current events are given in detail, and are brought down up to the end of the last year. There are twenty-four pictures connected with Modern Afghanistan.

NARAMEDH : (*Dutch Prajatantra ka vikas*), by Mr. Chandrabhal Joughari. Published by the Sasta Sahitya Mandal, Ajmer. Pp. 476.

This is the Hindi translation of the classic work of Motley on the subject, viz., "The Rise of the Dutch Republic." Those who do not know English should be thankful to the translator who has succeeded in rendering the work as interesting as the original. Mahatma Gandhi has added a note. There is a portrait of William, the Prince of Orange.

RAMES BASU

TAMIL

RAMDASS, A. DRAMA. *By Swaminadhan, Y. M. L. A. Tanjore. Price Annas 10.*

The style is simple and effective; the devotional aspect of the story is well impressed.

R. G. N. PILLAI

GUJARATI

DARBAR-E-AKBAR : *By Sadik. Printed at the Bombay Samachar Press, Bombay : Illustrated : Thick cardboard, pp. 308, price Rs. 3-8-0 (1930).*

An illustrated history of the times of Akbar. This is how the writer describes his book. A very learned introduction by Prof. Kamdar, of the Baroda College, sets out the salient points of Azad's book of which this is a translation and criticizes the attempts made by Vincent A. Smith and others to belittle the great work of Akbar. He was the first to start, both in theory and practice, the doctrine of Hindu-Moslem unity if India is to be governed peacefully, and this feature of Akbar's activity deserves both prominence and accentuation, particularly in these days. It is with this view that "Sadik" has published this translation. It is entirely readable and it is cast more in the form of an interesting narrative told in simple language, than a collection of complicated historical facts and events.

(1) *Buddha and Mahabir*, (2) *Ram and Krishna* : by Kishorlal Ghanshyamlal Mashruwala, printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad, paper cover, pp. iii : 148. Price Annas Eight and Ten, 1929.

These are reprints of the first edition of the two books. Ram and Krishna are coupled together, so are Buddha and Mahabir, as both were preachers of Ahimsa. The writer has made a deep study of the books bearing on the subject and has evolved a picture of the subject matter of his books, which is correct in outline; it also successfully carries out his object, which is to show, how and why these heroes of India deserve worship at the hands of their fellow beings; he has tried to avoid every reference to their divinity and presented them merely as human beings, i. e., not common but superior human beings, supermen. He has followed the lines of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, in his *Krishna Charitra*, and accomplished his work very well.

K. M. J.

A Survey of Anglo-Indian Poetry

By LEO C. ROBERTSON, M. A. (*Cantab*)

BY Anglo-Indian poetry is here meant poetry local in its reference and written in India in the English language whether by Europeans, Eurasians or Asiatics. Since the occupation of India by the British quite a considerable body of English verse has been produced in the country which, whatever its quality may be, differs sufficiently in complexion from the work of the main line of English poets to call for treatment in a separate category like the local literatures of Australia, Canada and America.

Though its beginnings are of recent date,—not much more than a century ago,—Anglo-Indian poetry cannot be said to be young in the sense in which we speak of the literature of a young nation. There is no analogy here with a literature in the making, striving to become articulate, wrestling with new forms and passing through successive phases of organic development. Its medium was ready-made. Anglo-Indians succeeded to the greatest literary inheritance on earth. The instrument lay to hand, they had but to draw their melodies from it. It is, in short, not a new and growing literature that we are dealing with, but one transplanted to a foreign soil. The differences that exist are due to the sources of inspiration being different. A strange country presenting rich and varied fields of unfamiliar sense-impressions to the Westerner, could not but provoke emotional reactions, which in the case of the poetically-minded found expression in verse differing in substance if not in form from the home products.

The chief difficulty that besets the critic making a survey of Anglo-Indian literature is that of maintaining a proper sense of proportion. In focussing his attention on one section of the great field of English poetry considered as a whole, he is liable to adopt a purely relative measure and to become local in his estimates. But in dealing with local literature it is obviously wrong to set up a different standard of judgment from that which is applicable in treating of the merits of the great traditional English men of letters.

All that claims to be poetry must be judged according to the same standard, for like gold which remains gold wherever it may be found, poetry is essentially the same in whatever country it blossoms out and in whatever language. It is for the critic to imprint the hall-mark on the genuine element, to pronounce on the degree of alloy in it, and obviously he cannot allow this hall-mark to vary. According to these absolute æsthetic values the relative stature of all but a handful of Anglo-Indian poets is diminished to a size too insignificant for criticism. But though India has produced a whole host of bad English poets yet her good ones have reached an astonishingly high level of excellence, amongst them being not a few who can lay claim to greatness.

English verse in India may be said to begin with the literary pundits, Sir William Jones and John Leyden in the last two decades of the 18th century and the first of the 19th. Both were excellent linguists, enthusiastic orientalist and industrious pedants. They were capable versifiers, occasionally, very occasionally, rising to poetic heights, but in neither did the original fire of poesy burn with sufficient steadiness to entitle them to join the ranks of the major poets.

They were followed by a line of versifiers and ballad-mongers who can claim no more than a passing mention even in an exhaustive study of Anglo-Indian literature. The most eminent names after Jones and Leyden on the Anglo-Indian scroll of poetic fame (exclusive of contemporary authors) are those of Henry Derozio, Toru Dutt, Sir Alfred Lyall and Sir Edwin Arnold. These were something more than mere cultured mediocrities, and though occupying but the foot-hills of English poetry they were nevertheless unquestionably on Parnassian soil.

This brings us to contemporary poets and we find a century after its beginnings, following on a long period of aridity, the Anglo-Indian literature blazing out with two names whose poetical reputations are international,—Rudyard Kipling and Rabindranath Tagore.

There is no lack of merit in the generality of the literary productions of Anglo-Indian writers. Where two alien and rich cultures like that of India and Europe come into intimate contact with each other the meeting cannot but be productive of new emotional forces that like water finding its own level seek new channels of literary expression. India cannot offer to the European exile in the East endowed with the receptive qualities of the poetic mind the spectacle of her exquisite treasures of fauna and flora, her wealth of natural beauty in mountain and jungle and river and the infinite variety of the teeming human life within her with all its colour and mystery and romance and pathos without stirring his imagination and prompting to concrete expression in artistic forms. The virile analytic spirit of the West cannot clash with the peculiar esoteric mysticism of the East without the union being fruitful from the literary point of view.

If the results have been poorer in quality and quantity than one might have expected, the reason is to be found in conditions artificially created by the Anglo-Indians themselves. They have always regarded themselves as birds of passage, not as colonists, hence with a few exceptions always looked upon as eccentric, they have adopted a mode of life, complete and rounded, smug and self-sufficient, which has shut them off from getting into contact with the people of the country. They have deliberately circumscribed their own life and narrowed down its local interests. Enough for them to do their day's appointed work as soldier, business man or official. As for literature and art that must be imported each incoming mail with the whisky and tinned provisions. Nor must the literature be anything heavier than that provided by the fashionable magazines or the fiction of the hour, and in the line of poetry, the fluent moralising Ella Wheeler Wilcox and the pleasantly jungling Robert Service, the so-called Canadian Kipling.

Again, in a society in which the individuals are in frequent contact with each other through participation in the same recreations and membership of common clubs, and something of the familiarity of family life prevails, it is natural that the little Englander spirit and the insularity of the majority should affect the whole community and act as a check on any

deeper literary impulses born of a sympathetic interest in the country itself and its natives.

But quicker means of communication with England, speedier modes of travel allowing more frequent visits to Europe, and the greater variety in the type of Europeans who seek their fortunes in India, have largely altered these circumstances. In 1845 the *Calcutta Review*, looking back on the years intervening since Jones and Leyden wrote, had some reason to complain of the apathy shown towards literature in India. In its own words "The intellectual stagnation has been so remarkable that the most careless observer cannot contemplate it without concern." We are far removed now from the spirit of those pre-Mutiny days when the dignity of literature seemed to have been viewed with indifference in India though we cannot yet conscientiously make the complaint that "poets swarm here like the spawn of the cod fish with a vicious fecundity that invites and requires destruction."

Anglo-Indian poetry, as a rule, does not aspire to great imaginative heights. It seems content for the most part to meander along the paths of mild fancy and gentle sentiment. A constantly recurring note is that of regret and lament as voiced by the exile. The Anglo-Indian whose Muse is generally tinged with a gentle melancholy revels in this sort of sentiment as is attested by the large proportion of poems by various writers concerned with the pathos of the exile's lot. I am far from saying that this sentiment is not a fitting or legitimate one for poetry, for Sir Alfred Lyall's poem "The Land of Regrets" so eminently successful in this particular genre could be adduced by way of immediate refutation of such an assertion. But the theme seems to invite a fatal indulgence in feeble rhetoric, and calls for more powerful handling than the general run of Anglo-Indian poetasters could give to it.

Besides poems of sentiment and the domestic affections, narrative poems in simple ballad-measure are also of frequent occurrence. These are usually drawn from Indian sources and are often pleasantly and skilfully told, the most successful in this class being the work of Meredith Parker, Henry Derozio, Mary Leslie, H. G. Keene, William Waterfield, the gifted contributors to the Dutt Family Album, and Toru Dutt.

Another class of poem, and as might be expected from the richness and variety of India's natural phenomena not a small one, in the field of Anglo-Indian poetry is the descriptive poem. From Sir William Jones to present-day practitioners of verse in India, nearly all Anglo-Indian poets have had something to say, if not to sing, about the resplendent scenery of the East. Sir Edwin Arnold will, of course, take pride of place here, but there are others who have left us, failing sustained poems, at least fragments of no mean intrinsic worth.

Serious verse, however, forms but a small proportion of the poetical output of Anglo-Indian writers. The soil of India seems to be less congenial to reflective than to humorous and facetious verse, which judging from the enormous quantity appearing daily and weekly in local newspapers to be subsequently issued in volume form, enjoys a keenly appreciative though perhaps not a very critical public. Though it may be possible to maintain that the worst specimens of humorous verse extant have been perpetrated in India, yet India can claim to have produced also a good deal of the best. The land that gave the world Kipling's *Departmental Ditties* has also provided many an able contributor to *Punch* that repository of much of the nation's best light verse.

Anglo-Indian poetry is distinguished from poetry with English sources of inspiration by its subject matter. Under new conditions of life and with the absorption of new sense-impressions the verse products of India assumed a new complexion. But with the change of matter there was no corresponding change of manner or form. Excepting Kipling no Anglo-Indian poet attempted metrical innovations. Sir William Jones and John Leyden borrowed all their forms from the poets of the Romantic revival, during whose flourishing period and under whose influence they wrote. Sir Alfred Lyall closely imitated the Swinburnian measures. Toru Dutt was influenced by the French lyricists of whom she had made a special study. Henry Derozio, the Eurasian poet of the early nineteenth century, followed vigorously in the wake of Byron, and Sir Edwin Arnold was the Eastern or rather Anglo-Indian Tennyson, skilfully adopting not only the verse-forms but the very accent of the Victorian Laureate. In Kipling alone was the poetic vision intense enough and the substance of his

poetic imagination forceful and original enough for the new matter to forge a new manner for itself and impress itself in moulds conditioned by its own individual nature.

Sir William Jones, who went to India in 1783, may be called the first Anglo-Indian poet but his reputation is really based on his labours as an Oriental scholar and a lawyer. He made himself an authority on Asiatic philology and ethnology and being a remarkable linguist (it is said he could read in 28 languages) he steeped himself in the Sanskrit and Persian literature particularly and translated many of the masterpieces of these languages into English. He was a skilful versifier and attempted metrical renderings of the works of the Eastern poets and also wrote original poems with an Eastern setting and deriving their inspiration from Oriental sources. His best known poetical productions are a translation of the famous Sanskrit drama of *Sakuntala* by Kalidasa, known as the Shakespeare of India, and translations from the *Divan* of Hafiz, the Persian lyricist, particularly the oft-quoted song about the maid of Shiraz, for the mole on whose cheek Hafiz declared he would give all Bokara's vaunted gold and all the gems of Samarkand. In addition to these he wrote a long original poem entitled "The Enchanted Fruit" on an Indian theme and eight hymns addressed to Hindu deities. It is in one of these hymns that Jones rises to really poetic heights. The hymn to Narayana is his masterpiece and worthy to take an honoured place in any anthology of mystical verse. It is a hymn to God moving on the waters and conjures up a vision of the act of divine creation unsurpassable in its loveliness. In these stanzas the metaphysician transcends mere logic and becomes seer and poet. The only two poems with which it is comparable in English literature are Swinburne's *Hertha* and Ralph Hodgson's *Song of Honour*, but it reaches a loftier pitch of thought than the former and is more sustained than the latter, though less colourful. There is equal poetic fervour in the other hymns but they do not approach the same level of poetic achievement.

Of Jones' "Ode in imitation of Alcaeus" Sir Edmund Gosse who considers it his best poem says that it was written in 1781 "in a paroxysm of indignation against the American War, the Slave Trade, and the general decline of British liberty." I cannot

imagine the pedantic and pedagogical Jones working himself up into a paroxysm about anything unless it were some new philological discovery in Sanskrit or Persian. But the poem has a classical finish of form which is pleasing, though it is hard to endorse the opinion that it is Jones' best after reading the truly inspired Hymn to Narayana.

John Leyden went to India in 1803, about ten years after the death of Sir William Jones. Like Jones he was a greater linguist and orientalist than poet. If he is remembered at all in his purely literary capacity it is probably because of his friendship with Sir Walter Scott, whom he assisted in the compilation of "The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border" to which he himself was a contributor, and also because Scott alludes to his death in "The Lord of the Isles." Leyden died of fever in Java: eight years after he left Europe, and Scott writes :

"His bright and brief career is o'er,
And mute his tuneful strains ;
Quencht is his lamp of varied lore.
That loved the light of song to pour :
A distant and a deadly shore
Has Leyden's cold remains."

Leyden was an industrious translator into English verse from many Eastern languages and wrote besides many ballads and shorter poems, but he has left nothing of sufficient distinction to gain him immortality as a poet in spite of Sir Walter Scott's generous statement that the opening of Leyden's poem "The Mermaid" had seldom been excelled in English poetry for mere melody of sound.

Leyden's most popular pieces are his "Ode to an Indian Gold Coin" and the "Address to my Malay Krees." In the former he voices in lines of genuine sentiment his regret at having allowed himself to barter his happiness for mere yellow dross, the gold coin which he apostrophizes as the "slave of the dark and dirty mine." In the latter he addresses his Malay Krees or dagger on an occasion when the boat in which he was journeying was pursued by a French privateer off the coast of Sumatra. This poem, not of much intrinsic worth, derives an interest mainly from the situation in which it came to be written. Leyden's most sustained work was "The Scenes of Infancy," describing his native Teviotdale and published before he went to India. It is a long, descriptive poem in rhyming decasyllables, which some critics compare with Campbell's "Pleasures of Hope" and on the strength of which

claim a place for its author besides the better known bard. The claim might be admitted as not unjustifiable but does not really amount to much, for, after all, what survives of Campbell now except a small handful of patriotic poems and some of these more for their sentiment than for their poetry.

Like most industrious and versatile scholars with the gift for versifying but lacking original fire Leyden expended much of his energy on translations,—translations from every conceivable Eastern language, including Chinese, in which we have a poem by him based on a Latin version by somebody else. Like Jones in his splendid "Hymn to Narayana," but with less success, Leyden also attempted the lofty theme and composed a grandiloquent "Ode to Jehovah" based on the Hebrew of Moses. It calls neither for comment nor quotation. He was not inspired when he wrote it. His best original poetical work, however, seems to have been done before he left for the East never to return to his beloved land again. His Border Ballads and the "Scenes of Infancy" represent him at the height of his poetical enthusiasm if not inspiration.

Belonging to these early days of Anglo-Indian literature is another writer with whose name we are all familiar, if not as an Anglo-Indian poet, at least as a writer of English hymns. I refer to Reginald Heber, Bishop of Calcutta. He wrote only two poems on Indian themes, but they are often quoted and thought much of. The first "An Evening Walk in Bengal" displays a certain amount of descriptive power but the verse is mediocre and not up to even the popular magazine standards of today. The other "Lines addressed to Mrs. Heber," though quoted by Thackeray with warm appreciation falls below the level of school girls' album verse. It is a feeble poem, no doubt full of a very laudable sentiment for his absent spouse, but without that imaginative quality which is essential to poetry. The first stanza reads :

"If thou wert by my side, my love,
How fast would evening fall
In green Bengala's palmy grove,
Listening the nightingale."

The last stanza runs thus :

"Thy towers, Bombay, gleam bright, they say
Across the dark blue sea ;
But ne'er were hearts so light and gay
As then shall meet in thee !"

The stanzas in between are even tamer, and I do not understand why this poem continues to find a place in anthologies and to be singled out for quotation and praise in notices of his life unless it be because of Thackeray's eulogistic reference to it and also because of the reputation Heber earned for himself among the uncritical masses by certain popular hymns of his such as "From Greenland's Icy Mountains."

The most interesting of the Anglo-Indian poets before Sir Alfred Lyall and Sir Edwin Arnold is Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, both because of the intrinsic merit of his work and because he is the first Eurasian poet of eminence in the literature of his country. His early death at the age of 22, after he had produced a large number of poems displaying a rare delicacy of feeling, a powerful imagination and a wonderful mastery of the music of verse, leaves us to conjecture as in the case of Keats and Chatterton, the place he might have won for himself in English literature had he not fallen a victim to cholera, a mere boy in years but a genius in intellect, albeit an immature one. His most ambitious poem is "The Fakier of Jangheera," a long narrative in two cantos written in stanzas of varying metres. It is a truly remarkable production for one so young, and though the influence of his favourite poets, Byron, Shelley and Keats, is clearly discernible throughout, yet the verse is instinct with a febrile acuteness of feeling that is entirely his own. His natural genius struggles through the conventional forms which he has accepted, but gives promise with increasing strength to fashion for itself a more individual mode of expression. He has been called the national poet of India and certainly it is a title which sits more appropriately on him than on other Anglo-Indian bards, for he was no exile singing with eyes turned to the far West. He belonged to the country and was proud of being 'country-born.' It was his conscious aim to become the poetical mouthpiece of his race and to find lyrical expression for its grievances, its sense of neglect and its wakening ambitions. Pathos and high fervour breathe in his sonnet "The Harp of India," quoted below,—the sonnet of a lad of eighteen, a half-caste Calcutta boy, but nevertheless one belonging, by virtue of his genius, to the proud spiritual lineage of the traditional poets of England.

Why hang'st thou lonely on yon withered bough?
Unstrung for ever, must thou there remain;
Thy music once was sweet—who hears it now?
Why doth the breeze sigh over thee in vain?
Silence hath bound thee with her fatal chain;
Neglected, mute, and desolate art thou,
Like ruined monument on desert plain:
O! many a hand more worthy far than mine
Once thy harmonious chords to sweetness gave,
And many a wreath for them did Fame entwine
Of flowers still blooming on the minstrel's grave;
Those hands are cold—but if thy notes divine
May be by mortal wakened once again,
Harp of my country, let me strike the strain!

No survey, however sketchy, of the history of English poetry in India can pretend to embody a proper sense of literary values if it fails to take notice of the contributions of the gifted Dutt family.

They have left a permanent impress on the literary record of their country and are not to be regarded merely as curiosities because of the then unique spectacle they presented of Bengalis born and bred in India writing fluent, idiomatic, English verse. They are entitled to consideration for the genuine merit of their poetical productions, for poets they were in the fully accepted sense of the word.

The "Dutt Family Album" published in 1870 in London by Messrs. Longmans Green is a collection of a hundred and ninety seven poems, the joint work of Govin, Omesh, Girish, and Hur Chunder Dutt. With characteristic modesty they state in the preface to their anthology that they do not venture on publication because they think their verses good but in the hope that their book will be regarded in some respects as a curiosity, being the work of foreigners educated out of England.

Of the four songsters from this nest of singing birds, Govin Chunder Dutt (1828—1884) and Omesh C. Dutt (1836—1912) must be judged by their contributions to the *Album*, the bulk of which was their work. Hur Chunder Dutt (1831—1901) published *Lotus Leaves* in 1871 whilst Girish or Greece C. Dutt (1833—1892) is more fully represented than in the *Album* by his independent collection of poems entitled *Cherry Blossom* published in 1887.

The Dutt were converts to Christianity and the ardour of the convert suffuses most of their work with a glow that communicates itself to the reader, simply because it radiates direct from the heart. They wrote with all the sincerity of natural singers. Much of their inspiration is drawn from the Christian

Scriptures and their love of Nature is apparent in all their work. But as might be expected Indian history and legend provides them with most of themes for their verse and their handling of this material first reveals to us the fact, that though we here have Orientals thinking and writing in English, the results display no real fusion of East and West. The Dutt, except for the accident of birth and upbringing, which played its part in determining their choice of themes, wrote as English poets. Their reaction to life was not characteristically Indian. They chose English as a medium for the expression of their ideas but they allowed these very ideas to be anglicized. In doing this they cut themselves adrift from the great background of native tradition. They denied themselves the strength which they might have drawn as a birthright from the rich stream of Indian thought and culture, with the result that in spite of the rare distinction of their work they failed to become vital forces in a new literary world in which they have no natural heritage.

All the contributors to the *Dutt Family Album* were accomplished craftsmen and had acquired an astonishing mastery of the technique of English verse. Greece C. Dutt, however, paid special attention to the sonnet form and as can be seen from his poems in *Cherry Blossom*, succeeded in producing sonnets vibrant with feeling, close-textured in matter, and finely finished from the structural point of view.

If Derozio's brief career affords something of an analogy with that of Chatterton, no less does that of another young writer of genius, Toru Dutt, who died in 1877 before the age of twenty-one, leaving behind her two slender volumes of verse of rare promise. That interblending of Eastern and Western elements which we were disappointed not to find in the authors of *The Dutt Family Album* we find to no little extent in her,—a fusion only made possible by the pure, intense, flamelike quality of her mind. Sir Edmund Gosse discovered her for Europe and has written highly eulogistic essays about her work. She was a daughter of Govin Chunder Dutt who collaborated in the production of the already mentioned collection of poems which forms so noteworthy a contribution to Anglo-Indian literature. Though by reason of the genuine poetical ardour breathing through every line in *The Dutt Family Album*, the poems in it must be regarded

as more than mere clever literary exercises, yet the achievement they represent does not amount to genius. In Toru Dutt, however, the stamp of genius is unmistakable. Her first book,—the only one published during her tragically brief lifetime,—*A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields*, was as the name indicates, a collection of translations from the French. The nature of this work provided little opportunity for a revelation of her original power as a poet. But with the publication of her posthumous volume, *Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan*, no room was left for doubt that this young Bengali girl had struck a new note on the Anglo-Indian lyre,—a note strongly individual and authentically poetic. No one acquainted with her verse will disagree with Sir Edmund Gosse's verdict that "when the history of the literature of our country comes to be written, there is sure to be a page in it dedicated to this fragile, exotic blossom of song."

Of the lesser Anglo-Indian poets, either before or contemporary with Lyall and Arnold nothing more than the names of the most prominent can be mentioned. They are for the most part forgotten now, and it is only the research student into the by-ways of literature who is likely to give them a brief resuscitation by comment or quotation in stray articles and papers. Chief amongst these are Henry George Keene, author of a one-act play, *The Death of Akbar*, and several volumes of fluent and pleasing verse, the first of which appeared in 1855 and the last in 1899; C. A. Kelly, author of *Delhi and other Poems*, Mary Leslie, who wrote *Sorrows, Aspirations and Legends from India* and *Heart Echoes from the East* William Waterfield, a skilful balladist, Trego Webb, Thomas F. Bignold and R. T. H. Griffith.

Curious parallelisms seem to occur in literature, or rather critics have a trick of making comparisons and finding resemblances or contrasts that cause artificial groupings having no counterpart in reality. Thus Collins and Gray are always spoken of together in criticism, Dickens and Thackeray are treated as if complementary to each other, and Tennyson and Browning are supposed to represent twin lines of development in the Victorian era. Sir Alfred Lyall and Sir Edwin Arnold in Anglo-Indian literature form an analogy with Browning and Tennyson, the one a reflective poet, thinking deeply on Indian

and other problems, a philosophic brooder on the mysteries of life, the other also a thinker, but appealing more to the emotions than to the intellect and like Tennyson, more noted for his melodious fluency than for depth of philosophical insight.

Sir Alfred Lyall published only one slender volume with the unpretentious title, *Verses Written in India* but these verses are perfect of their kind. Though I have compared him with Browning by reason of his concern with the problem of the ultimate meaning of Reality and his deep insight into character, yet in form he is a close follower of Swinburne, which is rather a matter for regret in a poet of such original intellectual powers combined with intensity of emotion. The too obvious Swinburnian rhythms in which he indulges are apt to lead him to be classed with the numerous shallow imitators of the pre-Raphaelite poet, whereas he is a profounder thinker than the one whose manner he adopted.

Lyall's masterpiece is the well-known "Siva," a magnificent song to the God of Human Sacrifice, the opening stanza of which runs in lofty strain :

"I am the god of the sensuous fire
That moulds all nature in forms divine.
The symbols of death and of man's desire,
The springs of change in the world, are mine ;
The organs of birth and the circlet of bones,
And the light loves carved on the temple stones."

This high level is sustained throughout, and the poem ends with the God's assertion in tones of triumph that though men may probe into his mysteries and lay bare his secrets, yet he holds eternal sway :

"Let my temples fall, they are dark with age,
Let my idols break, they have stood their day ;
On their deep-hewn stones the primeaval sage
Has figured the spells that endure alway ;
My presence may vanish from river and grove,
But I rule for ever in Death and Love."

In "The Meditations of a Hindu Prince," Lyall gives expression to the troubles of his own inquiring mind and reveals his agnostic leanings. The prince in despair seeks for the signs and steps of a god. He yearns for the ultimate reality in which all human strife and thought are quenched, and having reached which, man is no longer vexed with the Whence and the Whither. He thinks perhaps that the all-powerful conquerors, the English, may solve the riddle of life for him in their religion. But they, alas, have nothing better to offer him than the world-wide story of the origin of the earth and

the heavens, how the gods are glad and angry, and a Deity once was man. He finds that in the last analysis man must turn from the venture and say that the quest is vain. And he concludes :

"Is there naught in the heaven above, whence
the hail and the levin are hurled,
But the wind that is swept around us by
the rush of the rolling world ?
The wind that shall scatter my ashes, and bear
me to silence and sleep
With the dirge, and the sounds of lamenting,
And voices of women who weep."

In "Theology in Extremis," Lyall gives us a very powerful psychological poem, in which an Englishman about to die for not consenting to give up his faith and become a Mohammedan, soliloquizes. As a fact he is an agnostic and the Christian faith to him means no more than the Moslem. He is not perplexed by any terrors of Hell, nor does he look for any reward in the next world. There is no one to bear witness to his recantation should he yield. He weighs the pros and cons of the situation in his mind, — then elects to die ! He has no faith but his pride of race is unbending.

The poem entitled "Badminton" displays Lyall's insight into character and his gifts for the portrayal of it in a few deft strokes. It also shows his rather sardonic sense of humour.

Sir Edwin Arnold, the Anglo-Indian Tennyson as he might not unaptly be called, is the chief interpreter in English verse of the life and thought of India. No other English poet has succeeded in assimilating so thoroughly its peculiar genius. Certainly no other Westerner has been so deeply imbued with the spirit of Oriental poetry. He had eaten of the lotus-flower of Oriental song and for him the voices of the traditional Muses of Western poesy blended with those of the strange, exotic goddesses and deities from whom he so largely drew inspiration.

His principal poetical works of an Oriental colour are "The Song Celestial," a translation of the *Bhagavadgita*, the famous *Light of Asia*, a life of Buddha in verse together with an exposition of the doctrines of *Nirvana* and *Karma*, "Indian Poetry," containing the celebrated *Gita Govinda* or "Indian Song of Songs," "With Saadi in the Garden," a translation of the famous *Bostan* or "Book of Love" of the Persian poet Saadi, "The Secret of Death" from the Sanskrit,

and innumerable poems original and translated, on Oriental themes.

"With Saadi in the Garden," a poem aglow with the luxuriousness and sensuousness of the Orient, its exotic, shifting colours, its brooding sense of the underlying mystery of life, testifies to the completeness with which Arnold projected himself into the very soul of the East. Though the greater part of the book consists of paraphrases of Saadi, yet the work falls within the scope of this article as the *Bostan* is here embodied in a dialogue held in the Garden of the Taj Mahal at Agra, of which the poet has given us a beautiful word-picture.

In his rendering of "The Song Celestial" or the *Bhagavadgita*, Arnold gives us a scholarly version of a famous poem, full of poetic grace and attractiveness, written in strenuous yet musical blank verse. But his most important work, the one on which his reputation is based, is *The Light of Asia*, in which the author, as he himself states, has sought by the medium of an imaginary Buddhist votary to depict the life and character and indicate the philosophy of that noble hero and reformer, Prince Gautama of India, the founder of Buddhism. The poem itself is too familiar to demand illustration by quotations from it. But I cannot refrain from quoting Oliver Wendell Holmes' opinion of it. "It is a work of great beauty" says the American critic. "It tells a story of intense interest, which never flags for a moment; its descriptions are drawn by the hand of a master with the eye of a poet and the familiarity of an expert with the objects described; its tone is so lofty that there is nothing with which to compare it but the New Testament; it is full of variety, now picturesque, now pathetic, now rising into the noblest realms of thought and aspiration; it finds language penetrating, fluent, elevated, impassioned, musical always, to clothe its varied thoughts and sentiments." These are the words of a critic not given to exaggeration. Yet sometimes, when I rise from an hour or so spent in reading Arnold's too smooth and mellifluous verse, I have misgivings, and I call to mind a critique of this poem that appeared in the *Spectator* on its first publication. The critic there wrote that "it is perhaps the only poetic account in an European tongue of an Asiatic faith which is at all adequate and which seems destined to bring its author a singular fate. It is being translated into Asiatic

tongues, and it is quite possible that 200 years hence Sir Edwin Arnold, half forgotten at home, except by students, may amongst the innumerable peoples who profess Buddhism, be regarded as a psalmist."

It must be admitted that there are times when Arnold's excessive sweetness is cloying, when his manner seems somewhat grandiose and when his blank verse appears to be monotonous, but in spite of it all *The Light of Asia* remains a noble and graceful poem. And considering his poetic work as a whole there is no doubt that India could not have found a worthier exponent in verse of its poetry and thought than Sir Edwin Arnold, whose passionate love of the country intensified the natural fervour of his eloquent verse.

The poets mentioned so far are no longer alive. Criticism can undertake to arrive at some assessment of their literary values with a certain degree of finality, for their tale is told and they belong definitely to the past. Space does not allow of the treatment of any living authors. The chorus of contemporary Anglo-Indian poets has swelled to such an extent and their singing is of such excellence that it would be invidious to single out any names from a whole host equally worthy of mention. But two poets proudly claimed by Anglo-India have become so eminent that they have achieved immortality whilst still walking in our midst. These two,—Rudyard Kipling and Rabindranath Tagore,—call for mention if only for the sake of presenting the whole picture in its proper proportions, for relative to them, the other verse men who form the subject of this introduction, shrink to a very moderate size. Every dog is a lion in his own lane, but Kipling and Tagore are not to be judged by provincial standards, both having received international recognition.

It has for some time been the fashion, especially amongst the poets of the younger generation,—the Georgians and neo-Georgians, to decry Kipling's merits as a poet. They are willing to accord him a high place amongst the world's story-tellers but in the realm of poetry he must be content to squeeze into a corner and even there retain his footing with difficulty. A pitifully absurd attitude of condescension to adopt towards a writer who has left such an impress on his generation. At the beginning of his career, when Kipling burst forth as an original and startling force into the literary world one

could understand his being the object of exaggerated praise as well as of exaggerated blame. But criticism has now had time to sort out its values and arrive at something like a settled verdict. One fact stands out and that is that Kipling has worn well. He was hailed as a genius when he was a young man, and he has gone on steadily from strength to strength since he first came into public notice. He has more than lived up to the promise of those early days. It is true that he is an unequal poet, that some of his work is distinctly inferior in quality, bad in fact; but this proves nothing, for the same is true of Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats and others who sit amongst the throned gods. This statement should not be taken to imply that Kipling belongs to the company of the master-spirits of all time. Such a claim cannot be reasonably made for him. Because he is the poet laureate of Imperialism he is parochial from the wider point of view of humanity, the universal point of view from which alone the world's great poets must be judged.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's position in the history of Anglo-Indian literature is a peculiar one. His less distinguished predecessors in Bengal, Kasiprasad Ghosh, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, the contributors to the *Dutt Family Album* and others, used English as a medium for the expression of their thought and feeling, but in so doing ceased to be Indian. They wrote verse oriental in theme but English in sentiment and idiom. East and West met but there was no spiritual fusion of the two,—the East simply became converted to the West. In the girl genius, Toru Dutt, we find something of a blending of the two alien cultures, but it was far from complete, for the poetess was a member of a fervently Christian family. In Tagore the East and West meet again but the East keeps aloof. Tagore remains wholly Indian even when using English with a mastery and grace that no other foreigner has ever acquired,—not even Conrad.

Tagore has not written verse directly in English. He is known to us through his own English translations of his original Bengali poems. These renderings, however, are not so much translations as transmuta-

tions, and therefore take their stand in our language as independent English poems. They are written in free, unrhymed rhythms of unusual force and beauty and with a cadence that is truly affecting. It was as a mystical poet and seer that Tagore made his triumphal entry into the English world of letters in 1912 with the publication of his prose translations of his original Bengali lyrics, entitled *Gitanjali* or "Song-Offerings," and it is as a mystical poet that he must be judged in any attempt to estimate his place in the history of English poetry. Those who fail to appreciate the significance of the central tenet of mysticism, namely, the essential oneness of the Individual and the Absolute, those for whom no reality exists that is incapable of purely intellectual apprehension, must needs miss the spirit of Tagore's poetical message. Mystics such as Tagore, whose experience can perforce be translated only into symbolic forms cannot hope to engage their sympathies. But even these cannot but be impressed by the indubitable beauty of his lyrics considered apart from what their symbolism represents. He seeks to reveal to us the meaning of certain spiritual realities, but his road to the sanctuary where these realities lie is through the outer world of love and beauty and it is in treading this path that he discloses himself to be a nature poet of exquisite sensitiveness and one able to express himself in forms of faultless artistry.

This article makes no pretence to being a systematic critical survey of Anglo-Indian poetry. Little more has been done than to mention the names of the principal poets who would figure in such a survey. The most cursory sketch, however, makes apparent the importance of India's contribution to the general heritage of English verse. Australia, Canada, South Africa,—all have their national poets, but from none of the great Dominions has risen a genius to rank with a Tagore or a Kipling. The main stream of English poetry flows nobly down the ages. Not least amongst its many tributaries from all parts of the Empire is that which takes its source a little more than a hundred years ago in this tropical land of strange gods and customs and burning skies.

Chinese Athletes

By AGNES SMEDLEY

THE days of foot-bound or mind-bound Chinese women or of long-gowned, elegant Chinese men, is rapidly passing away. This was clear when, at Hangchow, the National Athletic Meet was held from April 1-10, with 1,500 men and women athletes from every part of China. There were thirty-six different units, representing not only the different provinces, but various colleges or universities in the various provinces.

contested for the national championships that will enable them to represent China in the 9th Far Eastern Olympic Games to begin in Tokyo on May 30th.

The contestants had been training assiduously for over six months. There had been preliminary city and inter provincial contests. A mid-China meet had been held at Anking a month previously, at which athletes from the Central Yangtze valley attended ; and, incidentally, one coolie, the



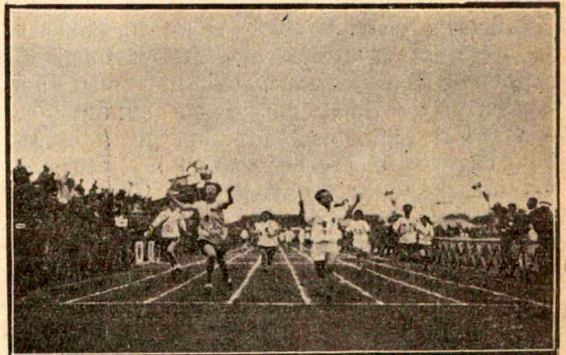
A Chinese girl Athlete in action



The high jump—Hangchow



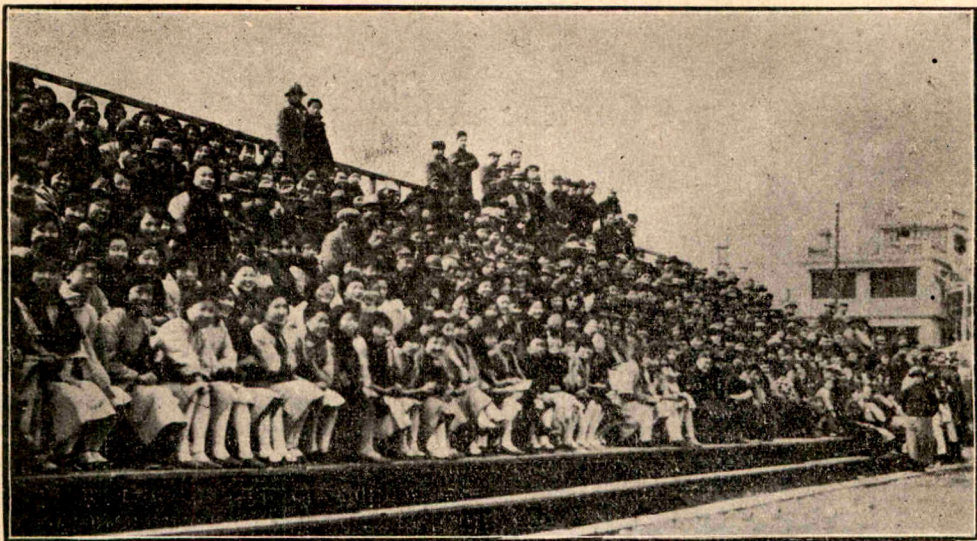
The Champion Pole Vaulter in action
Record—3.28 metres



The Girls finish the 100 metre race, with Miss Sung Kwei-ying, of Harbin, leading.
A Canton girl came second

Miss Sung's record is—50 metres dash, $7\frac{2}{5}$ Sec. ; 100 metres $13\frac{4}{5}$ Sec.

Thousands of interested spectators attended the meet, where young athletes



A part of the Audience in the Shanghai athletic meet, preparatory for the National meet

only working man in the entire athletic gatherings, carried off the laurels in the only event he entered—the 10,000 metre race. There had been a North China meet in Mukden, and Shanghai had held its own meet. Canton and Hongkong had united. The Nanking Government had authorized an expenditure of \$ 100,000 to assist the event.

The most outstanding impression one gained from the final national gathering was the emergence of the new Chinese woman. This daughter of foot-bound women whose sole profession was child-bearing and home-making, is two centuries in advance of her parents. She is graceful and fleet of foot, or she is strong-muscled and sturdy. And to the astonishment of many of the conservative old men and women at the national meet, hundreds of these girl athletes had thrown away the big baggy bloomers that the Christian missionaries introduced into China and stood free and swift in a blouse and shorts, their strong, muscular legs bare from the thigh to the ankle. It was obvious that the youth—both men and women—took this for granted and paid no attention to it, and that only the old and the conservative noticed it. Youth of China has a new standard of values.

Among those who will represent China in the Far Eastern Olympic Games in Tokyo in May will be Liu Chang-tung, of Mukden,

who is easily the best sprinter China has ever produced. His record at Hangchow was—

100 metres—	11	4-5	sec.
200	..	—22	4-5
400	..	—52	3-5

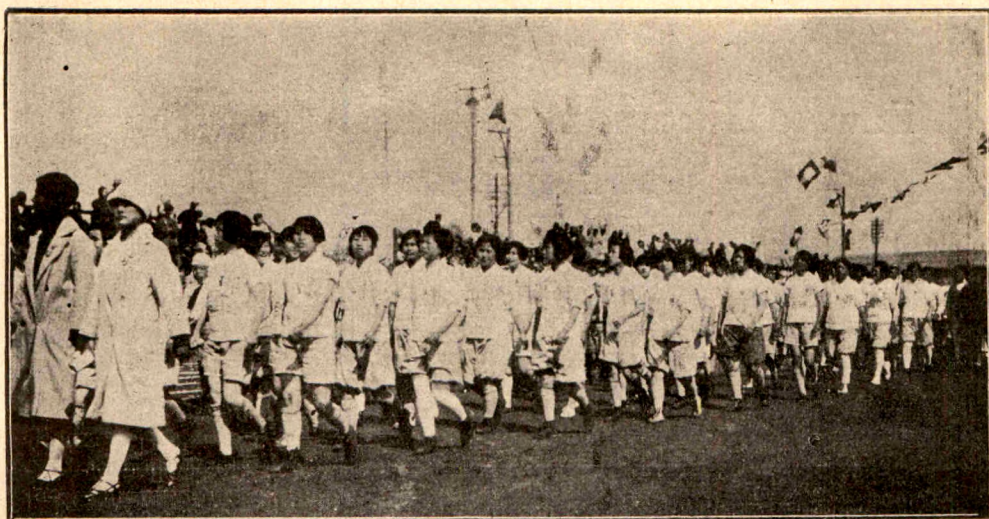
Of course, this is below the world record, but Liu has yet to be trained as a professional, if at all, and with his present record he has hopes of vying with the Japanese and Filipino sprinters for premier honours in the Tokyo meet.

The girl sprinter who will represent China is Miss Sung Kwei Ying, of Harbin whose record is—

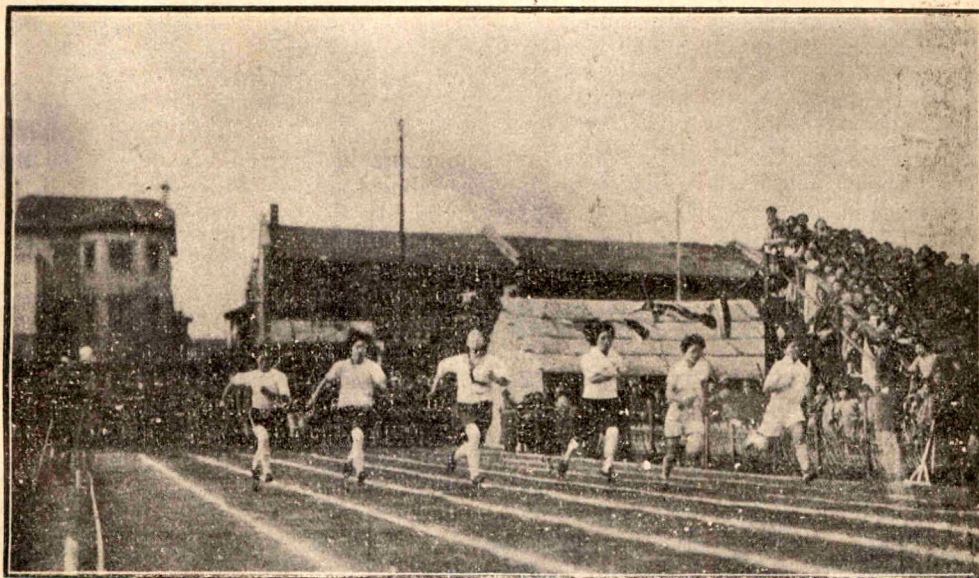
50 metres dash	7	2-5	sec.
100	13 4-5

This is far below the men, but Miss Sung is only 16 and will improve still further with careful training. Her close second was a Canton girl.

Both sprinters, man and woman, are, characteristically enough, from Manchuria, North China. The champion pole vaulter, also, was from Harbin. In fact, in the Hangchow meet, it was of great interest to see the different types in China. The North Chinese are as tall and long-legged as any European. The southerners are short. But, whereas the north was easily the winner in all contests in which height and long-legs play a part, the south was



Some of the Girl students taking part in the grand Athletic Parade



The Start in the Girls' race

noticeable for its tenacity, its wiriness and its endurance.

It must be remembered that in this meet, only middle and upper-class China was represented. The meet was exclusively a college and university athletic affair. And these classes do not represent China, which is 85 per cent worker and peasant. When the workers and peasants have once come into their own and developed their sports, as has been done in Soviet Russia and as

is being done in Germany and the Scandinavian countries, only then can we know what "China" is capable of. The Far Eastern Olympic also trains for the world Olympiad in Europe. But the annual international gathering of workers' sports, the Spartacide, is held in Moscow or Leningrad. The former represents the international bourgeois athletes, the latter represent the international revolutionary working class athletes.

Edward Thompson and the Bengali Novel

BY PROF. PRIYARANJAN SEN

AS I chanced to read only the other day the English rendering of Saratchandra's exquisite novel—*Srikanta*—published in 1922, I glanced at the preface written by Edward Thompson. Great was my surprise on looking into it.

The preface hardly extends to more than four pages. With regard to its writer's account of Saratchandra's previous career, there is very little to say; but when he dwells on the rise of the Bengali novel, some of his statements invite protests.

Dr. Thompson fixes on the names of Bankim, Rabindranath and Saratchandra. This is right so far as it goes. But merely to say that Bankim was a propagandist is not stressing the cardinal point of his faith, the faith which was the greater part of him—and it was this faith which made him a reactionary. His religiousness, which is voiced in three of his remarkable books—*Devichaudhuri*, *Sitaram* and *Anandamath*—is the quality which distinguishes him from Scott, a point which should not be ignored when our attention is drawn to his western parallel, however akin the two may be as regards the technique employed.

This with regard to Bankim. About Rabindranath, the statement has been made, "his novels—with the exception of *The Home and the World*—which is really a series of episodes treated in the manner of short stories—are not among his best work"; but this view will hardly meet with any support among those who have studied Rabindranath. Tagore is no doubt a poet first, but even a first-rate poet can become a first-rate novelist as he has himself been, and in spite of "the imperfections" that he can be charged with, he will still take precedence as a novelist on account of his subtle insight into the human mind and into nature and his interweaving of the two. Next, with regard to *The Home and the World*—is it really possible, one wonders, to lose sight of the link that binds the different episodes of the book together, to forget that there is a distinct evolution in Bimala's character, to ignore the silent personality of

Nikhilesh who works wonders on the mind of his wife by the very depth of his own character; to overlook all these and suggest that it is only a string of episodes, in the manner of short stories? Another point about Rabindranath needs clearing up. Dr. Thompson has stated,—“He has told me that he does not consider that he has been quite familiar with ordinary Hindu life, and the criticism is often made by his own countrymen that his novels and short stories depict what is really Brahmo life.” Who are these countrymen of his, pray? The reader will at once enter a note of emphatic dissent and explain the poet's assurance as an expression of humility and diffidence. Indeed, it is absurd to read a Brahmo atmosphere into his stories, particularly his short stories. It may be that there is only a very faint local colouring in some of his stories, so that they are almost universal in their appeal, lacking in fidelity to the Bengali life in particular, but at the same time there are descriptive touches of the Hindu home, surprising in their truth to life, e.g., in the details about orthodox Hindu types like Harimohini and about liberal-minded Anandamayee. Instances like these might be easily multiplied.

With regard to Saratchandra: while introducing him to the English-knowing public, Dr. Thompson has, strangely enough, declared that in his criticism of society he is not a radical, not so much as the author of *The Home and the World*—and that he “does not seriously break a spear with tradition.” Now, Saratchandra appears to us as one who tried to see life as it is, ignoring time-honoured tradition and running often counter to it by the light of reason and the voice of humanity. *Srikanta* does break a spear with tradition, not once but very frequently, and the revolution that finds a voice in his *Pather Dabi* (now suppressed) is wider than being merely political. In that book and other works, Saratchandra is not concerned much about the “society's attitude towards the professional and public women”,—the figures of Annada-didi and of Abhoya are not those of the

professional public woman, they are, each in their own way, evolutionary creations, challenges to the conventional ideas current in society; and to say that in these the novelist has not broken a spear with tradition

is, to put it mildly, distorting Saratchandra altogether. For his distinction lies as much in the vivid representation of the Bengali as in his pricking the bubbles of social convention.

Waste Not, Want Not

BY G. S. SARDESAI, B.A.

WE are just now passing through a tremendous national awakening. Specialization, action, assertion are the watchwords of all movements of the Indian youth. The days of vague reasoning or of respect for mere age and authority are gone. Therefore, no amount of investigation when dealing such vital topics as the question of India's waste can be too excessive.

Social and religious practices, defective charities, abnormal expenditure on ornaments and frivolities of all description, and similar sources of waste, however deplorable, are always more or less present in all societies and cannot be immediately removed or remedied. We cannot at once change human nature, which is fond of luxury and waste in various spheres of life. We must therefore look for and concentrate our attention on those acute sources of waste, which when properly understood, can be easily remedied. Mahatma Gandhi in his *Young India* has often drawn pointed attention to several items of waste in urban and rural areas. For instance, our agriculture is seriously suffering for want of manure, the most valuable of which, *viz.*, cowdung, is mostly used as fuel and consequently wasted altogether. No arrangement exists at present to utilize human excreta and urine and the heaps of rubbish that accumulate everyday in all places, only to injure the health of the inhabitants. Improved scientific methods ought to be immediately adopted on an extensive scale all round; but this is not possible unless all our life and activities are regulated on a co-operative basis. Fragmentation of farms has proved most detrimental. A whole village could be quickly and cheaply ploughed by motor tractors, thereby saving human labour for more profitable purposes.

Large areas are now suffering for want of cheap labour. If we look more deeply into the problem of waste, we shall find ever so many preventible sources of it. The disposal of dead cattle, and particularly of bones, flesh and hides, is not all that could be desired. In Japan even a blade of grass or a bit of arable ground is put to the utmost use. They use the rushes and the shrubs that grow plentifully along the beds of rivers. In India waste-grass, shrubbery, rice husk, fibre of sugar-cane, shells of innumerable seeds, like those of ground-nuts, and similar articles are, except in a few cases, allowed to waste, often through ignorance or want of proper method of handling. A large number of trees in forests and other places are being carelessly destroyed to supply fuel, when they could be put to a more valuable use; and new trees are not planted as quickly as the old ones are destroyed. There is a terrible waste in all our present dealing with vegetable and animal life in general. We shall have to change our ways and take the help of science, if we would seriously tackle these problems. All rain-water is allowed to waste for want of storage facilities, causing great detriment to agriculture. The denudation of forests has made rainfall scanty; and the little pour that we get is recklessly allowed to run into the sea. Similarly, salt and fish manure along creeks and estuaries of various streams near the sea-coast can be profitably utilized and vast areas reclaimed, provided expert knowledge and sufficient capital combine and come to the rescue of the poor and helpless agriculturist.

But all such items of waste of physical material are nothing compared with the tremendous waste of human energy and

time, caused partly by ignorance but mostly by circumstances, often beyond our control. Let us probe the subject a little more deeply and realize what really is national wealth and how it is produced. Broadly speaking we can say that every individual belonging to a nation utilizing every moment of his working life in producing results having a marketable value, creates wealth and increases it from day to day. Thus we can easily distinguish between useful and wasteful labour. Making speeches in a meeting does not, as a rule, produce wealth; music and poetries do not directly or in all cases produce wealth. Repetition of *Bhagavadgita* or the Vedic hymns, committing to memory facts of history or geography, the observance of birth-days and anniversaries of celebrated saints or heroes, these in themselves do not contribute to national wealth. Going round a temple or an idol so many times daily, visits and pilgrimages to famous shrines on certain sacred days in large multitudes and congregations, the huge *melas* and fairs, the religious sacrifices like the *Koti-linga*, do not produce wealth; nor do congresses and conferences, caste-meetings, and annual gatherings of various societies. It is interesting to compare in this respect some of our present-day activities with similar items of work in European countries. The fairs, exhibitions, labour gatherings and other undertakings in Europe have mainly an industrial or wealth-producing object in them. In India they only fritter away time, energy and money without even the return of proper enjoyment.* The advocate who wins applause in a court of justice by his long and effective oratory does not produce wealth. The university which produces

graduates like a machine does not produce wealth; it, on the contrary, tends to increase unemployment. The stone-breaker who toils all day in the sun preparing hard material for the road, creates wealth; the digger who brings fresh soil for farms and gardens creates wealth. The smith, the carpenter, the tailor the oil-crusher or the weaver plying at his trade from morning till night creates wealth. In fact, it is mainly this class of professional labourers of a nation who are the primary makers of real wealth. And this wealth increases in proportion as the number of real hard labourers preponderates over the idle consumers who simply enjoy and who do not put in useful work of any kind. Thus it will be realized that the most valuable asset of a nation is its able-bodied working population. They produce the wealth and not the weaklings, the beggars, the hangers on or even the able-bodied beggars and ascetics who simply consume what the former have helped to create.

As regards the able-bodied working population of India, we must further note that the labouring capacity, strength and longevity of an average Indian are far lower not only than those of Europeans but many other peoples of the earth and hence the total quantity of wealth-producing labour comes to be far shorter than that of the other countries. India has hardly any men who could compete with the miners or dock-labourers of England. The majority of our population consists of sickly, weak and low-spirited members; and in our present situation we are fast losing our vitality through malaria, plague and other diseases. Child mortality is very heavy. Famine and poverty are fast annihilating the people. And if we bear in mind that our well-to-do class is mostly sunk in sloth and pleasure, not doing any wealth-producing job, the picture of our general debility and helplessness will be complete. In contrast, let us look at the stream of European and American travellers, merchants, scholars or adventurers, who are constantly engaged in finding out new ventures of various kinds all over the world, in China, Australia and Africa, where they tap new sources of wealth or look out for fresh enterprise in which they can invest their surplus money. They have already swamped the world with their motor cars and vehicles and implements of all kinds and established plants for oils, minerals and electricity, all for creating fresh channels

* Major B. D. Basu, I. M. S. (Retired), quotes the following in his *Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries*, pp. 22-23, from Sir Thomas Munro's evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1813:

Question. Are not the natural habits and dispositions of the people of India such as would lead them to engage with great zeal and ardour as well in commercial as in other pursuits, were the means of gain or advantage open to them?

Answer. The people of India are as much a nation of shopkeepers as we are ourselves; they never lose sight of the shop, they carry it into all their concerns, religious and civil; all their holy places and resorts for pilgrims, are so many fairs for the sale of goods of every kind; religion and trade are in India sister arts, the one is seldom found in any large assembly without the society of the other. —Editor, *M. R.*

of wealth flowing into their own country. How many of our Indian princes or merchants who annually visit foreign countries in large numbers can boast of having opened new sources of wealth for India? Ostensibly they spend away the hard-earned Indian money in patronizing foreign agencies of travel and residence. Add to this the wonderful political mechanism of the British Indian Government draining away the wealth of India in various ways, and one can realize the tremendous waste.

I am already transgressing the limits I had set before myself at the start, for explaining the various forms of waste that is going on constantly in our present position. The direct causes of waste are often discernible, but there are many forms which are not even ordinarily noticed. Take the simple instance of the Indian railway service, particularly with reference to the timings of the various trains to and from the biggest towns of India, and the abnormal difference existing between the mail and the passenger trains. While a mail train from Bombay to Delhi takes 29 hours for a journey of 950 miles, a passenger train takes 60 hours for the same distance. The proportion of time is nearly the same over all the railway systems of India. The labouring class, *i. e.*, the money-earning section have usually to travel by the passenger trains, thereby involving a loss of their productive capacity. At the lowest computation, let us suppose a wage-earner gets 8 *as* for 8 hours' work. If the passenger train is supposed to convey 500 passengers from one end to the other, the travellers are compelled to waste more than one day of their working life on the journey between Bombay and Delhi, thus losing their wages for the day, which converted into money would come to $8\text{ as.} \times 500 = \text{Rs. } 250$. In this way the net daily and yearly loss in money simply on account of the defective railway service can be easily estimated for all

India. When the trains are late, not only do the passengers actually travelling lose their valuable time, but those waiting at the various stations along the line in expectation of the train also their time, involving trouble and vexation in addition to the pecuniary loss they sustain. This is only one of many instances common in Indian life, which is usually so irregular, aimless and troublesome that people have even ceased to think of its abnormal character. Indian dinner parties are another common experience in which irregularity has become such an inveterate habit, that those who try to enforce punctuality of attendance are looked upon with fantastic sneer. Stroll where you like on one of the public thoroughfares of big cities like Bombay or Calcutta any time in the evening, and you will notice huge crowds wandering aimlessly for hours together or squandering money and time in clubs and brothels. It was, I suppose, to cure the nation of its evil ways, that Mahatma Gandhi so pathetically advocates a religious plying of the *Charkha*, in itself a symbol of work, production and industry, a sure and easy remedy against vice, poverty and destitution. Whatever that may be, the nation must quickly realize the tremendous waste of time and energy all round, before the various reforms so ardently advocated by lovers of India in the various departments of life, can produce the good that is expected of them. Every one must begin to think seriously of the constant dropping of water wearing away stones. Let me in conclusion appeal to all thinking souls to turn their careful attention to noticing the tremendous waste of time and energy and at once take steps to prevent it as far as may be possible in our present surroundings. Let us all remember and follow the memorable saying :

Man is as he has made himself ;

Man will be as he will make himself.

Poetry and Prose—a few Aspects

By C. L. R. SASTRI, B. sc.

THERE is a universal prejudice in favour of poetry; and it dates back to the beginnings of time. The primitive man, we have reason to think, was a poet to the very marrow of his bone. Probably he even *talked* poetry: it is a matter that can only be surmised. Indeed, if we may place any faith in the theory advanced by Lord Macaulay, the conjecture will seem not highly improbable. That author it will be remembered, laid down the dictum, familiar to all, that as civilization advances, poetry declines: the more we go back in time, the more flourishing we find poetry to have been. Now, whatever Macaulay himself might have had in his mind, we, at any rate, shall do well to take the proposition, not in its entirety, but only in its general implication. The best way to treat generalizations is to interpret them in their widest scope. We should not drive them to their utmost consequences, but should, like Locksley, in *Ivanhoe*, "allow for the wind." Most theories will fall to the ground if we analyse them too minutely: we should take them only in their broadest spirit.

Macaulay's theory, when all is said and done, has, we venture to think, stood the test of time. Refinement, in the sense in which that term is usually understood, does not seem to make for the growth of poetic sentiment. It need not, of course, necessarily retard it. But if we were to judge by results, it would appear to do so. We are now-a-days too much immersed in affairs to have any time for the Muses: we have too much to do to feel. It is another question whether it is for the better, or for the worse. Both views are tenable. The mood is different, that is all.

Now, the comparative decline in the production of poetry, in the technical sense of the term, is one thing; the decline in poetry itself quite another. Poetry is not necessarily that kind of literary composition which goes by the name of versification. There may, we shall do well to point out, be poetry which is not in metrical form, and there may be metrical form which is not

poetry. Poetry in the broadest sense of the term, is not a matter of construction. It is a matter of the spirit. It is not of the earth earthy; it is ethereal: it is a thing of abstraction. The poet breathes.

"An ampler ether, a diviner air," than ours. Poetry, in the last analysis, is what we feel, not what we write; and in this sense most of us may be poets without knowing it. As Hazlitt says: "Poetry is not a branch of authorship: it is the stuff of which our life is made." "A man," says Scott, "may be a poet without measuring spondees or dactyls like the ancients, or clashing the ends of lines into rhyme like the moderns, as one may be an architect though unable to labour like a stone-mason." Or, as Coleridge puts it, "The opposite is not prose but science: the opposite of prose is not poetry but verse."

Poetry connotes the imaginative faculty at its highest pitch. One comes to see that amidst so many visible differences, the hearts of all things beat to a single tune: that there is unity amidst diversity. The whole world is bathed in beauty: whatever ugliness we find in it is only of *our* making. The beautiful is also good. The detection of beauty, of harmony, is the true function of the poet. As the late Mr. Jerome K. Jerome said, "Man must learn beauty that he may understand God." Or, as Keats sang,

"Beauty is truth—truth beauty—that is all,
Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know."

The same thing is expressed by Mr. Charles Whitby in the following words:

"O Beauty," cries Gautier, "we have been created to love and worship thee, if we have found thee; to seek thee unceasingly in this world, if that good fortune has not been ours." All true poets feel themselves committed to this Quest; some of the greatest have carried it beyond the limits of the visible world. In so doing they are following the footprints of that Master-Musician, whose god-given life and golden accents tamed the fiercest beasts, checked the swiftest rivers, caused flowers to bloom about his feet, and, when he descended to Hades, so charmed its monarch and inmates that Pluto restored his Eurydice, the wheel of Ixion paused,

the stone of Sisyphus stood still, Tantalus forgot his thirst, and even the Furies relented.”*

There should be an undercurrent of sympathy in the poet's composition, it should run through his whole being like a refrain. God in His infinite wisdom created men as well as mountains; microbes as well as men. The right thing for us to do is to regard every created thing with the utmost possible affection; to identify ourselves with it; and to subject all things to the same test. The test is not whether they are useful to us. Our own interest is verily the least part of it. It is the sheerest egoism to think that we are the end of creation. In God's eyes everything is of equal value. To judge things, therefore, by the standard of our own interests is to judge things ill. Herein comes the *raison d'être* of the poetic existence. He detects beauty where others least detect it, finds harmonies where others find only discords, gives himself up to joy wherever he can find it. He, indeed, in a very real sense of the term, “finds tongues in the trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything.”

Not only must the poet, we submit, recognize beauty where it exists and give utterance to the thoughts that it stirs in him: which, after all, are the same thoughts that it stirs in us, too, and of which too we would sing *if* only we could. The poet, in fact, is not, we fancy, different from the rest of us except in the small (or large) detail of being able to “lisp in numbers, for the numbers come.” He finds the words, and the order of their occurrence, for the identical sensations that convulse us also whereas, in us, they are, for all practical purposes, simply *imprisoned*, simply hermetically sealed. Coming back to our point, not only, we repeat, must the poet recognize beauty where it exists; he must also, we feel, understand, be able to perceive, that things are inter-related, that, in the words of the poet, they

“To each other linked are,
That thou canst not stir a flower,
Without trembling of a star.”

that, in short, there is a *democracy* of things. Nothing is independent of all else: it *cannot* exist without the others, it finds

its highest fulfilment only *along* with the others. “The world is one; yes, all of it fits.”

There is, really, no department of human activity earmarked, as it were, for poetry: poetry permeates every department of man's life. Not only may the poet draw inspiration from the high-lights of existence, from battles and the lords of battles, from women ravishing in their beauty, from, for example,

“The face that launched a thousand ships,
And burned the top-less towers of Ilium.”

He may, equally legitimately, gather lessons from comparatively lowly things—or, rather, what *seem* to be lowly things—from, say, the “lesser celandine,” or from the poor leech-gatherer “on the lonely moor.” There is an order of precedence in these matters: the wind bloweth where it listeth. As the late Mr. Clutton-Brock says, referring to European and Chinese poets:

European poets have the ambition to make an orchestra out of language; but the Chinese seem to play on a penny-whistle, and then, suddenly, with a shy smile, to draw the most wonderful thin music out of it. Anyone could do it, they seem to say; and they convince us that poetry is not a rare and exotic luxury, but something that happens in life itself, something one needs only to watch for and record. And for them there is no class of poetic events. Nothing is common or unclean to them.

Poetry, in other words, is *immanent* in all things. And, just as poetry is immanent in all things, every man is a potential poet: one has only to set one's senses a-working, and one will detect beauty, or poetry, everywhere. There is a widespread notion that poetry requires background of romance, and that as romance is supposed to be mostly a product of the imagination, the ordinary commonplace things of life are not tinged by poetry. The notion, luckily, is a wrong one. Romance is not the exclusive property of the imagination. Life is full of romances if we only care to record them. To the hearing ear and the understanding heart, it is the greatest romance of all. To quote from the late Mr. Clutton-Brock again:

There are no incongruities and no separation of poetry and prose in life. All life trembles into beauty like leaves stirred by the wind; and it remains itself even while it trembles.”†

We are not blind admirers of poetry: nor are we blind detractors of prose. If anything,

* See Mr. Charles Whitby's article, “The Orphean Path,” in the *Hindustan Review* for October 1925, p. 53.

* *More Essays on Books*.—By A. Clutton-Brock. Methuen, 1921, p. 75.

† *Ibid.*, p. 81.

our partiality leans towards the side of prose. We are essentially prosaic ; and we are far more enchanted by the subtle rhythms of prose than by the, comparatively, glaring rhythms of poetry. The charm of poetry, if we may generalize, lies on the surface. The charm of prose is more deeply embedded. Good poetry is recognized as such—almost at once: good prose takes a little more time to be so recognized. There are many excellent poets: there are very few excellent prose writers.

Moreover, there are more faults engendered by a too profuse poetical temperament than by a prosaic one. Poetry exaggerates: a poet sees everything larger than it actually is. By soaring into too high regions, we are apt to forget the earthy origin that is ours, and when the fall comes—as, sooner or later, it is bound to—it will be by a terrible crash. We may be poets—some of us, that is—but it is always well to remember that we cannot, for ever, go through “life’s fitful fever” by a series of high-jumps, but by honest, painful walking. We have to *foot* it even to Mount Pisgah (as Mr. A. G. Gardiner says somewhere), and the sooner we realize it the better it is for us.

By saying all this we do not imply that we hate poetry: we only imply that we like it—in moderation. We certainly, for instance, are not in the same boat as Mr. Samuel Weller (senior). That worthy gentleman, our readers will recollect, disliked the very word “poetry.” It was anathema to him.

“Taint in poetry, is it?” interposed his (Sam’s) father.

“No, no,” replied Sam.

“Very glad to hear it,” said Mr. Weller, “Poetry’s unnatural; no man ever talked poetry, ‘cept a beadle on boxin’ day, or Warren’s blackin’, or Rowland’s oil, or some o’ them low fellows; never let yourself down to talk poetry, my boy...”

It is not, indeed, that we like poetry less, but that we like prose more.

Most people fancy that it is the easiest thing to write a good prose style. It is infinitely more difficult than composing poetry. There is a peculiar beauty that pertains to prose, and though a great many people attempt it, very few really succeed in achieving it. Here, as elsewhere, many are called, but few chosen. A prose style should be seasoned

like a violin; and for that a long and arduous preparation is necessary. Most prose writers found out their calling only late in life. Hazlitt is an example; and Charles Lamb did not come into his *Elia* vein very early, either. It is the case with almost all distinguished writers of prose. As the late Sir Walter Raleigh says of Johnson’s *Lives of the Poets*:

It ought to be a comfort to men past middle life to find that Johnson, like Dryden, wrote his best prose in his latest years. Good poetry has been written by young, even by very young men: the best prose is out of their reach.....The best prose is rightly called pedestrian; at every step it must find a foot-hold on the ground of experience, firm enough to support its weight. It is more various than poetry, and richer in implied meanings; it assumes in the reader an old acquaintance with the facts of life, and keeps him in touch with them by a hundred quiet devices of irony, reminiscence, and allusion. It is a commentary on the world; not a complete exposition of it. The breadth of the vision of poetry can be attained by one who looks on human life from a distance; only the scarred veterans are fit to write a prose account of the battle.*

A really good prose style is very difficult of cultivation; how difficult one has only to look at the case of Stevenson to realize. Stevenson is in the topmost class of English prose writers. But it is common knowledge how he struggled and struggled and only at long last mastered the problem. According to his own confession he played the part of the “sedulous ape” to many authors. But it paid him in the end: to use an American slang, he “got away with the goods” at last. Writing good prose is one of the most difficult tasks—sometimes enormously more difficult than writing good poetry—and writers of the first class are miserably few. As Thoreau has it:

Great prose of equal elevation commands our respect more than great verse, since it implies a more permanent and level height, and a life pervaded with the grandeur of the thought. The poet only makes an irruption like a Parthian, and is off again, shooting while he retreats; but the prose-writer has conquered, like a Roman, and settled colonies.†

* *Six Lectures on Johnson*. By Sir Walter Raleigh. Oxford University Press.

† Quoted by Mr. Henry S. Salt in his *Life of Henry David Thoreau*, Walter Scott Publishing Company, Ltd. London, 1896. p. 185.

FINANCIAL NOTES

By Dr. H. SINHA

Indian Public Finance II

LOAN POLICY OF GOVERNMENT

Unlike last year, the obligations and the assets of the Government of India were not

set out in the budget speech of the Hon'ble the Finance Member. A summary of the debt position is however given below from the figures last published :

SUMMARY OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

In crores of rupees.

Outstanding on 31st March	Liabilities				Assets		Uncovered liability
	Total loans and treasury bills outstanding in India	Total other obligations outstanding in India (postal savings banks, cash certificates, provident funds, depreciation and reserve funds and provincial balances)	Total obligations in England converted at the rate of 1s. 6d.	Total interest-bearing obligations	Total productive assets	Gold, bullion and securities held on treasury account	Balance of total obli- gations not covered by these assets
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1923	411.07	65.36	405.31	881.74	633.04	44.80	203.90
1924	410.58	76.38	432.04	919.00	663.58	50.47	204.95
1925	420.03	95.06	454.93	970.02	716.64	57.35	196.03
1926	417.94	121.87	456.55	996.36	749.82	51.96	194.58
1927	415.91	137.80	452.48	1006.19	786.90	37.48	181.81
1928	411.78	155.15	459.44	1026.37	829.45	24.26	172.66
1929	436.71	167.40	470.05	1074.16	872.73	30.57	170.86

The last column shows that there is a considerable unproductive debt even now, in spite of reductions since 1923.

To appreciate the present debt position, three tests may be applied :

- (a) adequacy of assets ;
- (b) their realisability ;
- (c) the rates of interest.

These three are not independent. For instance, if the security is ample, the interest must be necessarily low. In other words, if the uncovered liability shown in column (8) can be gradually wiped out, the burden for the payment of interest will be considerably lightened. From the table below, it will be seen that *pari passu* with the reduction in the dead weight debt effected during the last few years, there has been a steady decline in the net amount paid for interest, i. e., after deducting the amounts charged to

commercial departments and provincial loan funds :

NET INTEREST PAID BY GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

In Rs. Crores

1923-24	15.97
1924-25	14.90
1925-26	13.37
1926-27	11.77
1927-28	10.57
1928-29	10.25
1929-30	9.87

Thus the case for wiping out the unproductive debt as speedily as possible seems to be very strong. But there are portions of it, which can hardly be regarded as a fair charge upon the Indian taxpayer. For instance, it has been estimated that apart from the maintenance and depreciation charges

the amount of interest payable on the amount sunk for the Viceroy's house is many times His Excellency's salary, extravagant as it is in comparison with the *per capita* national income of the people over whom he rules. It would considerably allay public discontent, should the British Government see fit to take over such portions of the unproductive debt of India as were really incurred at their instance without regard to the interests of the Indian taxpayer, *e.g.*, loans raised for financing the earlier wars in China and other theatres unconnected with Indian defence. These should in all fairness be borne by those who profit by the prestige and glory of the British Empire. Economic considerations reinforce these equitable considerations for if there is any impairment of national dividend by raising taxation to an unduly high pitch with a view to the wiping off of the unproductive debt, there will be no effective improvement in security, however much reserves may be piled upon reserves.

The importance of providing for some easily realisable asset is frequently overlooked, but the Government of India should recognize the implications of their banking functions, such as the acceptance of Savings bank depositors and the issue of Cash Certificates and Treasury bills.

The inability of Government to frame a reasonably accurate ways and means budget adds to the urgency of the problem. The comparison below of the budget figures with the revised figures for receipts and disbursements in India during the past few years brings out the inaptitude of Government in this matter :

ESTIMATES OF WAYS AND MEANS IN INDIA In Rs. crores

	Receipts		Disbursements	
	Budget	Revised	Budget	Revised
1925-26	51'90	59'92	79'00	67'27
1926-27	45'56	62'49	74'82	88'86
1927-28	44'99	62'30	81'94	95'91

Obviously when loans are raised at short notice, as has been done lately, owing to the undependability of the ways and means estimate, the rate of interest is bound to be relatively high. The Hon'ble Sir George Schuster has ascribed the onerous rate on the present year's sterling loan to political conditions in India and has claimed that his anticipations about comparative ease in the London money market following the collapse of the New York boom have proved correct.

But his lenders evidently saw farther than he did and in view of further substantial reductions in money rates, which took place shortly after the flotation of the loans, were prepared to oversubscribe the loans many times over. If Government had some liquid assets it need not have rushed to market at an unfavourable moment.

As Government accounts are made upon a cash basis, it seems unnecessary to make any provision for the accrued interest on cash certificates, which is due, but not paid. This is also financially correct, as it may be treated as a set-off against the discount on treasury bills, which is debited, although not due, at the time of issue. The proposal made by Sir George Schuster for separate redemption arrangements seems to be unnecessary, in view of his own opinion expressed elsewhere in the course of the budget speech that he is quite satisfied with the present scheme for the reduction and avoidance of debt and has agreed to credit to general revenues Reparation payments, which were to be applied to the reserve fund for debt redemption according to section 7 of the Indian Finance Act, 1926. Now we come to the third criterion, which is the most important one, *viz.* rate of interest on loans. It will be necessary to compare the course of prices of Indian Government securities with those of fixed interest stocks elsewhere. For the higher the price, the lower the corresponding interest and *vice versa*. In the table below, the index number of prices of 3½ per cent paper is compared with the *Bankers' Magazine* index number of representative gilt-edged Securities in the London Stock Exchange for the past few years:

INDEX NUMBER OF SECURITY PRICES December, 1921=100

		3½ p. c. rupee paper		<i>Bankers' Magazine</i> Securities
		Maximum	Minimum	
1922-23	Maximum	102		113'8
	Minimum	93		111'0
1923-24	Maximum	105		116'4
	Minimum	102		109'6
1924-25	Maximum	114		113'6
	Minimum	106		111'8
1925-26	Maximum	123		111'5
	Minimum	113		108'6
1926-27	Maximum	132		111'3
	Minimum	124		109'3
1927-28	Maximum	132		112'4
	Minimum	124		110'1
1928-29	Maximum	126		113'7
	Minimum	120		111'1

If other securities besides 3½ p.c. paper had been included, the course of prices of Indian securities would have been practically the same. Thus it is clear that deterioration in Indian securities had set in during 1928-29, long before gilt-edged securities fell elsewhere, for both the maximum and the minimum figures of the *Bankers' Magazine* index for 1928-29 were higher than the corresponding figures for 1927-28, whereas the reverse has been the case with Indian securities. It is therefore incorrect to ascribe the fall in the price of Indian securities vaguely to world factors.

The same conclusion is forced on us, when we consider the prices of Indian railway stocks and of British railway stocks during 1929 reproduced below from the *Bankers' Magazine* :—

Securities	Market value Dec. 17, 1928	Change on the year	Increase or decrease per cent.
13 British Railway Stocks	£132,125	£148,356	+£16,231
5 Indian Railway Stocks	£26,273	£24,670	-£1,603

This heavy fall in the price of Indian Railway Stocks as compared with the considerable increase in that of British Railway Stocks took place before the Lahore Congress and political factors pointed out by Sir George Schuster were not then at work. Not that interest paid on sterling obligations of Government is not sufficiently high. For the average rate for external debts is considerably higher than that for internal debts.

The real reason for the deterioration in Indian security prices must be looked for principally in the inefficient management of commercial departments, as the bulk of the public debt was accumulated for financing those departments. Their assets are productive only in name but not in fact. The real nature of the railway contribution will be apparent from the following table comparing the contribution with the provision prescribed for debt redemption by Sir Basil Blackett at 1/80th or 1¼ per cent of the loan outstanding at the beginning of each financial year. It should be remembered that railways did not pay their share of the income tax until this anomaly was rectified by Sir George Schuster.

	Railway contribution	1¼ p.c. of loan outstanding at beginning of the year
1923-24 (actual)	6'4	6'4
1924-25 "	6'8	6'7
1925-26 "	5'5	7'2
1926-27 "	6'0	7'6
1927-28 "	6'3	7'9
1928-29 (Revised estimate)	5'5	8'4

In consequence this deficiency in the proportionate contribution to the amortization fund by the commercial departments, general revenues are called upon to bear a heavier and heavier burden according to Sir Basil Blackett's scheme, as indicated in the table below :

Year	In Rs. Crores	Contribution from general revenues to the Reserve fund for reduction and avoidance of debts
1923-24 (actual)		3'62
1924-25 "		3'78
1925-26 "		4'97
1926-27 "		4'97
1927-28 "		5'04
1928-29 (revised)		5'38
1929-30 (budget)		5'73

But this has not been able to arrest the deterioration of Indian securities pointed out above. The radical remedy for the present unsatisfactory situation thus appears to be in an overhauling of the commercial departments. Proposals in this direction will be made in a subsequent article.

PROSPERITY AND TRADE

In the last issue it was pointed out that because India's foreign trade had increased, it did not necessarily follow that she was economically prosperous. This fallacious argument has been repeated in a pamphlet recently issued by the Bombay Government in refutation of nationalist speeches and writings about the economic effect of British rule. A few British administrators in the Company's days were honest enough to draw the necessary distinction between trade and prosperity. Thus in his *Topography of Dacca* Taylor points out that its cloth trade reached the maximum value in 1787 and observes that "this appears to have been the most flourishing period of the cloth trade of

Dacca," but he qualifies this statement by saying at the same time that "it was at least the year in which the amount of exports was the greatest," although he does not openly speak of sweated labour as a bounty on exports. Some theoretical economists such as Pierson has gone so far as to state that the growth of trade may be a sign of declining prosperity. For it may only indicate that the country lacks industrial capacity and capital and is therefore compelled to export raw materials and import finished products. Marshall has laid down a better criterion for estimating a country's gains from her trade, *viz.*, "the excess of the cost to which she would be put if she made her imports herself, over that to which she is put by making other things and exporting them in exchange for her imports." Even this is not exhaustive. As pointed out by him, a country's trade exerts many other influences on her well-being; it may develop those qualities which make most for leadership, or it may stifle them. In view of these opinions, not tainted with Congress bias, how can trade and prosperity be regarded as synonymous by official propagandists?

LOYALTY OF INDIAN CLERKS

Some time ago, an Anglo-Indian *views* paper (the Press Ordinance permits the publication in daily papers *views* in support of the present administration but not necessarily *news*, which it regards as inconvenient or irritating) praised the loyalty of Indian Clerks who attended offices on *hartal* days. It also took good care to point out that boycott did not affect the few European officers, who, it was told, could always get a job elsewhere, whereas the many Indian clerks must remain unemployed, if the trade on which they depended for their livelihood was hampered by political propaganda. Two conclusions seem irresistible. One is that Indian clerks are loyal, because they have

no option in the matter,—although we did not know before that loyalty connoted the allegiance of a slave to a slave-driver. Another conclusion is that European and Indian establishments are kept in separate watertight compartments, thus amplifying the meaning of *l'esprit-de corps* in the same way as that of loyalty, from which it is supposed to be inseparable. Not that we do not know of this hideous caste system in European business houses. But it is conveniently ignored, both by officials and official apologists. At the last prize distribution ceremony of the Government Commercial Institute, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal exhorted the students to exert themselves for self-improvement and spoke eloquently of privates carrying marshal's batons in their knapsacks. It would have been more convincing if he had given many instances of Indian clerks rising to become Senior Partners or Managers of European business houses.

HINDU MUHAMMADAN DIFFERENCES

There was the usual huge congregation of Muhammadans on the Calcutta Maidan on the last *Id* day. In spite of many wild rumours about communal conflicts, there was an impressive gathering of pious devotees rich and poor, high and low,—all were moved by the same impulse. This democracy of Islam gladdened the heart even of a non-Muhammadan Indian nationalist. But there was another and a more pleasing feature. Hindu and Muhammadan beggars sat side by side in expectation of alms, which were distributed without any bias in favour of the *faqir's* cap or any antipathy against the *sadhu's* sacred tuft of hair, not sought to be concealed in any way. We are made to hear so much of Hindu Muhammadan differences that the truth often escapes us unnoticed.



A National Language for India

Swami Madhavananda writes in the *Prabuddha Bharata* on a national language for India. After examining the claims of all the vernaculars of India he goes on to say :

Now let me explain why I claim for Hindi advantages over any other Indian language. Why should we not choose Bengali, which is as easy to learn as Hindi, and much richer in literature, or Marathi which comes next in order? Why not take up Tamil, that great language of Southern India, which is so ancient and so very rich in literature? The answer is, we must choose that language which is easy to learn, easy to pronounce, is widely spoken, is capable of great adaptability, and is rich in literature. If we consider all these five points, we shall see that Hindi's claims are the highest. As regards the first and last points, Bengali scores over Hindi. It is learnt more quickly because of its simpler grammar, and it has a very rich literature. Regarding this last point it yields place, if at all, only to Tamil. But Bengali pronunciation is difficult compared with Hindi, which is phonetic. Students of Northern India who have learnt Bengali through the eye find great difficulties in speaking it correctly. They read and understand, but they cannot speak Bengali. The colloquial forms of expression are different from the literary forms, which makes it so hard for non-Bengalees to speak correct Bengali. In fact they are so conscious of their defects in this matter that they do not often dare to speak it for fear of exciting ridicule. So Bengali cannot be the language we are seeking for. I have conceded that Bengali has a richer literature than Hindi, but let it be remembered that the poetical literature of Hindi is vast and exceedingly rich, although slightly more difficult. Marathi and Gujarati are even more difficult than Hindi, because of their three genders, more or less arbitrary, instead of two, as in Hindi. Tamil is very much more difficult, specially as regards pronunciation, which every outsider can testify to. As regards the second point, Hindi, in common with Marathi and Gujarati, has advantages over Bengali or any Southern language. While as regards the third point, extensivity, it easily has the first place in India, with Bengali following at a distance. With reference to the fourth point, *viz.*, adaptability, Hindi yields to no other Indian language. So taking all things together Hindi fulfils most of the conditions that a national language in India should satisfy.

There is another point to consider. All the great North Indian languages are derived from Sanskrit. This is the reason why anyone of them can be easily acquired by those who speak the cognate languages. All of them open the door to the vast cultural wealth which Sanskrit, 'the

language of the gods,' possesses more than any other language of the world. And it is impossible to overemphasise this point, for we, Indians, must always draw our inspiration from this inexhaustible mine of ancient treasures.

Rehabilitation of the Indian Cotton Industry

It is admitted on all hands that the Indian cotton industry must overhaul its trading and manufacturing methods if it is to compete effectively with foreign textiles without depending on ever more increasing protection which would only harm the interests of the consumers without improving the industry of the country. Sir Jechangir Coyajee writes in *The Indian Review* on this subject and suggests the lines along which this re-organization must be carried out :

It is fortunate that there is a fairly general consensus as regards the main lines upon which the task of rehabilitation of the textile industry is to be carried out. It is generally recognized that among the instrumentalities to be utilised for achieving such progress the chief place has to be given to rationalization of the industry and the improvement of the system of management both upon its financial and technical side. The problems of technical education also do not occupy an unimportant place in our programme. At the same time every effort has to be made to secure the co-operation, efficiency, and contentment of our labour force. On all these matters there is much to be learned from experience, particularly from our present great rival Japan.

* * *

In India projects are at present being worked out for the introduction of rationalization. At first sight it would appear as if the large groups of our mills which are under common management could afford the right starting points and sufficient bases for rationalization. But in the opinion of experts a broader basis is required for successful rationalization and that the groups do not by themselves afford an adequately wide basis. The cardinal matter to be seen to is the state of demand in each particular line of textile manufacture and in correspondence to this there will be a specialization of mills in the respective line...

But rationalization is only a part of the process of organization which is necessary for the rehabilitation of the industry. Besides rationalization there are the problems of

improving the managing organization of individual mills—in particular that of the reform or replacement of the Managing Agency system. Even those who are friendly to the system are conscious of the defects inherent in it and the Textile Tariff Board has made numerous suggestions for remedying the defects in the system especially, for securing technical equipment in such firms. It is to be hoped that these friendly suggestions will be acted upon without loss of time...

Next in importance to the problems of rationalization and of the introduction of co-operative buying and selling is that of industrial education and research. Had the Tata Research Institute been located, as some far-sighted people had proposed, in the vicinity of Bombay it would have formed an invaluable part of the equipment of the local industry. What would Bombay give now to possess conveniently near it such a priceless instrument of progress? But besides such an institution we must make provision not only for the education of future managers and experts but that of the rank and file of employees. It has been well pointed out recently that with the proper type of education we can induce the comparatively educated people of the middle class to enter the mills and to work up from the rank of labour. While this would on the one hand improve considerably the quality, intelligence and enterprise of labour, the movement would on other hand solve in an important measure the problem of middle class unemployment. In that case we should have a quality and mental attitude of labour comparable to the American type—labour not hostile to capital for each unit of labour would look forward to becoming a capital.

The National Cause and Women

The part taken by the womanhood of India in the national cause will be one of the aspects of the Civil Disobedience movement in which we might take legitimate pride. The following editorial note in *Stridharma*, written apparently before Mahatma Gandhi approved of women taking part in the campaign, testifies to the eagerness of India's daughters to serve the motherland :

Whatever be the opinions of individual readers on the details whereby Self-Government shall become the possession of India, every woman not only in India but throughout the world must watch anxiously the result and the reaction following Mahatma Gandhi's appeal to a new method of warfare, soul-force, self-sacrifice without bloodshed or violence. It is the only alternative to ordinary war and is a supreme gesture of individual disarmament and national *ahimsa* while refusing to submit to subjection. Women hate war; they must welcome an alternative way of achieving a desired end.

Notwithstanding that Mr. Gandhi has refused to allow women to participate in his historic march in the Independence campaign, because he explains, they "would complicate" things, women in different

parts of India are not satisfied with this explanation and have protested against their arbitrary exclusion when they are, many of them, just as full of health, and patriotic self-sacrifice as their marching brothers. Gandhiji has left the care of his Ashrama entirely to women. The division of sexes in a non-violent campaign seems to us unnatural, and against all the awakened consciousness of modern womanhood. In these stirring, critical days for India's destiny there should be no watertight compartments of service. Women ask that no conferences, congresses or commissions dealing with the welfare of India should be held without the presence on them of women. Similarly women must ask that no marches, no imprisonments, no demonstrations organised for the welfare of India should prohibit women from a share in them. Rabindranath Tagore truly voices woman's place in his "Chitra," who exclaims :

"I am Chitra. No goddess to be worshipped, nor yet the object of common pity to be brushed aside like a moth with indifference. If you deign to keep me by your side in the path of danger and daring, if you allow me to share the great duties of your life, then you will know my true self."

[As we go to Press news comes that women are now invited to share all phases of the campaign.]

The Aryan and Non-Aryan in the Prehistoric Culture of the Indus Valley

Professor S. V. Venkateswara, discusses the significance of the recent finds in the Indus valley in *The Mysore University Journal* :

The archaeological finds of Harappa, Mohenjo Daro and Nal have revolutionized our ideas regarding the antiquity of the culture of India and its origins and affiliations. One school of thought has suggested that the relics are those of an exotic culture, "of the Indus valley" rather than Indian, as pre-Indian and probably Sumerian in character. Another school would consider them Indian and entirely pre-Aryan, and a third as Indian and altogether Aryan. It is necessary to view the evidence with a watchful eye and review it with an open mind.

* * *

If the culture of the finds has to be carried back to the 5th millenium B.C. it is interesting that already in that age we seem to have evidence of a blend of Aryan and non-Aryan cultures and of the contact of India with other lands. The similarity of the seals and pictographs to those of the pre-Sumerian period and the use of bitumen in India are clear evidence of the latter. The fish and the female form clearly suggest the non-Aryan, while the brick and the copper implements as clearly suggest the Aryan influence. The head forms, the funeral customs, etc. are partly Aryan partly non-Aryan. Whether the myths of the Aryan and Dravidian 'invasions' of India are exploded or not, here is evidence that already at the

dawn of the world's history both the peoples were existing in India and influencing each other in social and religious life. The antiquities of the Indus valley belong as certainly to Indian culture as the river Indus does to her geography. Geometrical designs on the seals persist not only in the pottery of adjoining villages but far and wide in India. So do the shapes of the bowl (e. g. the *lota*) and the lotus designs in the ornamentation. Already in this period, India showed no prejudice against foreign contact or influence but assimilated the foreign elements, such as they were, so thoroughly that they became flesh of her flesh and bone of her bone.

The Depressed Classes and Backward Communities

Mr. K. T. Paul makes an appeal in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon* for a more scientific approach to the problem of minorities in India. The following extracts from his article illustrate the point of view of the depressed classes :

The Depressed Classes are said to number 50 millions. But they have no solidarity and very few common factors to bring about their solidarity even in one province, or in one district for that matter. They are not a minority. They are orphans in our backyard. What they want is not justice, but more than justice. They need special attention.

Those of them who become Christians have the missionaries as their god-fathers who provide for them special facilities for health, housing, education, occupation, etc. But they are relatively very few ; possibly one and a half millions out of the fifty. Those who do not become Christians feel that the white man is somehow their god-father. Their great fear is that when the white man goes from effective power they will be entirely neglected. They may not fear oppression. But they do fear they will not get from the advanced communities in power the special facilities and opportunities without which they cannot come up to those elementary conditions of good living which they have now learnt to consider as indispensable. They fear neglect.

By merely giving them a few more seats in this legislature and that, what can they really secure? This or that might be thrown to them now and then, because they shout. What is wanted is a steadily continuous constructive policy to build them up in every way. How is this to be secured?

I venture to suggest that there should be set up in each province a permanent Commission for Backward Communities similar to the "Commission for Native Affairs" in South Africa. From my personal investigation I am led to believe that the problem of the Zulus and other African tribes in that Dominion began to receive something like due attention only after there was set up a Commission whose exclusive business was to vigilantly watch their interests as a missionary does and to see that the facilities necessary for their uplift are effectively provided and are continued disinterestedly. It is not healthy for anyone

concerned that the man in the backyard should have to shout louder and louder to obtain attention from time to time. It is the plain duty of the State to provide adequate means whereby attention will be voluntarily, willingly and abundantly flowing to him.

I lack information to indicate more than this as to how the machinery of such a Commission should be set up and function. I would make that Commission a statutory requirement but intimately connected with the legislature and responsible to it. It should be the pride of a province to work such a Commission with the most handsome liberality, not only in regard to funds, but also in the programme of uplift. I venture to suggest that somebody be asked to study the South African system for possible adaptation to India.

A Central Bank for India

Mr. S. N. Pochkhanawala, managing director Central Bank of India, Bombay, writes in the *Mysore Economic Journal* on the essential requirements of a Central Bank for India :

What is essential for the success of a Central Bank is a constitution that will (1) meet the varying and peculiar conditions of the country, and (2) satisfy the requirements of its commercial, industrial and agricultural interests. For the purpose of giving every province a suitable opportunity to develop its trade and encourage and promote indigenous banking, India should be divided into 5 or 6 districts with due regard to their commerce and business. We suggest that the Reserve Bank be established with its head office at Bombay and branches at Calcutta, Madras, Rangoon, and Lahore. From the constitution of the Reserve Bank of India, detailed hereafter, it will be noticed that offices at Calcutta, Madras, Rangoon and Lahore, will practically be independent, managing their own affairs, without head office control, the only difference being that the latter, unlike the branches, would be invested with note issue powers.

The following would be the advantages of dividing the country into separate independent districts :—(1) The trade requirements and finance of each place would be looked after conveniently by the district office. (2) The branches of foreign and local banks in each district would find it convenient to place their reserves with their district office, and to have their bills rediscounted. (3) The people of each district would get an opportunity of subscribing to the capital of the Reserve Bank, to be issued in debentures. (4) A board of directors, comprising of local members, would be formed at each centre, and they being acquainted with business conditions of the district would be able fully to provide for its requirements. (5) Government treasury work would be greatly simplified by opening sub-branches of the Reserve Bank in each district under the control of the Reserve Bank office of the district. (6) Though the offices of the Reserve Bank at Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Rangoon and Lahore would work independently, they would be under the control of a supreme body called the "Central Board" at

Bombay, Delhi or Simla. This would ensure unity of policy in business and would make all the offices of the Reserve Bank work harmoniously and uniformly as one single entity. The several offices would be so connected with one another as to give the best possible results by having an easy access to the surplus funds of one when required by the other, rendering possible a stable rate of interest throughout the country.

The Youth of Germany

The Muslim Opinion has published an address delivered by Herr von Pochhammer, the German Consul at Colombo, on the triumph of democracy in modern Germany. The war has brought about this change, and it is in the youth of Germany, Herr Pochhammer says, that its most characteristic spiritual effects are to be seen :

We must turn to the younger generation if we want to trace the spiritual effects which war and revolution have brought upon the German mind. Youth has always revolted against age, but the revolt of the younger German generation against a regime which spoiled their youth, drove many of their best men to death and has shaken in its fall all faith in existing institutions was a more serious start than the usual opposition of youth against age. And so in post-war Germany the crisis through which the whole nation had to pass has accentuated the gulf which usually separates one generation from another and has made the German Youth-movement an unusual phenomenon.

It is very hard to say what they are striving for, as the movement embraces the youth of all classes and creeds and one naturally receives quite a different impression if one compares a proletarian youth organization with an ex-soldiers' union, a typical Catholic Tugend-Verein and a group of half-pagan Wandervögel.

But what they all have in common is a grudge against the old world, against the older generation, against the mental outlook of—to them—the contemptible 19th century, against the omnipotence of intellect and materialism which reigned over State and Society : it is a revolt of the heart against the head. What they all want, is a general rejuvenation of life, a re-discovery of the true soul of the people which has been—they feel—buried by industrial civilization which has killed individualism under technique, organization and "red-tape."

All that sounds perhaps rather romantic. But the beginning of the Jugend Bewegung was undoubtedly romantic, a "retour à la nature" as Rousseau had preached ; a return to the individualism of the good old time of dreaming and singing ; it started as an experiment in recreation, to bring people out of the class-rooms and factories into the open air, to give them back the sense of individual personality, the assertion of human worthiness, the realization of spiritual freedom and the return to the simple life. At the same time the youth movement was closely connected with the renaissance of German sport, and from Wickersdorf, one of the cells of the movement, arose the famous world-

runner Pellzer whom we will see in Colombo next April.

But soon and necessarily, the movement developed on political lines. It was realized that individual sentiments could not alter unpleasant realities and one set about the task of filling the world and its institutions with the new spirit. The re-discovery of "group life," its intimacy and harmony and rhythm formed the starting point of a new system of corporative comradeship, of common endeavour to reach a common goal. "Let us permeate the State to transmute things from within" became the slogan. And so they put into practice the best fruit of the war, the ideals of human brotherhood, of peaceful co-operation, of serving their country and their ideals.

"Service, self-sacrifices" is the motto of the present youth-movement, in the different form : whether you take the students organizations at the Universities, where future teachers are trained earning their life by practical common work ; or the labour-camps and the popular courses where young Labour attempts to bring a new atmosphere into factory life ; or whether you go to the vast, thinly populated eastern part of Germany where modern young German colonists are trying to build up new walls against Bolshevism ; the ideal is the same.

Bertrand Russell as Philosopher

Mr. T. R. V. Murti writes in *the Benares Hindu University Magazine* on the philosophy of Bertrand Russell.

Mr. Russell is a modern Berkeley—a Berkeley without his happy inconsistencies, God and Spiritualism. It is the aim of philosophy to reduce everything to a few ultimate entities and if possible to one. Monistic mania is by no means confined to the idealists ; materialists and realists have been more vehement protagonists of the monistic dogma than the idealists. It is a matter mostly of temperament which you take to be the ultimate—spirit or matter. In both cases the spirit and matter are not quite the Egos and the material bodies that we come across. They must needs be less pronounced and more neutral, more comprehensive. One can begin with चित्तिः स्वतन्त्रा विश्व सिद्धि हेतुः चैतन्यमात्मा etc. and proceed to deduce mind and matter. Or one can start with the fiery nebula or neutral events and construct matter and mind as evolutes, as emergent products. It is inexplicable, if not illogical too, to derive matter (the object more or less) from mind ; it is equally so in the other case. With spirit as the ultimate we have at least the satisfaction of having a self-explaining principle. It cannot be denied that we feel comforted and more at home in a spiritualism than in a materialistic "monism."

An Indian Journalist

"Freelance" contributes to *The Scholar* an entertaining series of sketches of famous

Indian journalists of today, among which occurs the following account of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, who may not unfairly be described as the *doyen* of Indian journalists :

Journalism had marked Mr. Chintamani as her own at a very early age. The editor of *The Leader* has the reputation of being one of the journalistic giants of India. Like Mr. Pal he also rose from the lowest ranks of journalistic hierarchy to the top of the premier paper in the United Provinces. Bacon once said that reading maketh a full man. Mr. Chintamani believes in the theory that writing maketh a full man. He makes it a point to write a certain area in *The Leader* every day. He has a genius for facts and figures and staggers you with his phenomenal memory. He could quote for prodigious length from big authors and brilliant politicians. He has strong views on many things. He has been carrying on a regular crusade against the civilians. In the pre-Bardoli days he attacked the non-cooperation movement and its followers with a vehemence and bitterness unknown to the party politics of India before. But if he did so, it was from a stern sense of conviction. His writings are marked by something of the fulness which a close communion with leaders of political thought must shed on the lonely hours at an editorial desk. In that mysterious temple of daily journalism in which we are not infrequent worshippers, Mr. Chintamani is a priest. If Mr. Pothan Joseph scintillates with epigrams, Mr. Chintamani sparkles with episodes.

a renowned practitioner. The learned personage was a private physician to Abu Bakar and a pupil of the Greek school of Jundishapur in Persia founded by Shapur I.

In the schools of Baghdad and Alexandria the study of Physics was encouraged by the usual munificence of the Caliphs. Translation of Hippocrates and Galen issued from the factory that had clothed Plato and Aristotle in an oriental dress. Most of these versions are ascribed to Honain, an eminent physician of the Nestorian sect who died A. D. 576; and Messue, the celebrated preceptor of Al-mamun was the principal of the College of Baghdad. Serapion, Al-kindi, Thabit-ibnu-korra, the friend and astrologer of the Caliph Motaaded, Baktishnu, and his son Gabriel with a host of others are names which adorn the medical annals of the Saracens. The lives of more than 300 physicians consisting of Arabs, Syrians, Persians and Egyptians were recorded by an author named Osaibaah. To Ali-ibnu-ul-Abbas we are indebted for a real and the earliest account he has given concerning the Arabian Physics. This eminent author was a star of first magnitude in the galaxy of learned men who flourished in the court of Adudud-dowla, Sultan of Aleppo. His book called 'Almeliki' or Royal work which appeared about the year 480. A. H. was intended to be a complete system of medicine.

Indian Poverty and a Suggested Cure

Hilda Wood writes in *The Indian Labour Review* on Indian poverty. After dismissing the cure by the sacrifice of the well-to-do she goes on to say :

Now here comes my rather startling statement. *You cannot really help anybody but yourself. And when you are helping yourself you are helping everybody.* Now that sounds very selfish. But let me take Henry Ford as an example. He is the richest man in the world, and his mail is so high that he has to have a special post office all to himself. And most of his letters are begging letters. "You have so much money," one man will write, "you would not feel it if you relieve me of this terrible debt of a few pounds and so give me a new start in life." Certainly, but the writer does not realize that Ford has one thousand five hundred of such letters every day which, if he responded to all of them, would soon leave him in a position where he would also have to beg. So he solved his problem in this way. "In order to help as many people as possible," he said, "I will open more workshops on ideal lines, exact honest and hard work, in return for very high wages and good conditions. I will then be increasing my own income as well as doing good."

* * *

And let us follow up Henry Ford's method. It is seen on a small scale as well as on a large. Yet even then it results in immense progress in every way for many families. If I, having some money, spend it on the home to make it beautiful, collect lovely things around me, pay my servants a good living wage, I am helping innumerable

Study of Science under the Caliphs

There is a very interesting article on the study of Science under the Caliphs by Mr. Obaidul Huq in *The Muslim Hall Magazine*, Dacca, in which the writer says :

There is a prevalent belief that the Muslims made very little or no contribution to Science. It would be my endeavour to show from the great authorities, that the Muslims, not only studied and cultivated Science with much zeal and fervour, but also were discoverers and pioneers in this department. For instance, in speculative Science the Arabs excelled as much as they did in polite literature. Their acute temperament of mind was well-adapted to the study of Philosophy and Metaphysics. Even Ghazzali applied the doctrines of Metaphysics to Theology and Alkindi was called by way of eminence "the Arabian Philosopher," the great Astrologer, the Phenix of his age. The 200 different works which he composed testify to the fact that he was well-versed in all the learnings of the Greeks, Persians and Indians. All parties acknowledged his authority and sought his assistance, in all matters of controversy. At the head of all these expounders stood Averros.

Natural Science was cultivated by the Arabs with great success. The knowledge which they possessed of Medicine is a subject of curious investigation. Ibn-kalada a contemporary of the prophet Mohammad, who had settled at Mecca was

people. To begin with, I am assisting in the moulding of the character of my immediate family by the subtle play on their natures of the beauty they see around me. In these days the effect of environment on the plastic child nature is known to be enormous. I am educating my servants and others by their opportunity to handle and see beauty and a refined environment. I am raising the standard of living, and giving work to artists and workers who produce these things that I am using, and I am making life happier and more profitable for all these people. The good I am doing in buying and surrounding myself with lovely and useful things is, you see, enormous.

Examinations and Education

No one will deny that the importance assigned to examinations is one of the curses of the educational system of India. Can they be made less harmful and more truly conducive to a sound education? In *The Indian Educator*, Mr. F. S. Wilder advances a plea for the introduction of the "new" examination :

American educators are generally impressed by the dominance of the examination in India's system of education ; also with the narrow type of education resulting therefrom. If examinations are to continue to occupy so large a place in India, it is important that they be made far more accurate and effective instruments than they are at present. Indian students often pray or make use of good luck charms before sitting for an examination—proof of the importance of, and the large element of chance in, passing examination. University examiners and other thoughtful observers, generally admit the inaccuracy of marks (unless hindered by pride or fear of losing their position). Indeed the results of investigations into the accuracy of marks almost invariably show an inaccuracy averaging over 10 per cent in examination marks given in high schools and colleges. If any reader of this paragraph doubts this statement let him read the references appended to this article, or better yet, let him investigate for himself according to approved scientific methods.

Granted this inaccuracy of examinations, what is to be done about it? We cannot abolish examinations, for efficiency in the educational process requires some means of estimating results achieved. It is really a question of which sort of examination gives the best indication of the student's progress. I believe that the new types of examinations now being developed in the West, especially in America, will enable Indian educators to reduce the cost and increase the accuracy of examinations ; therefore, I would ask every forward-looking educator to investigate and try out some "new type" examinations.

By "new type" examinations is meant examinations characterized by questions calling for short, exact answers. These include such types as true-false, completion, multiple choice, matching of items, ranking of items

and analogies. Readers not familiar with these types of examinations should consult the appended list of references, as spaces is lacking to describe them here. Standardized new-type examinations can easily be procured from England or America through dealers in educational supplies.

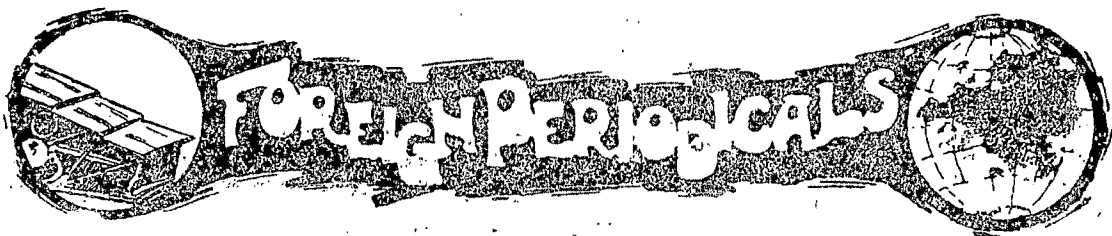
Improving the Calcutta University

In an article entitled "Why America has become so great?" contributed to *The Calcutta Review*, Dr. Taraknath Das draws our attention to the magnificent educational bequests of the wealthy men of America. He makes an appeal for similar generosity to our countrymen :

During the last five years I have made definite suggestion through various channels that the alumni of Calcutta University should make a systematic effort to raise two lakhs of rupees annually, so that this sum may be capitalized to maintain a chair on a special subject. I have particularly emphasized that Calcutta University should create a chair of "International Law," another chair of "International Relations," another chair of "Municipal Government." In fact steps should be taken to create a really efficient department of Political Science, in connection with Calcutta University.

It may be suggested that it cannot be done without financial support. It is well-known that the Government of India has never any want of money to maintain military forces, and C.I.D's. In Provincial Governments the situation is not different from that of the Central Government. *But if the struggle for national regeneration is to be carried on upon a constructive plan then the existing Indian Universities must be supported by the Indian people with the necessary funds. The money spent to strengthen Indian Universities and to raise their standard should be regarded as the soundest of all national investments.*

There are many rich men and women in Bengal who can do a great deal to aid the Calcutta University, and thus India as a whole and Bengal in particular. The magnificent gifts of the late Sir Taraknath Palit, the late Sir Rashbehari Ghose the late Maharaja Manindrachandra Nandy and others in the field of national education have brought about a new era of hope in the educational life of Bengal. Of course one should not forget to point out that the European community which has made millions of pounds annually out of Bengal has done practically nothing to aid the cause of education. However the time has come to make a systematic effort to raise "Endowment Funds" in connection with Calcutta University to make it one of the foremost educational institutions of the world. Will the alumni of Calcutta University take the initiative to fulfil their material and moral debt to their *Alma Mater* ? Will they follow the American example and help to make India great ? There is no gift higher than the gift of education.



Lancashire in Decay

Whether the depression in trade and industries which is afflicting England today is only a passing phase or the beginning of her permanent economic decline, is a question over which experts still differ. But there is no denying the patent fact that all her key industries upon which her commercial greatness rests are in a bad way. This is particularly true of the cotton industry of Lancashire. The industrial correspondent of the *New Statesman* draws a gloomy picture of the state of this great industry for his paper. After referring to the ruin of the coal-mining industry in South Wales he goes on to say :

First South Wales—now Lancashire: In Parliament, and in the press, we are perpetually reminded that trade is bad in Lancashire. The reports have occurred with such clock-like regularity during the past few years that people outside this stricken county have become hardened to them. 'Yes, the cotton trade is in a bad way,' they say. 'Old-fashioned methods, poor marketing, inflation of values due to recapitalization, trade-union interference,—and so on, with dreary iteration. All very true. But does the country realize that its most important industrial centre is rotting, and that in a few years—say five years at the most—Lancashire may be one vast graveyard of derelict buildings? Let it be hammered home, that the cotton trade is doomed, and doomed in the immediate future unless something is done now. Surely the warning of South Wales is writ large! Surely we can learn from experience! We know that most manufacturers, like other capitalists (and trade unionists, for that matter) are pig-headed when it comes to making a radical change. We know how reluctant they are to combine, reorganize, devalue, or reconstruct. But can they do anything by themselves? Could the South Wales mine owners do anything by themselves? Have we not yet recognized, irrespective of party, that the Baldwinian policy of allowing things to adjust themselves (which, by the way, appears to be the Thomas policy also) means national suicide? South Wales has gone. Lancashire is going fast. Whose turn next?

Let it be thought that this is mere rhetoric, let us look at a few facts. One of the best-equipped mills in Burnley—sixteen hundred looms; all 'preparation' machinery for tapping, twisting, beaming, winding; engine and boilers; runways throughout

buildings and ware-houses; and the whole mill fitted up with leather and healds ready for starting—has just been sold for the price of a villa. At the auction sale the whole concern fetched £4,275! The mill could not be built and fitted up today for £80,000.

In Burnley alone 23,000 looms have been scrapped since the decline—scrapped. This is apart, of course, from empty looms in firms still working, which will probably account for a further 23,000. Some idea of the decline may be gathered when one states that three looms will keep one person in full employment—reckoning winders, beamers, tapers, tacklers, and others who do not weave. For the past twelve months over 5,000 people in Burnley (population, 97,000) have been in regular receipt of unemployment pay. Note that a population of 97,000 will have only 40,000 possible workers at a liberal estimate. And this figure of 5,000, bad though it is, does not tell the whole story of the state of trade, because thousands of workers in employment are working short time, or are standing with one, two, or three looms. (Normally a woman runs four looms and a man six).

Last year eight mills closed down in Burnley, and this is typical of all cotton towns. In Nelson (Population, 40,000), a town three miles away, five firms owning 18,000 looms went out of existence in 1929. Blackburn, Darwen, Chorley, Preston, Oldham, Shaw, Todmorden, Accrington, Padiham, Brierfield, Colne, Great Harwood, and dozens of smaller places are affected in like manner.

Will Lancashire Revive?

Reflections on the gloomy prospects of the cotton trade naturally lead to the question: can it by any means be revived? The industrial correspondent of the *New Statesman* suggests a way out. But he is not very hopeful.

The cotton trade will not revive without help, and immediate help. Combines similar to the Lancashire Cotton Corporation may do something, but that something will not be much unless some form of compulsion is adopted. To take hold of firms by agreement, one by one, is disastrous to the industry as a whole. Individual action is useless. Consider a recent instance of individual action in another respect. A Burnley firm threatens to close its doors unless the weavers consent to work on the 'eight-loom system'—that is, to run eight looms instead of four. The looms will run at a slower rate, and help will be given in such

matters as cleaning machinery, pulling of pieces, bringing weft, etc. Further, a much higher wage will be paid. Most of the weavers in the mill agreed to accept the system, but in consequence of the following manifesto, issued by the local Weavers' Union, decided to defer action until their committee should have had an opportunity of discussing the situation with the Employers' Association.

WARNING TO WEAVERS

This firm has offered employment to a number of weavers on an eight-loom-per-weaver system.

This Association has rejected the terms and conditions offered by the firm.

Acceptance of employment on the firm's terms and conditions is prohibited by this Association.

Any weaver who accepts this employment will be regarded as a knobstick, like any other weaver in the past who accepted employment at less than the standard prices and conditions established by this Association.

The Committee urge all weavers to keep away from this firm. While this dispute exists the firm is on the Black List.

Who can blame the local union? What else can they do? Undoubtedly weavers will have to accept the eight-loom system, or a shift system, or some radical change of a similar kind, and would probably agree more or less cheerfully to such a change if it were general and provided reasonable conditions. But individual action of this kind will solve nothing. The very fabric of the worker's existence is threatened. How can an industry thrive when one firm has a weaver to eight looms, and next door there are only four looms to a weaver? That the above firm, if it persists, will get weavers is certain—there are too many people starving. That this lead will be followed by other firms is also certain. But what is going to be the condition of an industry where there is no agreement whatever between employers' and employees' associations? South Wales—Lancashire! Whose turn next?

Communists in the United States

Much as we dislike the doctrine of class war in the name of which Marx summoned the workmen of the world to unite in revolt against their masters, there seems to be something inherent in human nature which makes for the oppression of the weak and the poor by those who are powerful and rich. And this is as likely to happen in a democratic country like America as in Czarist Russia devoted to absolutism. A leading article in *The New Republic* discloses how elementary justice is denied in the United States to those who profess Communism:

Unlike the reformers, whose business it is to furnish the principles for which others go to jail, the Communists have principles which they value so highly that they themselves are not only

capable of going to jail for them, but sometimes anxious to do so.

If martyrdom is really what the Communists are after, the situation of Communism in the United States is promising. Whenever a member of the party speaks or acts in such a way as to suggest his willingness to go to jail for his beliefs, policemen and judges are alert to accommodate him. In fact, vindictiveness toward the spirit of martyrdom must be part of the explanation of the practice of judges in imposing stiff sentences on Communists for offences that in themselves seem unimportant. The record of these sentences in respect to their severity, their frequency and their wide geographical distribution is startling.

There is the case of the five young women in California who displayed a red flag in a children's camp which they were running on leased property. One of them is under sentence of from one to ten years; the remaining four got from six months to five years. A man who was convicted with them avoided the penalty by killing himself when sentence was imposed. In Buffalo two men are serving a sentence of 100 days in jail because they were caught in the act of decorating a meeting hall with "Work or Wages" signs. Two men who raised a slogan-placard at the March 6 demonstration at Waterbury, Connecticut, are serving a four months' sentence; another is under sentence of three months. Two of the thirteen arrested at the demonstration of February 21 in Chicago were fined \$60, with an alternative of 120 days in jail; two more had to pay \$35 or go to jail for seven days.

* * *

The most conspicuous of all the recent cases is that of William X. Foster and his four associates in New York City. For ordering a march down Broadway on March 6 in defiance of the orders of the police, Foster and three others—Robert Minor, Israel Amter and Harry Raymond—have been given indeterminate sentences to the penitentiary up to three years, while the fifth man, Robert Leston, has been sentenced to a month in the work-house.

These are only a few of the many recent occurrences that illustrate our point. That point is that the Communists are constantly being treated in such a way as tends to justify their contention that a member of the working class cannot get justice in the "capitalist" courts. When a Communist breaks the law, he should certainly be liable to the same degree of punishment anyone else would get; but *The New Republic* is convinced, that, apart from the consideration of decency and humanity it is bad for the courts themselves, bad for the public morale and bad for the social structure that the authorities should continue to play into the Communists' hands by giving them exceptionally severe treatment merely because they are supposed to want it. We have no enthusiasm for the Communist programme, but we begin to be impressed by the force of arguments daily supplied to them in support of their criticism of the existing order.

The analogy with India will be obvious to every reader of the above extracts.

Codification of International Law

The codification of International Law has been engaging the attention of jurists for a long time-past. The founding of the League of Nations naturally gave a great impetus to the project. The results of the first world Conference for the codification of International Law is described in the monthly *News for Overseas* published by the League:

The first world Conference for the Codification of International Law summoned by the League of Nations at The Hague on March 13th lasted a month, reached partial results on two of the three questions before it, and agreed on procedure for continuing the work of codification in the future.

The Conference divided into three committees, each dealing with one subject. The Committee on the Responsibility of State for Damage done to the Person or Property of Foreigners within Their Territory was unable to complete its study, and did not submit any conclusions to the Conference. This question, therefore, has to be further studied and will be dealt with, when sufficiently prepared at a future conference.

The Committee on Nationality Laws submitted various proposals to the Conference which resulted, in a convention, three protocols and a number of recommendations all based on the principle that everyone should have a nationality and that no one should have more than one nationality. The convention, if and when adopted, will put an end to the situation in which a woman who marries a foreigner or whose husband changes his nationality during marriage, is deprived of her old nationality without acquiring a new. Other provisions deal with the nationality of children, adoption, expatriation permits and general principles. The protocols deals with the relation of people without nationality to the State whose nationality they last possessed with the case of children born of mothers having one nationality and fathers without nationality or of unknown nationality, and with the military obligations of persons possessing two or more nationalities.

The recommendations relate to the establishment of the principle of sex equality in the matter of nationality, taking particularly into consideration the interests of the children and the granting of greater freedom to a woman marrying a foreigner and wishing to retain her original nationality, with the proof of nationality, and with the regulation of the problems of double and no nationality.

This brief summary makes it clear that in this field too much further work remains to be done. But if the existing agreements are adopted by all civilized States and incorporated in their legislation a big step will have been taken towards clearing up a situation whose difficulties and anomalies have been acutely felt since the war.

On the third problem—territorial waters—the Conference decided to substitute the term "territorial sea", and drew up a number of articles defining what were the rights and obligations of States within territorial seas, but it did not succeed in framing a generally recognized rule on the limit of the territorial sea.

The fixing of the breadth of the belt at three

miles was opposed by the countries which maintained that there was no rule of law fixing this breadth, and that their national interests necessitated the adoption of a wider belt. The problem therefore remains, together with that of the way in which the breadth of the belt should be measured.

The articles adopted define and regulate the right of passage through territorial seas, and are intended to form part of a convention or conventions determining the breadth and legal status of the territorial sea. Two recommendations were adopted. One, on the legal status of foreign vessels in inland waters, proposed that the League Convention on the International Regime of Maritime Ports concluded in 1923, should be supplemented by provisions regulating the scope and nature of the judicial powers of States with regard to vessels in their inland waters. The other recommendation related to the supply of fish in the sea and to fishing in general. The Conference drew attention to the desirability of scientific research on the supply of fish and the means of protecting fry in local areas. General agreement in this field would make it easier to solve the problem of the breadth of territorial seas, since many States ask for an extended limit partly on the ground of the necessity for protecting various species of fish. The Conference asked the Council of the League to take up with the Governments the question of preparing and summoning a new conference to frame a general convention settling the whole problem.

The Conference also adopted general recommendations concerning the lines on which its work should be continued: the League work on codification and that undertaken by the Conference of the Pan-American Union should be carried on in complete harmony with each other. International or national institutions should study the fundamental question of international law, particularly principles and rules and their application, with special reference to the points which would be placed on the agenda of codification conferences. Such conferences should be prepared by a small committee which should select subjects suitable for codification by convention, and circulate a brief and clear report to Governments for their opinion. The Council of the League should then draw up a list of subjects to be studied in the light of the opinions expressed by Governments, and an appropriate body would frame a draft convention upon each selected study.

The draft convention should be communicated to the Governments and, in the light of the replies received, the agenda of the conference should be decided. Only such subjects as were formally approved by a very large majority of Powers taking part in the conferences should be included in the agenda.

Printers' Liabilities

Though restrictions on the freedom of the Press in England are trifling compared to the state of things in India, there, too, the law of libel is a serious handicap to the freedom of comment often expected from the Press. And in England too, the printer as well as the writer and the

publisher is responsible for damages. This has drawn a spirited protest from the manager of a large printing firm. This protest published in *British and Colonial Printer* is deserving of particular attention in this country, where resses have been made liable to forfeiture for the offences of either the writer or the publisher :

It is time that the printing industry rebelled against the prevalent idea, unfortunately supported by the present legal position, that printers are fair game for damages for all the real or imaginary "torts" originated by others in the form of printed libels. The injustice of the law as at present applied, and the need of collective action to obtain reform, are forcibly set forth in a four-page pamphlet written by Mr. E. W. Carter, chairman of Messrs. W. Speaight and Sons, Ltd., the well-known London printing firm.

Many cases, Mr. Carter points out, would never be brought if there were not a printer to sue. Three people are held legally accountable, jointly and severally, for a printed libel—the writer, the publisher, and the printer—and the printer may even find himself liable for the whole of the costs and damages, as the writer (or editor) and the publisher (generally the proprietor) may be perhaps of little substance. Yet, as Mr. Carter goes on to indicate, the printer should not be liable at all, unless he can be proved to have had knowledge of the libel, or to have neglected to exercise ordinary care. For the writer is obviously the primary offender; and the publisher may be presumed to be knowingly permitting him to get publicity, but the printer has no interest in the views published, and his readers merely read the proofs for grammar, punctuation and general correctness. Yet the printer, who has nothing to gain by the libel, may be made to assume the whole responsibility.

Mr. Carter protests also against the fact that a decision of the High Court has made unenforceable any clause in a contract by which a publisher may agree to indemnify the printer against the results of a libel action. He inquires whilst it may be a just principle that where there are two wrongdoers one should not be able to recover from the other, yet, where a firm of printers publishes under contract a newspaper, and that newspaper publishes a libel, can it be said that the printer is a wrongdoer in the same sense as where A, who wants deliberately to libel B, instructs a printer to print a sheet which is obviously a libel ?

The Rebuilding of Tokyo

About seven years ago the capital of Japan was overwhelmed by a catastrophe which has few parallels in history. The reconstruction of the city and the port was undertaken immediately after, and the task has just been completed. The occasion has

been celebrated enthusiastically in Japan and is commented upon in *The Japan Weekly Chronicle* :

Japan's Capital is celebrating the completion of its reconstruction programme and the city as it stands to-day is an eloquent testimony to the energy and enterprise of its citizens...

As a whole, the city is remarkably recognizable. Old familiar houses have risen from their ashes, different, it is true, and often better, but with their names on them to show that they are doing business on the old location. Few of the large modern buildings were actually wrecked, though many were gutted by fire, and these, restored to their former aspect, are landmarks as before. But while respect was had to ownership and to a historic continuity, there has been a tremendous amount of work done in improving the city. Many owners were bought out and moved elsewhere, and there are now some fine arterial roads which the increasing traffic had made urgently necessary. These will add greatly to the appearance of the city when the trees are well grown, and should lead to some more city tree-planting, which Tokyo needs. Canals were also straightened, diverted, and generally improved, and the bridges, the number of which runs into hundreds, have become a striking feature of the city...

The reconstruction of Yokohama must be reckoned in with that of Tokyo as part of a whole. It has proceeded in somewhat different fashion. There was an inclination at first to leave it in ruins and have the port elsewhere—if not at Tokyo itself, at one of the anchorages between Tokyo and Yokohama. But it was found that business compelled the big Japanese houses to come back to the old site, and presently it came to offering inducements to the foreign business houses to make a fresh start....

As an example of the resurrection of a city, however, it is not less notable than Tokyo, for it was far more completely destroyed. The rebuilding of port and capital are proof of the courage and resolution of the people; and as His Majesty the Emperor drove round the reconstructed capital on Monday, he must have remembered the day, when in the grounds of the Akasaka Palace he met the new Cabinet after the quake, with the ruins of the city still smoking round them, and felt a pride in subjects who, undismayed at such a catastrophe, began at once to build a finer city than before.

England and India

In an editorial note in *Unity* Mr. John Haynes Holmes exposes the untruth that Great Britain rules India for India's good :

The case of England in India has never been more frankly put than by the Manchester *Guardian* in a recent outspoken article :

"There are two chief reasons," says the paper, "why a self-regarding England may hesitate to relax her control over India. The first is that her influence in the East depends partly upon her power to summon troops and to draw resources from India in time of need. This

power will vanish when India has Dominion Status. The second is that Great Britain finds in India her best market, and that she has a thousand million of capital invested there. The British Government has already gone far towards stripping itself of power to modify India's financial and commercial policy in favour of British interests, but it is still in a position to protect them against unfair discrimination and—what is more important—to maintain law and order without which British trade and investments must suffer, if we may not speak of Indian lives."

It is not to be supposed that this statement represents the views of the *Guardian*. The great and fearless newspaper has never been the champion of a "self-regarding" England. What it is doing here is to reveal the reality that exists behind the camouflage of England's claims to being in India for India's good. These claims are hypocrisy of the worst description. They can fool nobody at this late date. England is in India, as she has been there from the first, for nobody's good but her own. And that is the reason why she is so alarmed by the present crisis. If the situation and its outcome affected only Indians, England need not, and for that matter would not, be so greatly disturbed. We believe that she would find it possible to be reasonably philosophical if results threatened, nothing but the prosperity and peace of an alien people. No, her great concern at this hour is of course for herself and the imperial interests which a century and a half of occupancy have rooted deep in the soil of this ancient land. And her concern may well be great.

"A Vagabond's Opinion of a Saint"

Mr. Reginald Reynolds contributes an appreciation of Mahatma Gandhi to *The Christian Register* of America, telling the editor that: "Now that I have seen the last of Mahatma for several weeks or months I want to attempt to tell you what I think of him, always remembering that a vagabond's opinion of a saint is a piece of sheer impertinence."

I think I diagnose correctly the out-standing characteristic of Mahatmaji when I say it is his sincerity. He carries it to the point of bluntness, or rudeness if you like, that would shock even my Quaker relations; though I should add that he couples it with a sort of simple courtesy of manner that makes the difference between an insult and a reproof. It is typical of him that he dislikes dyed cloth—it is dishonest, he says, because it does not show the dirt. He himself always dresses in white. *Khaddar* hand-spun cloth, which is washed daily. To an easy, temporizing person like myself, his scorching passion for truth was almost terrifying—I was always afraid that I should lapse into one of those silly social lies that we Westerners tell so glibly when we are afraid to give offense or wish to avoid a long explanation, and that he would see

through it! The day I spoke at Hinganghat I mentioned in his hearing that I was going to try to get out of the agreement to go, given in an unwary moment—I was very tired and had nothing to say at the meeting. I shall not forget his look of genuine incredulity as he said, "But you can't go back on your word!" Completely out-quakered by a Hindu, I had to give in and go. He gives to each one who comes in contact with him the impression of a real personal affection, but he can sever every attachment without sign of pain. They say that when Mogunlal Gandhi died, he was the coolest man at the *ashram* and ordained "business as usual" and harder work to make up for the loss of so good a worker. His conversation, speeches, and writings are unemotional, logical, precise, and less involved than is usual with Indians. You will find a sort of measured wit and choice metaphor but never bombast or sentimentality, fine writings or any "clever" tactics that the plain man cannot understand. Hard facts he combines with high ideals, but has no use either for rhetoric or a despondent "realism". He has aptly described himself as a practical idealist. Gandhiji does not dispute the dictum, so dear to the Christian world, that God is love. But he has chosen to take his own stand more especially for the establishment of another belief—that God is Truth. In the constitution of the *ashram* this is stated in a form which he finds preferable namely that Truth is God. Truth is only known by experience and experiment, and this frail little old man has not ceased to experiment continuously in almost every direction, and often at the risk of his bodily health and life itself. But experiment implies a measure of certainty without which it would be chaotic and, undirected. This certainty is as marked in him as his willingness to learn and discuss: he is one of the few people I have ever met who understands that true toleration does not mean vacuity or sitting on the fence. His opinions are strong; and with some, notably those on sex and other sociological questions, I personally cannot agree. I look on him as I would a great Catholic saint, admiring wholeheartedly his character and spiritual power, while judging his views with complete detachment.

Gandhi's industry is stupendous. He is still the leading figure in politics, the President and active leader of the All-India Spinners Association, and the editor of *Young India*, a weekly paper. He does a great deal of touring and public speaking, personally attends to all manner of details in the administration of the *ashram*, and conducts an enormous correspondence including conscientious answers to every Tom, Dick, and Harry who happens to write to him. He never misses his daily hour at the spinning wheel or the long morning and evening prayers. And he is still at the service of everyone from the delegates of a trade dispute down to Reginald Reynolds or the nonentity of a non-conformist missionary who once wasted a good three-quarters of an hour of his time in telling Mr. Gandhi about himself. I was spinning in the same room and remembered the Biblical words, "Shall I smite him, oh, my father?"

In contrast, most of the Indian officials I met while at Sitapur were most disappointing people. Hybrid creatures, aping English externals, the meaning of which was quite beyond them, they seemed to me to belong to no nationality or tradition whatever. Some were quite lovable, but all were

pitiable. To me they stood as an ironical reproof—the *reductio ad absurdum* of Macaulay's educational policy. Thanks be to heaven that my first impressions of Indians were not gathered from such people! But it is strange that when the rest of India is awaking to a sense of national pride in Indian culture and institutions, when *khaddar* and Indian dress are making such rapid headway among all patriots, and Congress (for example) is using Hindi more and English less every year, in spite of the Anglicized education system—that the Indian official is still slavishly imitating the Englishman! If this sprang from an intelligent admiration one might be flattered; but it is too plain that it springs from an unintelligent sycophancy.

The English officialdom was even more distasteful; but then one expected it. I will content myself with a brief reference to a tea party, and leave the rest to your imagination. The Settlement Commissioner was there and a sour-looking man who was a judge, I was told; and their wives were discussing a recent hunt:

"Did you hear," said one, "that one of the beaters died of sunstroke and two were killed by a tiger? But none of the party were hurt—weren't they lucky!"

And the other lady said:

"Yes; but it will make it rather difficult to get beaters the next time, won't it?"

Would you believe that conversation if you read it in a book? Yet I heard it at a tea party.... You may say that such people are not really typical, and I hope you would be right. Even so, it doesn't take much insight to see that there is something radically wrong with English people out here. Everywhere I go, I hear of their overbearing insolence.

The Indian complaint against us is not that we fall short of the "superman" standard that we claim for ourselves in this country. It is that we fall short of the standard of common civility and courtesy.

And as for missionaries, in none of the Christian missionaries that I have encountered since landing in India have I seen signs of that real unstinting devotion that I have marked in the Hindu leaders. The puritanism of the Hindus may be badly overdone (I think it is myself); but in a starving country it contrasts most favourably with the luxurious houses, expensive clothes, elaborate meals, and easygoing ways of such missionaries as I have met. One might argue that all this is simplicity compared with the style in which the higher bureaucrats live. Very likely—but "luxurious" and "elaborate" are no exaggeration, if the *ashram* or the peasant's hut is taken as the norm. I remember one podgy little woman on whom we called—an American missionary. She was told I had been to Lahore. Said she, reclining among her cushions on the couch, "That is where all these nationalist people have been meeting, isn't it!" From her later conversation it was clear that she thought they met to discuss the possibility of bombing her. Anyway, now I understand why Gandhi always tells the missionaries to go and live in a hut among the peasants.

Civil War in China

That civil war profits no one is almost a truism. Yet races and communities indulge in it out of, we should say, sheer love of hating and killing one another. The insanity of the whole business is emphasized in strong terms by the editor of *The China Journal*. His warnings might also be taken to heart by those others who seem to find a perverted kind of pleasure in encouraging communal and class dissensions:

The folly of war is a subject that has been ridden to death, at least since Europe went mad in 1914 and perpetrated the greatest crime of all history. Yet war still persists, and there appear to be those who actually believe that something can be accomplished by this insane and utterly to be discredited method of settling human differences.

Every country, except, perhaps, Soviet Russia, that had a taste of what actual fighting meant during the years from 1914 to 1918, has developed a horror of war so intense that it will brook almost any insult and indignity, not to mention the loss of prestige and trade, rather than resort to this means of redress, and so it will certainly be at least till the present generation has passed on. It may even be suggested that the rising generation is still more intolerant of an appeal to armed force than the present, for there are not wanting signs that in certain parts of the world man is becoming really civilized.

Unfortunately there are other places where this is not so certain, if we are to judge from outward signs, and where people seem to think that by the slaughter of their fellow beings something good can be accomplished.

As we write, China is on the brink of another civil war, and before this finds its way from the press she may be indulging in another of the terrible death-struggles that have torn her asunder so often since the unfurling of the five-barred flag in 1911 proclaimed the five races of this country a united and free people.

And for what? What is it thought is going to be gained by this fratricidal war? What can be gained by such a folly?...

We do not know, cannot know, who is in the right and who in the wrong over the present situation in China; but one thing we do know, and knowing, feel it our duty to proclaim, and that is that civil war, the most heinous of all crimes, that statesmen can commit, will not settle the matter. If the South wins and the North is crushed, the former will reap nought but a legacy of hatred, that some day will rend the country in twain. It will not make the men of the North and the men of the South brothers. It will only serve to alienate them irrevocably. And the same will be the case if the North conquers the South.

As we have said before, politics are no concern of ours. But this is more than politics. This is race suicide; and we love China too much, and hold the people of this country in too high esteem, to remain silent when forces are being let loose that will bring so much suffering to millions of innocent human beings, that will cost the lives of

thousands, perhaps tens of thousands, of China's young men, that will wipe out the growing crops of countless farms, the very food of the people, and will drain the coffers of rich and poor, merchants and artisans.

Has it been by war that China has maintained her four thousand year old civilization intact till now? Has it not rather been by the peaceful methods of the farmer and the scholar that her culture has spread so far and wide and endured for forty centuries? Would any of her great sages advise her present rulers and statesmen to perpetrate this folly of civil war?

We appeal to the leaders on both sides to consider these things, and, considering them, abandon all thought of settling their differences by a resort to the use of shrieking shell and whining bullet; but rather to seek the peace table and conciliation, placing the good of the people before everything else, and founding in mutual understanding and respect an enduring government of the people, by the people, for the people, which, after all, are the only true "three principles" of modern civilization.

Soviet Russia and Christianity

Last month we quoted a passage from the *Manchester Guardian* which showed that the hue and cry in the countries of Western Europe about the persecution of the Christians in Russia was due partly, at any rate, to political motives. Communist authorities require no persuasion on this point. All reports from Russia agree that the authorities, there, are unanimous in the opinion that the religious drive against the Soviets is but another attempt of capitalistic countries to overthrow the Communist regime. The subject is of great importance, and Dr. John Dewey, the American philosopher, offers an explanation in *Current History* of the historical causes which have led the Communists to adopt an unbending attitude with regard to the Christian Church in Russia:

"Religion is the opium of the People." No phrase is more widely inscribed on the walls of public buildings in Soviet Russia than this. None is more widely associated abroad with the Soviet regime. In Russia the saying is attributed to Lenin. As a matter of fact, Karl Marx was its author, and Lenin took it from Marx, along with so many other of his doctrines. In the same passage in which Marx wrote this sentence he also said: "Destroy the social world of which religion is the spiritual aroma and you destroy religion. . . . Religion is the flower that covers the chains. Destroy the flowers and the chains will be seen." Marx derived his ideas about religion mainly from Feuerbach and the

Left Wing of the Hegelian school. He was not an embodied doctrine of pure thought; he was a man of his age, subject to its intellectual currents. It was easy and natural, however, to regard his economic and his theological views as inseparable parts of one and the same system of socialistic thought, although as a matter of fact they simply happened to coincide in the thinking of one man.

However, the political and economic status of the Greek Church in the Holy Russia of the Czars gave a peculiar timeliness and force to the union of socialism in economics and atheism in religion. Official and institutional religion was actually one with a despotic, economic and political regime. The Czar was the head of the Church, as well as of the State. All the Orthodox Churches were supported by the State; and in return the Church both collectively and through its particular congregations, gave the blessing and sanction of religion to the autocratic State and its rulers. Russia was a theocracy; opposition to the Czar was a religious crime as well as political treason. Nowhere in the modern world not even in old Mexico at its height was the union of institutional religion and the established political and economic regime as close as in Russia. This fact is the background of the Bolshevik attitude toward religion. It gives the key to their violent attacks upon it.

It will be noted that the quotations from Marx express two ideas. One of them is that attack on the existing economic-political order will lead inevitably to the decay of religion. The other idea is that direct attack on religion will expose the "chains" of the existing system, and thereby further the creation of a new system. Soviet Russia has thrown itself energetically into both lines of attack. On one hand, it acts upon the belief that the creation of a communistic society will automatically displace interest in religious doctrines and cults. It will give a new social and human outlet to energy that is now wasted from the Bolshevik point of view, by misdirection into supernatural and anti-social channels. On the other hand, Lenin felt, and undoubtedly correctly so, in view of his aims, that the existing Church was a rival to the new system which he was inaugurating. It was so closely tied up with the old economic regime as well as with political Czardom that its continued existence was a menace to the realization of his plans. The net outcome of the two lines of thought and action is that communism has itself become a religion that can tolerate no rival, and that any institutional church claiming authority over the social actions of its adherents appears to Communists as an attempt to establish a rival hostile political organization. The religious character of Communism and the political-economic character of the Church account for the drastic and unmitigated character of the anti-religious campaign.

Britain's Tragic Hour

"Is England done?—a momentous question this, and one that disturbs foreigners and Britishers alike. Jules Sauerwein, an acknowledged mouthpiece of M. Briand, prophesies that future ages will date England's decline as beginning with the Naval Conference of 1930". With these words the *Living Age* introduces an article by M. Jules Sauerwein, a contributor to *Le Matin* of Paris, and the following extracts from it may be quoted here without further comment:

'Make no mistake about it: one of the most important delegates at the Naval Conference assured me, 'if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had plenty of pounds sterling at his disposal we should not be in London.'

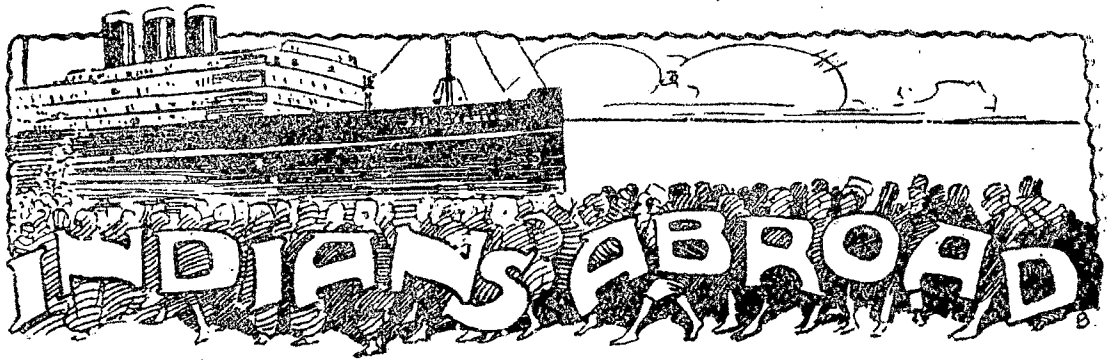
Britain's state of financial anxiety must be serious indeed if she can contemplate scrapping four cruisers and cutting down her building programme when her fleet has already been reduced to half of what it was before the war. Not long ago, this fleet maintained what it called the two-power standard, not only in relation to Europe but in relation to the whole world. At the present moment, however, when the bond between England and certain dominions are approaching the vanishing point and when the Empire sees itself faced with the loss of immense territories in all parts of the world, London is about to renounce its powerful and magnificent fleet, the keystone of its universal prestige.

Yet in spite of the fact that England is forced to economize drastically, she wishes to lose as little of her security and moral credit as possible and she has therefore been making a

supreme effort in the past weeks to force the nations of Europe to cut down their navies, too. The only one of these European nations that really matters is France, for England has already accepted the inevitable and has recognized that the United States has the right to outdistance her. But what she does not want is to have any two European fleets superior to hers. That is the essence of the struggle and that is why it has been so hot. It is, however, the part of wisdom to take this breathing space to reconsider and define what measures Great Britain is taking to maintain the immense empire she has created.

The country is undergoing a serious crisis whose end is not yet; indeed, nobody knows how any solution of the present situation will be reached. Figures are not necessary to convince us on this point: we need only look about us. We need only watch the long lines of unemployed outside the Labour Offices and recognize among them young people who have never had a job in their lives; we need only cast our eyes upon the enormous number of houses for sale or to rent in the rich sections of the country; we need only consider all the closed factories, the deserted coal mines, and the London offices with their reduced staffs. If England did not possess several hundred thousand capitalists into whose pockets dividends are flowing from all parts of the Empire as well as from South America, if her merchant marine were not still carrying immense quantities of freight, and if her brilliant technique in business and finance were not gaining her handsome sums in the form of banking and business commissions, she would be on the verge of ruin. The country is now maintaining itself only by means of those sources of revenue that are bound to diminish from year to year.





By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

The Call From God

For the last twenty years one problem has been always, at all times, before my mind, which I was never able to lose sight of,—*the problem of Indians, who have gone abroad and left their motherland for distant shores.* It is not easy for me to forget how greatly I myself suffered from home-sickness and longing, when I first went out abroad and left my own mother behind in England. Therefore, it was easy for me, in the first place, to feel for and think of Indians who had gone abroad, and to sympathize with their home-sickness and longing to be back once more. That was probably the beginning of this life-long interest.

But something else followed. I soon found out, on enquiry, how badly they had been treated and under what fraudulent conditions they had been tempted to go abroad. The speeches of Mr. Gokhale and Mahatma Gandhi used to move me very deeply indeed on this subject and I studied all about indentured labour in the British colonies and the cruelties that were involved in the system. This kindled my imagination, and I read all that I could find upon the subject. Long before I went out to South Africa, the whole question of the sufferings and wrong of Indians who had gone overseas to distant lands had taken possession of my mind, and as I have said, I used to think and dream about it night and day.

During these years the pitiable condition of India as a subject country, without any will of its own, with those who came from outside disposing of India's destiny : whether India wished it or not, roused my inmost feelings. It seemed so utterly unfair and unjust and wrong that such a thing should be allowed to go on and my whole soul revolted against it. Yet at the same time, as an

Englishman, I seemed myself to be a party to it, and this made it worst of all to think of. Therefore, it was always coming to my mind to find a way in which I could do something to atone for this and at first it was not easy to see how this could be done. Then, one day, it seemed to come home to me that I might somehow be able to help with regard to those Indians who had gone overseas. For while in India itself I might only be in the way if I interfered where things had to be done by Indians themselves, yet here was a field where Indians themselves were often prevented from doing anything because the colour prevented Indians from going out. Thus if I could help here I could do something to atone for the wrong which had been done and at the same time I should not be standing in the way of Indians themselves doing what ought to be done. This threw a great flood of light on my path but for sometime I did not see the way how I could start on such an undertaking, for I had no funds of my own, and I was attached to a Missionary Organization from which I was taking an income. All this represents the human side of things.

But God Himself suddenly opened a way which was quite unexpected. I had met Mr. Gokhale many times before, and had often discussed with him this subject which was so near to my heart. I had been also in London, in 1912, at the time when he went out to South Africa and had followed very closely every step which he had taken. Then, in 1913, on my return from Shantiniketan to Delhi, I found Mr. Gokhale beginning to start a campaign in India in order to help Mahatma Gandhi's assive esistance campaign in South Africa. He was ill at the time with fever, and he allowed me to help him by going round collecting subscriptions. While

I was doing so, I told him my whole heart and he was deeply touched by what I had said. He asked me if there were any prominent Europeans who could help the cause. I mentioned Dr. Lefroy, the Metropolitan Bishop of Calcutta and he sent me down to Calcutta on that errand.

I found the Bishop in a nursing home, just after an operation. But though he was very ill he saw me and gave me 1,000 rupees. He also wrote a letter of strong sympathy for Mahatma Gandhi and the passive resistance movement. On my way back to Delhi I stayed at Shantiniketan for one day because the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, had come back and a company of well-wishers had come up from Calcutta to congratulate him on having won the Nobel Prize. On my departure from Bolpur a telegram was put into my hands. I opened it. It was from Mr. Gokhale in Delhi. He asked me to go out to South Africa and take part in the struggle. Thus the one longing of my heart had been wonderfully fulfilled in God's Providence and the way was open for me to go abroad in order to help the Indians who had gone overseas. I can say truly that this opening came not from man, but by the will of God.

At once, I went back to the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, and gained his permission to go and took his blessings. For, by this time, I had decided that the call from God had come to leave the Missionary work and take up work under the Poet at Shantiniketan; also the call from God had come to go out to South Africa. Thus, almost at one and the same time two different life-works began with me. On the one hand, I had become a member of Tagore's Ashram, and on the other I had accepted the invitation from Mr. Gokhale to go out to South Africa and help Mahatma Gandhi. At one and the same time, my life in this manner became altogether wrapped up with two adventures. There was the adventure of finally joining the Poet at Shantiniketan. There was also the adventure of going out at Mr. Gokhale's request to help Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa. With the Poet's blessings I started out for South Africa, and I went out as a member of his Ashram and not merely as a private individual.

I must go on one step further to explain how Willie Pearson came out with me as my dear companion. He was in Delhi at this time and was sharing all my thoughts; but

he had an engagement as private tutor of Lala Raghubhir Singh, the son of R. B. Lala Sultan Singh and I never thought he could come out with me. During the last day, before I went out to South Africa, he was very excited and I did not see him all that day. In the evening, some of my friends came to help me with my packing and they had given me some little presents for my journey. Then at last, about nine o'clock that evening and about two hours before my train was starting, Willie came up to me and said,—“Charlie, look what a present I have brought you!”

I could not make out at once what he meant and asked him, “What present?”

He said, “Myself,” and then went off into a peal of laughter, when he watched my astonishment. All through the day he had been furiously busy managing the whole affair without telling me a word about it. He had got R. B. Lala Sultan Singh's consent to his going. He had been round to Thomas Cook and Sons and arranged his own passage on the same boat with me. He had got all his own packing done and all his affairs settled in a very few hours and then at last he had come to me with the unspeakably precious present of himself. What he actually was to me and what he did in South Africa no one can adequately tell. As a simple matter of fact, it made all the difference between success and failure. When, a year later, it became again necessary to go out to Fiji, it was again everything to me to know that Willie Pearson could come out with me on that occasion also.

I have tried to describe the way in which God led me step by step to take up this course. Since then I have been a traveller all over the face of the globe and by the time this article is published I shall have visited every continent in the world and have stayed with every group of Indians who have gone abroad, save one. The only group I have not been able yet to visit is the Indian settlement in Mauritius. Wherever I have gone I have found a loving welcome which has touched my heart with gladness and joy. It has also been the greatest of all happinesses to see the evil system of indentured labour utterly abolished and it will never take place again in any shape or form.

My friend, Willie Pearson, died in a sad railway accident in September, 1922, and his memory has been preserved in our Shanti-

niketan Ashram ever since. His name is also loved in Fiji and in South Africa.

When I look back over all these seventeen years, since the year 1913 when I first went out to South Africa my one thought is of thankfulness to God, my Loving Father, that He has so wonderfully preserved me during all these distant voyages and in distant lands so that to-day when I am very near my sixtieth year in age I have still kept health and strength in order to carry on the work.

C. F. ANDREWS

Hindu School and Dharmashala in British Guiana

A correspondent writes from Georgetown, British Guiana:—

"You will be glad to know that the Hindu school of which the corner stone was laid by Kunwar Maharaj Singh when he visited British Guiana, has now been completed and has been opened by His Excellency Sir Cecil Rodwell. The school is teaching Hindi, Urdu and English free of charge to all races. The Immigration Agent has been trying to get a grant-in-aid

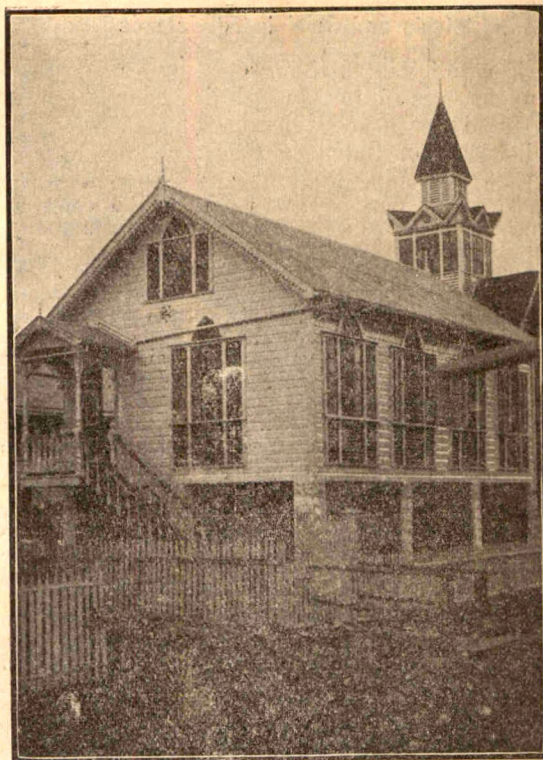


Hindu Temple, Georgetown

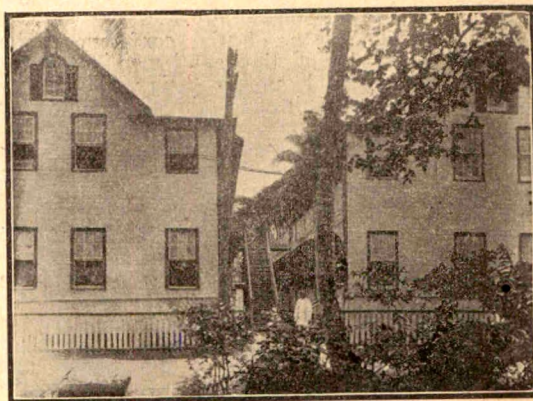
but has not yet succeeded. The school has now two hundred and fifty children of all races on its roll. Kunwar Maharaj Singh advised us to erect a Dharmashala also and we have now been able to do so. We have erected two large two-storey buildings about 100 ft. long and 25 ft. wide and they give shelter to a large number of poor people of all the races.

97-12

There are many of our brethren and sisters here who have no home of their own. We give them one meal everyday and clothing from time to time. This is a



Hindu School, Georgetown, British Guiana



Dharmashala or the Poor House

costly affair and we have to incur large expenses every month. We were lucky to get Rev. C. F. Andrews to open our

Dharmashala in the presence of His Excellency Douglas Jones and many important citizens."

'Divide and Rule' in Fiji Islands

The following letter, sent by a correspondent of mine in Fiji Islands, will be read with considerable pain by every well-wisher of Indians abroad :—

I am very sorry to say that I entertain grave doubt as to our success regarding the common franchise. There is a section of our own community that is now working against us.

Soon after the arrival of the new Governor. Sir Murchison Fletcher, a conference was convened at the Govt. House. The Governor invited the following to the Conference, Messrs Vishnu Deo, John Grant, Ramchandra Maharaj, Parmanand Singh, Siwa Bhai Patel, Ambalal Patel, Sahocar Singh, Dr. Sagayam and on representation made by the Muslim League of Fiji, Maulvi Abdul Karim was also invited. Mr. A. D. Patel put the case of the Indians before the Governor and when he was unable to get anything out of them as they stood firm he turned to Maulvi Abdul Karim. First he said that from his experience in Ceylon (where this Governor comes from) he found that the Mohammedans were a very good people etc. and that in Ceylon the Indians had the franchise on religious basis which was now being changed to one roll for the Indians but the Mohammedans were sticking out for a separate roll for the Muslims. He then asked what would Maulvi Abdul Karim like for Fiji. Maulvi Abdul Karim replied that he was not aware of the circumstances there, but for Fiji he would like the common franchise. The Governor asked whether he was right or the Mohammedans in Ceylon. But Maulvi Abdul Karim stuck to his point and would not give in so the conference came to an end but the magic has now worked on the Muslim community.

On the conclusion of the conference the Governor requested that the gentlemen attending the conference should submit their views on the question in writing through the Secretary for Indian Affairs.

The following day the memorandum was duly prepared and all signed it except Ramchandra Maharaj, who could not come to attend the conference, and Maulvi Abdul Karim.

The memorandum was sent to Maulvi Abdul Karim for his signature but he refused point blank to sign it and said that he was going to ask for a separate seat for the Mohammedans and was against the common franchise. It appears that soon after the Mohammedans came to know the result of the conference they rebuked Maulvi Saheb and said that when the Governor was favourable to the Mohammedans and was prepared to give separate seat to them why did he say otherwise. However the result is that they are now sending in a contra memo. asking for a subcommunal franchise. It is to be noted that in the beginning of last year the Muslim League of Fiji had passed a motion and asked the Govt. for a separate seat as a minority

community. That was even before the franchise was extended to us.

Dr. Sagayam of Nadi is also working against the common franchise, for reasons best known to himself. He has formed an Association in Nadi and he is condemning what the Congress is doing and is asking for the retention of the communal franchise! What hope have we then to attain our goal?

On account the propaganda of the Mohammedans 11 members out of 16 have resigned from the Suva Congress Committee. They are either Christians or Sanatan Dharmist. Endeavour is being made to hold a re-election of the Congress and thereby set matters right.

The whole thing is very heart-breaking. Our opponents would exploit this opportunity for their own ends and they are looking forward to the breaking up of our and the fight."

We would ask our countrymen in Fiji to stand solidly against this sub-communal franchise. It is much better not to send any representatives to the Council than to send them on a religious basis. If we yield on this vital point we shall be responsible for the disintegration of the whole Indian community into separate compartments and any joint action will then become most difficult if not quite impossible. Let our countrymen in Fiji take lesson from the disastrous consequences of communal franchise in India.

Swami Bhawanidayal's Report

The readers of these notes are already aware of the fact that the first thing that Swami Bhawani Dayal did after his arrival in India was to make an enquiry into the condition of returned emigrants from South Africa. After travelling some three thousand miles and making a thorough enquiry Swamiji wrote out his report and sent it on to me to give it to the press before he joined the Satyagraha movement.

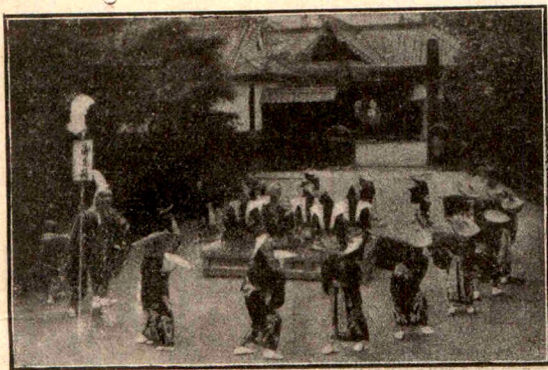
The report was to be published during this month but on account of an urgent request made by the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivas Sastri, Swami Bhawani Dayal has sent word to me from Central Jail, Hazaribag to postpone the publication of the report. It is to be hoped that our compatriots in South Africa, who may have been waiting for the report, will kindly excuse Bhawanidayalji who has a great regard for Mr. Sastri and who could not go against his wishes specially when he was told that the publication of the report at this juncture will have a prejudicial effect on the Capetown Agreement.



Dancing in Japan

"The *kagura* is the oldest and purest form of dancing in Japan." Such is the consensus of opinion among Western students of our culture who not infrequently give their opinion on this sacred Shinto dance with a tone of finality, regardless of the fact that it has not been so entirely free from the law of evolution as they imagine. It is true that to this day the *kagura* retains most of the antique, unadulterated nature in small villages far removed from the great centres of modern civilization, while it is equally true that in large cities and towns it shows marked traces of modernization. In short, *kagura* is a comprehensive term for various kinds of dances of ancient origin.

Of rustic dances based on sympathetic magic which has sprung up from some religious faith or other, there are many: invocations to the gods for bumper crops, timely rainfall, and big hauls of fish



Daimon Dance of Matsushiro-Cho, Nagano Prefecture

invariably find expression in dancing. In mourning for relatives or friends and in rejoicing over rich harvests and heavy catches, our peasants and fisher-folk stage performances to express the respective moods of the occasions. By far the most popular of the dances falling under this category is the "Bon Odori," or the dance of the Feast for the Departed. Country dances of this kind have received but scant encouragement during the last half century. And the threat of the eventual disappearance of this single source of merriment for the vast rural population has recently been met by a group of public-minded men and women who some five years ago started with considerable success a campaign to revive this proletarian amusement. With the twofold aim of keeping up the rich native legacy of olden days and of paving the way for a

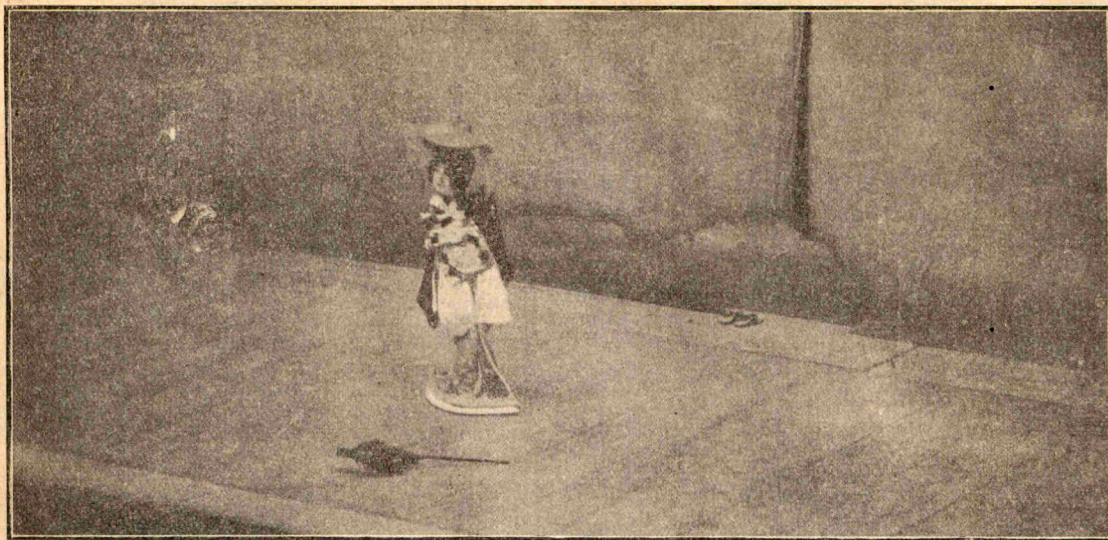
new achievement both in music and dancing for the rural masses, a big annual concert and dancing festival enlisting nation-wide support and participation is held at the Nippon Seinen Kan (the Japanese Young Men's Hall) in Tokyo. The movement has done a great deal for the revival of the sundry folk song and dances in the country where a rich field keenly awaits creations by gifted composers and dance-creators, who are busy trying to meet the demand.



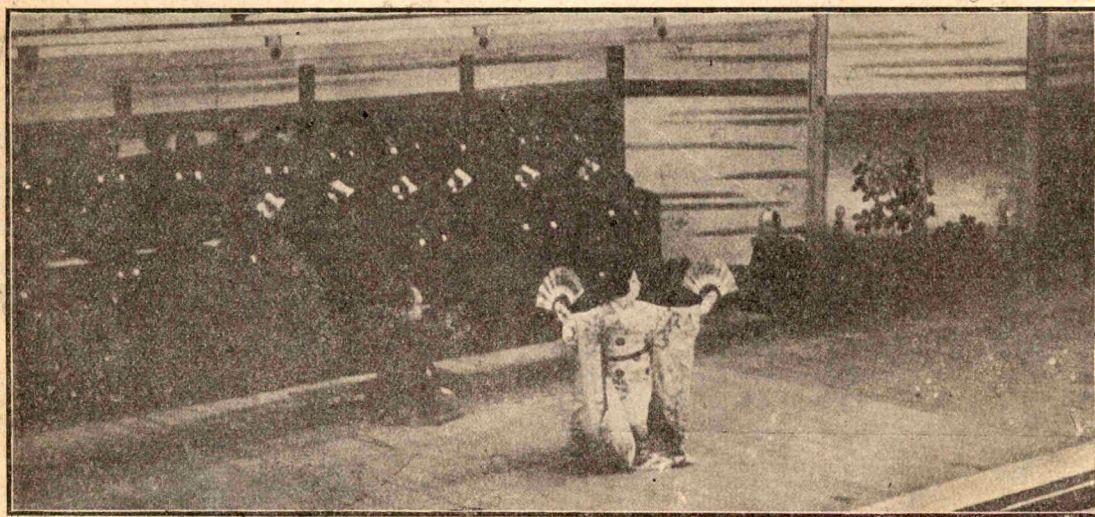
Ishii Konami in her Artistic Dance,
"The Chinese Doll"

The stage dance next engages our attention. In considering this branch of Japanese dancing which has many minor offshoots, it would be wise to single out from the group the most representative of all, the dances that form part of the "kabuki" plays.

The awakening of the professional dancers to the true worth of their art augurs well for Japanese dancers in general. True, they are yet groping in the dark, though their eyes have been opened. Very few among them possess any reliable knowledge as to the basic relation of music and dancing.



Fujima Shizue as Onatsu in the Lovers' Dance, "Onatsu and Seijuro"



Onoe Kikugoro in His Dance, "Kagami Jishi"

And to add to their baffling difficulties we have double currents of music, our native music which is the growth of centuries and the new music from abroad. The former, of necessity, has a large following among elderly lovers of music, while the latter naturally appeals to younger admirers.

A reviewer of Japanese dancing as a whole would commit a grave sin of omission should he ignore the tremendous impetus given to the art by the recent visits of such prominent Western dancers as Anna Pavlova, Ruth St. Denis, Ted Shawn, La Argentina, and others. Their performances here

came as a great revelation to our experts, who have found their native art in a state of chaos. Some rash dancers have set about fruitless attempts to copy the formula so alluringly put forth by these outstanding masters, while the more sensible of our artists have learnt from them what they judged best and are biding their time to make a wiser use of the knowledge they have thus acquired. What will come out of the seeds planted is an interesting subject for speculation within our shores, as well as abroad.

Garba Dance of Gujarat

Many of our readers will recall the interesting article on the Garba dance of Gujarat by Mrs.

Saudamini Mehta and Mr. Gaganvihari Mehta which was published in the January issue of *The Modern Review*. The seven illustrations published this month are after the pen-and-ink sketches of



The Start

When the evening falls, young women meet at a street corner: one of them leads with a song while the others beat time and go round and round the "Garba" (a pitcher on which a light has been placed).



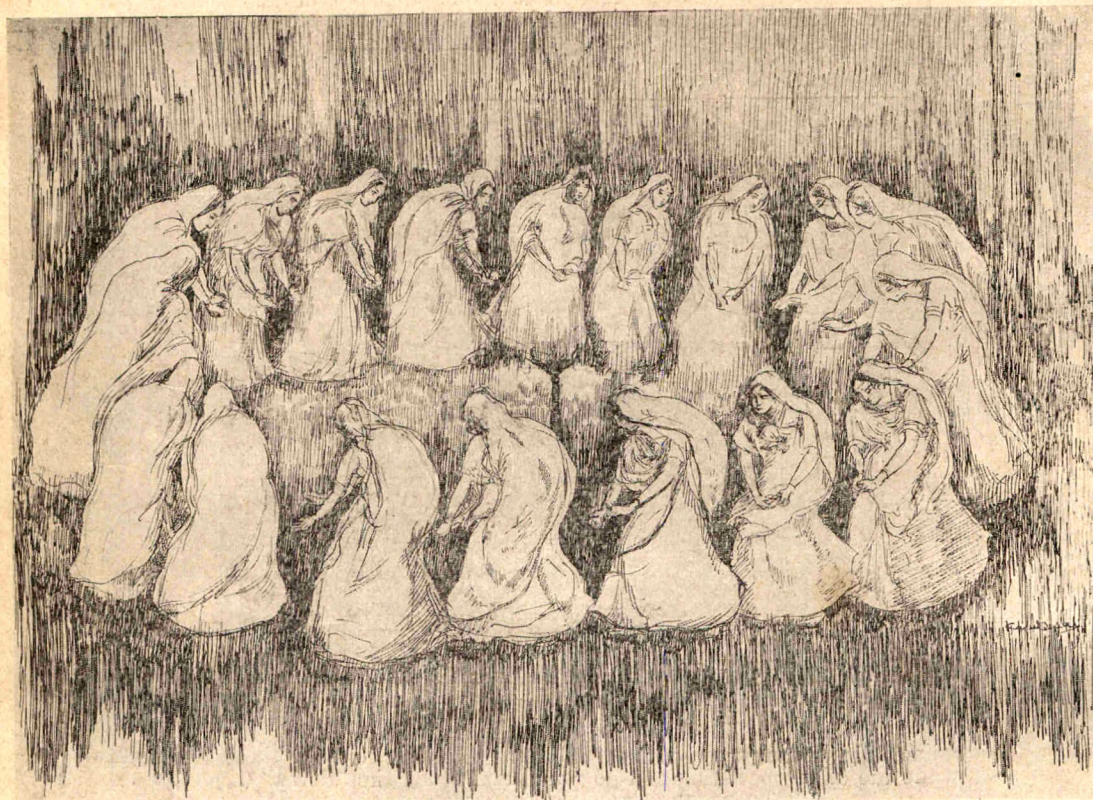
Ladies dancing
High class ladies also join the dance



The Poses

These three drawings illustrate the different poses in dance.

Mr. Kanu Desai. They illustrate the various stages and positions of the dance.



The Dance in full swing



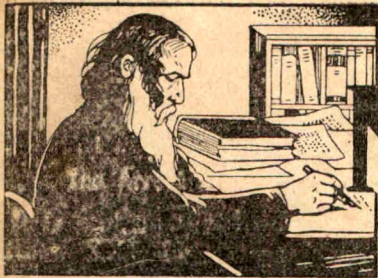
The beginning of the Dance



On their way to the temple
After ten to fifteen days they take the lighted
"Garbi" to a temple and sing some songs for the
last time.



The coming away



NOTES

The Arrest of Jesus and Gandhi

It is said, in the Gospel according to St. Matthew XXI, 46, of those who seized Jesus before his trial that "when they sought to lay hold on him, they feared the multitudes, because they took him for a prophet." Perhaps for a similar reason, those who wanted to arrest Gandhi went stealthily to his camp forty-five minutes after midnight, and, though he is meek and non-violent and physically weak and his companions unarmed and pledged to non-violence, the party of arresters consisted of the District Magistrate of Surat, two Indian police officers armed with pistols and some thirty policemen armed with rifles.

In Matthew XVI, 55 Jesus is recorded as having said: "Are ye come out as against a robber with swords and staves to seize me? I sat daily in the temple teaching, and ye took me not."

Gandhi, too, might have said: "Are ye come out as against a robber with pistols and rifles to seize me? I wrote to the Viceroy what ye hold seditious and I taught the same daily in the villages and made salt, and ye took me not."

"War Against Women"

Writing from Bombay on March 15 to *The Nation* of New York, Mr. Herbert Adolphus Miller, Professor of Sociology at Ohio State University, refers thus to Mahatma Gandhi's original intention not to allow women to take active part in the civil disobedience movement:

"The women were disappointed at not being allowed to go. Mr. Gandhi said the presence of women might embarrass the English and thereby make the fight unfair."

By saying this Gandhi-ji paid a very great compliment to the English people. There is no doubt that there are Englishmen who are chivalrous to a high degree. But all of them are not so.

Neither praise nor dispraise of nations as a whole can be mathematically correct. For instance, when Sir Thomas Munro in his statement made before a Committee of the House of Commons on April 12, 1813, spoke of "the general practice of hospitality and charity among each other, and above all, a treatment of the female sex, full of confidence, respect and delicacy," as being characteristic of the Indian people, he undoubtedly spoke the truth; but he did not mean to convey the impression that there were no brutes among Indians. Nor is Mr. Gandhi unaware that there are brutalized human beings among Englishmen, particularly among those of them who are "birds of passage" in India.

That all Englishmen in India do not deserve Mr. Gandhi's implied compliment was clear from what Mr. K. Natarajan said as president of a meeting held at Bombay on May 16 to protest against the Press Ordinance. Referring to and condemning the imprisonment of Mrs. Rukmini Lakshmi pati, Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya and the keeping of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu surrounded by a cordon of police without food and water for seventeen hours (most of the time under a burning sun), he conveyed to the authorities

the warning "that a war against women was scarcely calculated to enhance the strength and prestige of Government and would, on the contrary, only embitter the struggle." Most probably with reference to preventing people outside the cordon from giving water to Mrs. Naidu and the volunteers, he said he could not trust himself to properly characterize such conduct.

Official apologists may say, "If women, whatever their position and education, will break the law, they must take the consequences." But these consequences must be such as are provided by the law. No law in any civilized country lays it down that, whilst the guardians of law and order forming the cordon continue to have their food and drink by shifts, passive resisters are not to have food and drink for 17 hours.

Day after day, newspapers continue to print news of executive and police excesses and atrocities, most of them uncontradicted. Some of these allegations may be untrue and some exaggerated. A few have been contradicted; though unless and until we know after what kind of enquiries conducted by whom these contradictions were made, we cannot attach due importance to them. However, making every allowance for inaccuracies, exaggerations and a few official contradictions, a very large number of allegations of executive and police barbarities and excesses remain to be accounted for. Their nature may be understood from a few examples. It is unnecessary to select any from the numerous allegations of assaults on men. We shall confine ourselves to the details of such alleged assaults on women as are printable. The following is from *Young India*, dated May 15, 1930.

"On May 8, a number of volunteers who had, as usual, alighted at the Viramgam station with some contraband salt was surrounded by the Police who formed a cordon round them and disallowed any water from being given them. The news that the volunteers confined within the police cordon were fainting for want of water having reached the town, about 200 women rushed to the railway station with pitchers of water after obtaining the permission of the resident Magistrate to offer water to the Satyagrahis. But only a few of them were admitted into the station yard, and the rest had perforce to wait outside in the station compound, and in the third class waiting shed. It was now about 9-30 P. M. and the women were preparing to return to their homes when a force of foot police and mounted police accompanied by a motor car with blinding headlights rushed in their direction from the two entrances from which it was possible to get out of the station compound. A scene of indes-

cribable confusion followed. The horsemen ran their horses indiscriminately among the women in the station compound as also in the third class waiting shed. The police freely used their shot, lathis and barrels and buttends of their guns on these helpless women. Some women fell down and were injured. The vessels of others were smashed. Sjt. Bhulabhai Desai, Advocate, Sjt. Ambalal Sarabhai and Dr. Harilal Desai, who visited Viramgam on the 11th instant to conduct an enquiry into the happenings there, found distinct marks of their beating on the bodies of several women."

The following medical report by a qualified Lady Doctor, forming part of the report of Miss Jyotirmayi Ganguli, M. A., who held an inquiry on the 10th May into the alleged assaults on the women at Contai by policemen on the 6th May last, is taken from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 24th May:

The following is a list of women Satyagrahis who are said to have been beaten and insulted by the police on Tuesday the 6th of May, 1930, at Kholakhali, a village near the town of Contai, whilst they were protecting the National Flag. I was sent there by the Bangiya Ain Amanyar Parishad on the 10th of May, 1930 to investigate and give a medical report of the wounds received by those women.

1. Padmabati—aged 40.

A bruise just under the right clavicle 4 in. by 3 in. It is said to have been caused by the tread of a booted policeman as she fell down.

2. Durga Dasi—aged 30.

Swelling and tenderness of right wrist. Said to have been caused by a lathi blow.

3. Rajeswari—aged 25.

A lacerated wound at upper part of forehead near the midline about $\frac{1}{2}$ square inch in area and $\frac{1}{8}$ inch deep. Said to have been caused by the pointed end of a 'dao'.

4. Kurani Dasi—aged 50.

Two abrasions on the dorsum of the right foot each about 1 square inch in area. An abrasion on the medial side of the big toe of left foot $\frac{1}{4}$ square inch in area. All three abrasions are said to have been caused by the tread of a booted policeman. A bruise on the calf muscles of the right leg 5 in. by 3 in.

A bruise on the left buttock 3 inches long and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch broad. Said to have been caused by a whip.

5. Biraja Dasi—aged 30.

Three linear bruises, running transversely each about 2 in. long and $\frac{1}{4}$ in. broad on the anterior aspect of the right thigh. Said to have been caused by a whip.

(Sd.) Maitreyee Basu, M. B., Contai,

The 10th May, 1930.

Giving water to Satyagrahis, particularly after obtaining the permission of the resident Magistrate, is not an offence under any law or ordinance even in British-ruled India of to-day. Nor is protecting the national flag an offence. But supposing these were offences, legally the police could only arrest

the offenders; they had no legal authority to assault anybody, least of all women. It cannot be said that the alleged police assaults on men, women and children in numerous places in various provinces, were made in obedience to executive orders issued by the Governor-General in Council or the Governors in Council of those provinces. For we have not seen such orders, nor are we aware of such orders. And we do not believe such orders could have been passed.

Do the Governor-General or the Provincial Governors read the accounts of these excesses in the newspapers? We do not know. If they do not, they ought to even at this late hour, and they should institute independent inquiries into all such allegations. If they are false, contradictions should follow in every case and those responsible for the spread of such news suitably dealt with. If they are found to be even partly correct, the policemen concerned should be dismissed and punished like ordinary assailants, and a general order issued in each province that such assaults are illegal and would be severely punished by the Government. But if nothing is done, the heads of the administration must be held responsible for all such excesses and considered guilty of connivance at least.

Though British domination is sure to come to an end some day, efforts to prolong it may be made. Such efforts may be either civilized or barbarous. Civilized efforts need not leave a bitter memory behind, barbarous methods must. The friendship of all countries is valuable, and that of a great and large country like India cannot be valueless to Britain even after British domination has ceased. Therefore, even if considerations of humanity, such as those fittingly laid stress upon by the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, in recent utterances, are left unheeded, political considerations alone should lead to the rejection of barbarous methods. In his recent long speech on India Mr. Wedgwood Benn said:

"For long years our two great countries have been knit together to the undoubted well-being of both. Is it too much to hope that bitterness may be cast out, and that the future may see a re-birth of mutual understanding and respect?"

We would fain join in such a hope. But unless Mr. Benn insists on and makes arrangements for getting all the news from India and puts his foot down on such barbarous methods as he may discover, bitter disappointment must be in store for

all who value future friendship between India and Britain.

"We too are Satyagrahis"

It is said that when the executive and the police formed a cordon round Mrs. Naidu and the volunteers who had gone to take possession of the salt depot at Dharasana, the chief officers said, "We too are satyagrahis." Such words will not be appreciated, if said in jest. And if meant to be taken seriously, their falsity would be patent to all. For, the speakers could not be unaware that they could not emulate the spirit of non-violence under grave provocation and merciless assault displayed by countless satyagrahis.

Violence and Non-Violence

Internationally, the use of force, known as war, is still held to be legitimate, though arbitration as a means of settling disputes between nations or governments is coming into greater use. Force is held justifiable not only in international affairs, but in the last resort the existence of governments is held to depend on it. Consequently, even non-violence on the part of non-officials is sought to be countered by official violence. Therefore policemen are not much to be blamed if they are violent. "If the State can use force, why not they, the servants of the State?" seems to be their unconscious or sub-conscious reasoning. Besides, they are ignorant of any other method for dealing with non-violence.

Moreover, policemen have, until recent years, been accustomed to handle mostly robbers, ruffians and bad characters of all sorts. The technique of such handling—if one may so style it, is not suited to the handling of educated men of good character who break a law on principle. But how can uneducated or half-educated policemen distinguish between different classes of law-breakers and treat them differently? We do not mean to say that the preliminary and *ad interim* rough handling of undertrial bad characters, in addition to their punishment after trial, is justifiable; but such treatment of such men being alleged to be rather common, one need not be surprised at reports of similar treatment being accorded to men of

superior education and character who choose to be altruistic law-breakers on principle.

The foundations of the State and penology require to be examined and given a drastic revision in all countries, especially in those which do not enjoy freedom.

Mahatma Gandhi's Second Letter to the Viceroy

In his second letter to the Viceroy released just at the time of his arrest, and published in extenso in many Anglo-Indian and Indian papers, Mahatma Gandhi informs His Excellency of his intention to 'raid' Dharasana salt works and states how "it is possible for you to prevent this raid, as it has been playfully and mischievously called." He proceeds to state why the step has been decided upon. He condemns the manner in which "the rank and file" has been assaulted and gives instances from different provinces. "I ask you to believe the accounts given by men pledged to truth. Repudiation even by high officials has, as in the Bardoli case, often proved false. The officials, I regret to have to say, have not hesitated to publish falsehoods to the people even during the last five weeks." He takes three specimens from Government notices issued from Collectors' offices in Gujarat and contradicts them. He passes on to give instances of official inactivities.

"Liquor dealers have assaulted pickets admitted by officials to have been peaceful and sold liquor in contravention of regulations. The officials have taken no notice either of the assaults or the illegal sales of liquor."

Mahatma Gandhi then condemns the Press Ordinance and another ordinance sprung upon the country.

"Is it any wonder if I call all these official activities and inactivities a veiled form of Martial Law? Yet this is only the fifth week of the struggle!

"Before then the reign of terrorism that has just begun overwhelms India, I feel that I must take a bolder step and if possible divert your wrath in a cleaner if more drastic channel. You may not know the things that I have described. You may not even now believe in them. I can but invite your serious attention to them."

He says he knows the dangers attendant upon the methods adopted by him.

"But the country is not likely to mistake my meaning. I say what I mean and think. And I have been saying for the last fifteen years in India

and outside for twenty years more and repeat now that the only way to conquer violence is through non-violence pure and undefiled. I have said also that every violent act, word and even thought interferes with the progress of non-violent action."

He then repudiates any responsibility for any popular violence.

"If in spite of such repeated warnings people will resort to violence, I must disown responsibility save such as inevitably attaches to every human being for the acts of every other human being. But the question of responsibility apart, I dare not postpone action on any cause whatsoever, if non-violence is the force the seers of the world have claimed it to be and if I am not to belie my own extensive experience of its working."

Mr. Gandhi concludes by saying:

"But I would fain avoid the further step. I would therefore ask you to remove the tax which many of your illustrious countrymen have condemned in unmeasured terms and which, as you could not have failed to observe, has evoked universal protest and resentment expressed in civil disobedience. You may condemn civil disobedience as much as you like. Will you prefer violent revolt to civil disobedience?"

The Mahatma need not have asked this question. Of violent revolt and civil disobedience neither is preferred to the other; for according to the press ordinance newspapers advocating or seeming to advocate either are to be dealt with exactly in the same way.

Mr. Gandhi continues:

"If you say, as you have said, that the civil disobedience must end in violence, history will pronounce the verdict that the British Government not bearing because not understanding non-violence, goaded human nature to violence which it could understand, and deal with.* But in spite of the goading I shall hope that God will give the people of India wisdom and strength to withstand every temptation and provocation to violence.

"If, therefore, you cannot see your way to remove the salt tax, and remove the prohibition on private salt-making, I must reluctantly commence the march adumbrated in the opening paragraph of my letter."

It is not known whether this letter reached Lord Irwin. But whether it reached him or not, it is known that no such action was taken on it as was desired by Mr. Gandhi.

Unconscious Humour or Satire?

We take the following from *The Leader* of Allahabad:

* "We are not dealing merely with ordinary outbreaks of lawlessness. If we were dealing merely with lawlessness, the task would be a very simple one."—Mr. Wedgwood Benn in the House of Commons, May 16.

From a Bulsar message of May 16 :

"The authorities were uniformly courteous to Mrs. Naidu and her volunteers, except that they did not permit food and water being supplied to them till midnight."

"Mrs. Naidu and her volunteers offered Satyagraha continuously for over 27 hours without moving from the spot."

Mistaken zeal, will it be said? Yes, it is. But what glorious patience and faith and power of endurance in a cause in which they sincerely believe!

We share our contemporary's admiration of the sufferers' patience and faith and power of endurance.

But we have quoted the paragraphs from the Bulsar message in the hope that there may lie embedded therein a gem of unconscious (?) humour or satire. Courtesy there may have been. But there was also the probability of Mrs. Naidu's starvation or humiliating surrender.

Tennyson on a Free Press

Though it is axiomatic that what Englishmen prize must not be prized by Indians, yet it is interesting to know that Tennyson once wrote :

My Lords, we heard you speak : You told us all

That England's honest censure went too far ;

That our free press should cease to brawl,

Not sting the fiery Frenchman into war.

It was our ancient privilege, my Lords,

To fling whate'er we felt, not fearing, into words.

* * *

It might be safe our censures to withdraw ;

And yet, my Lords, not well : there is a higher law.

As long as we remain, we must speak free,

Tho' all the storm of Europe on us break ;

No little German state are we,

But the one voice in Europe : we *must* speak ;

That if to-night our greatness were struck dead,

There might be left some record of the things
we said.

• Martial Law in Sholapur

Responsible and competent citizens of Bombay have publicly expressed their opinion that it was not at all necessary to place Sholapur under martial law. We share that opinion. In addition to the excesses of the martial law regime brought to light in the public press, there are very ugly rumours afloat in Bombay regarding the number of men who have paid the extreme penalty of that sort of law and about the indignities heaped on others. Though the men who have

died before or in consequence of the proclamation of martial law cannot benefit by any remedy or reparation now, an independent enquiry conducted by competent impartial men ought to be instituted into the whole affair in order that the living may have their grievances redressed and false rumours may be given their quietus.

When will rulers understand the futility of martial law? This is not the first time that in any area in India martial law has been proclaimed. Whenever and wherever it is proclaimed, it strikes terror for a time no doubt. But the fear soon wears off, leaving a bitter memory behind in the race-consciousness. But reasonable reforms—and they ought to be root and branch reforms even of a revolutionary character, if need be—produce a lasting beneficial result.

In 1910 on February 3, John Morley, the then Secretary of State for India, wrote to the Viceroy Lord Minto :

Your mention of Martial Law in your last private letter really makes my flesh creep. I have imagination enough, and sympathy enough, thoroughly to realize the effect on men's minds of the present manifestation of the spirit of murder. But Martial Law, which is only a fine name for the suspension of all Law, would not snuff out murder-clubs in India any more than the same sort of thing snuffed them out in Italy, Russia, or Ireland. The gang of Dublin Invincibles was reorganized when Parnell and the rest were locked up and the Coercion Act in full blast. On the other hand, it would put at once an end to the policy of rallying the Moderates, and would throw the game in the long run wholly into the hands of the Extremists. I say nothing of the effect of such a Proclamation upon public opinion, either in Parliament here or in other countries.—Morley's *Recollections*, vol. ii, p. 328.

Martial law in Sholapur, a conspiracy case in Calcutta, one each in Meerut and Lahore, two armouries raided in Chittagong, hundreds of civil law-breakers in jail in every province are, to use the words of Lord Morley, "neither more nor less than a gigantic advertisement of national failure." (*Recollections*, vol. ii, p. 328.)

Morley on Press Acts

The present press ordinance is as comprehensive, vague, elastic and repressive as human ingenuity can make it. But we are perfectly sure that this engine of bureaucratic arbitrariness, which might have more fittingly emanated from some unenlightened govern-

ment of bygone days and which cannot be consistently and widely set in operation, will fail to produce the effect desired. What Lord Morley wrote of the Press Act of 1910 applies to the Press Ordinance of 1930, in spite of the 'improvements' introduced into it. That philosophic statesman, who was a failure as regards India, wrote to Lord Minto on February 3 :

"We worked hard at your Press Act, and I hope the result has reached you in plenty of time. I dare say it is as sensible in its way as other Press Acts, or as Press Acts can ever be. But nobody will be more ready than you to agree that the forces with which we are contending are far too subtle, deep and diversified, to be abated by making seditious leading articles expensive."

And these forces are not all evil. The forces of truth and right, whether "subtle, deep and diversified" or not, are invincible.

Administration of the Press Ordinance

The Indian Merchants' Chamber of Bombay has been assured by the Government of India that "The Press Ordinance is in no way directed against the dissemination of news, and so far as the Government of India is concerned, there is no reason why it should operate to restrict news." But the really relevant question is whether the Ordinance lays down in express terms that the dissemination of any uncensored news, even of those relating to civil disobedience and its direct and indirect results, will not be penalized. The Ordinance does not do so. Therefore, whatever assurance the Viceroy or the Government of India may give is irrelevant and of no consequence. Those who administer the law will be guided by the terms of the Ordinance, not by the assurances given by the highest or high officers. Similar is our comment on the Bombay Home Secretary's statement that "the Ordinance is directed against those writings in the Press which incite openly to violent or revolutionary action or which are encouraging a spirit of lawlessness throughout the country."

Not only are those who administer the Ordinance not bound by such assurances or statements but only by its terms, but there is no means of knowing, when a first deposit is called for, why it has been demanded—whether for the publication of any news, or for writing an inflammatory article, or for encouraging lawlessness, or for any other reason.

We get only a small number of newspapers. The central and local Governments get all. So it is probable that Government officials, employed for the purpose come across some undesirable newspapers which we never see. But from the action so far taken, their number, in the opinion of Government, does not seem to be large. They could very easily have been prosecuted under the ordinary laws. Instead of adopting such a reasonable course, Government has chosen to hang a Damocles' sword over the heads of all Indian-owned nationalist journals, except those of the reptile variety.

It cannot be said that most of the 'revolutionary' papers having become cautious after the promulgation of the Ordinance, action has been taken against only a few, and therefore their number seems small. For the fact is, deposits were demanded from many papers almost simultaneously with the publication of the Ordinance, showing that such action was premeditated and prompted by what those papers wrote before, not after, the Ordinance was issued.

Some comments of even *The Times of India* on the Ordinance support our criticism. It says :

There are two points on which we feel criticism of the operation of the Press Ordinance is justified. When the Ordinance was promulgated the authorities in some places did not apparently give the newspapers time to mend their ways; they were called upon to furnish security at once. We are convinced this was not the intention of the Governor-General, and the chance which the Bombay Government gave to the Press of the Presidency has been amply justified in most cases. Moreover, the authorities do not apparently specify a newspaper's offence before demanding security. This again seems unfair, because the newspaper might wish to avoid similar breaches of the Ordinance in future.

That paper also writes :

It is obvious that a good deal depends on the official interpretation of its objects. It could be a tyrannous weapon in the hands of those making unscrupulous use of its clauses. The Ordinance is to some extent a sword of Damocles hanging over the head of newspapers, and even with the best intentions in the world a paper might easily come within its scope. So wide are the powers of the Ordinance that it is natural for journalists and press-owners to feel restive, and to urge strongly that so Draconian an edict should be repealed.

Such being its opinion, we do not see why it writes :

We do not, however, agree with the view of the President of the Conference, Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar, that "beneath the plea of 'emergency

There was the settled belief and desire that the Indian Press should be controlled by the Executive Government and the bureaucracy of this country ; that the repeal of the Press Act of 1922 was a mistake." Mr. Iyengar's inference is that the Government of India merely wanted a convenient opportunity to put into force a press-gagging measure. This we do not think is a fair view of the situation.

Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar is not a thought-reader. He could not possibly know what reasons there were in the minds of the group of men called the Government of India which led them to frame and issue the Ordinance. He could only draw an inference from the facts of the situation. And we think his inference is not illogical and unjustifiable.

Mahatma Gandhi's Imprisonment Without Trial

That so saintly and reasonable a man as Mahatma Gandhi should be detained in a gaol and that for seeking such a good thing as freedom in a non-violent way, is a fact which alone is sufficient to cause dissatisfaction with the political condition and the laws of India and to make them worthy of condemnation in the opinion of all impartial liberty-loving persons all over the world. But the law in India being what it is, the Bombay Government would have been technically right if Mr. Gandhi had been tried in open court according to the ordinary processes of law, whatever the value of such a trial may be. So the fact that he has been imprisoned without trial is an additional grievance of the people.

He has been arrested and kept in confinement under a Regulation of 1827. That such an antiquated and rusty weapon had almost to be dug out from the Executive Armoury must make one think hard.

During the 103 years which have passed since 1827, the weapons of destruction used in armed warfare have increased in number, variety and slaying power. But Gandhiji's fight is a non-violent fight, it is not armed revolt. The British Empire has no weapon in its arsenals to fight Gandhi in a non-violent way. So it has had recourse to one of those Regulations which were meant in great part to supplement the military resources of the Empire. That such was the object of Regulation XXV of 1827 will be clear from its preamble :—

"Whereas reasons of State, embracing the due maintenance of the alliances formed by the British Government with foreign powers, the preservation of tranquillity in the territory of Indian Princes entitled to its protection and the security of the British Dominions from foreign hostility and internal commotion, occasionally render it necessary to place under personal restraint individuals against whom there may not be sufficient ground to institute any judicial proceedings or when such proceedings may not be adapted to the nature of the case or may for some other reasons be undesirable or improper, the following rules have been enacted :—"

The British bureaucracy and those Britishers and (a few) Indians who echo the thoughts of the former seem to hold that India has made great constitutional progress, that Indians have got many real rights of freemen and that, in fact, there is in India "Dominion status in action." But the same British bureaucracy's action shows that in their opinion the political condition of India in 1930 is so similar to that in 1827 that a Regulation framed for conditions existing a century ago just fits the case of 1930. This is un rebuttable evidence indeed of India's increasing liberties under British rule.

Let us see how the reasons stated in the preamble fit the case of Mr. Gandhi. It had nothing to do with the maintenance or otherwise of British alliances with foreign Powers. Nor had it anything to do with the preservation of tranquillity in the Indian States. Gandhiji, in fact, has definitely placed these States outside the operation of civil disobedience. The civil disobedience movement has not even the remotest connection with any hostile foreign Power threatening the security of the British Dominions. The most important and urgent reasons have been stated in the preamble first. These have nothing to do with Mr. Gandhi's arrest. There remains to examine only "the security of the British dominion from....internal commotion." In the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* commotion is explained as meaning "physical disturbance ; bustle, confusion ; tumult, insurrection." Evidently physical disturbance or bustle or confusion cannot be the reason for the arrest of any one and his infinite detention without trial. So tumult or insurrection must have been meant by commotion in the preamble. The juxtaposition of "foreign hostility" and "internal commotion" makes it clear that the Regulation intended that men might be arrested and detained infinitely without trial when there was either the menace of foreign aggression or the danger of an

internal insurrection. Gandhiji has always condemned violence—he has never been in favour of armed revolt. And there has not been any armed revolt since the starting of civil disobedience. The Chittagong raid was a small, isolated affair, and Gandhi-ji and civil disobedience had nothing to do with it.

For these reasons, we hold that it was by an abuse of the Regulation and probably by twisting its meaning that Mr. Gandhi has been arrested under it.

Further, let us see who are the persons to be arrested under it :—

(i) "Against whom there may not be sufficient ground to institute any judicial proceedings." Mr. Gandhi had been openly (and even in his first letter to the Viceroy) writing and saying things for which many others have been sent to jail. Moreover, he had been breaking the salt-laws repeatedly after reaching Dandi. So there were sufficient grounds to institute judicial proceedings against him. It was unnecessary to detain him without trial. If tried, he would not have attempted to shield himself by denying or concealing anything done by him.

(ii) "When such proceedings may not be adapted to the nature of the case." As judicial proceedings have been instituted against other persons for doing what Mr. Gandhi did, "such judicial proceedings" were certainly "adapted to the nature of the case" of Mr. Gandhi.

(iii) "When such proceedings.... may for some other reasons be unadvisable or improper." This clause provides ample scope for executive arbitrariness, often euphemistically called executive discretion. It need not be discussed here whether the servants of the East India Company were justified in arming themselves with such arbitrary powers; but certainly in India under the British Crown, when it is claimed there is "Dominion status in action," not the least remnant of such powers should be left. One cannot definitely say why in Mr. Gandhi's case judicial proceedings were considered unadvisable or improper by the Bombay Government; one can only guess.

Even during the trial of ordinary political leaders, there is occasionally noise and sometimes disturbance. The Bombay Government probably "feared the multitude, because they took him for a prophet" (Matthew XXI, 46). But it was not beyond the resources of that Government to make arrangements for keeping the peace during his

trial. The fears or incapacity of administrators ought not to lead to the deprivation of any citizen's rights.

Another probable reason why Mr. Gandhi was not tried may be that, whatever the charges preferred against him, imprisonment for them could be only for a definite period, whether short or long. But it is the intention of the Bombay Government to detain him for as long a period as it desires—the words used in the warrant for his arrest are, "imprisonment during the pleasure of the Government." This may be a valid reason of State, but it is not a legal or equitable justification for depriving a man of his liberty for an indefinite period without regular trial.

There may have been a third reason. If brought to trial in open court, Gandhi-ji would probably have made a statement setting out his reasons for starting the civil disobedience movement, and this statement might have been an arraignment of the British Government. This statement would have reached the four corners of the earth, soon or late. Whether right or wrong, there would have been many people in the world ready to believe in the Mahatma's arraignment. It is probable that the Bombay Government did not like to be confronted with such an indictment before the tribunal of the world public.

Why Bombay Government Arrested Gandhi

Just as some ruling and titular Maharajas, some landholders, some not-abilities and many others have begun to condemn civil disobedience after the Press Ordinance has made it practically penal for newspapers to attempt to refute such condemnation, so the Bombay Government issued its reasons for arresting Mahatma Gandhi after arresting him and making it impossible for him to attempt to refute its charges against him. Even murderers are allowed an opportunity to exculpate themselves. To deny such opportunity to Mr. Gandhi is not sportsmanlike.

The first charge against Mr. Gandhi is thus stated :

The campaign of civil disobedience, of which Mr. Gandhi has been the chief instigator and leader, has resulted in widespread defiance of law and order and in grave disturbances of the public peace in every part of India. Professedly non-violent, it has inevitably, like every similar movement in the

past, led to acts of violence, which have as the days pass become more frequent. While Mr. Gandhi has continued to deplore these outbreaks of violence, his protests against the conduct of his unruly followers have become weaker and weaker and it is evident that he is no longer able to control them.

It is true that there has been widespread defiance of law. Mahatma Gandhi wanted that the salt laws should be defied and he is responsible for their defiance. But he wanted the satyagrahis to be non-violent, and it has yet to be proved that all of them, or a majority of them or even a small appreciable number of them laid violent hands on anybody or even retaliated after being assaulted in the most brutal manner. We make this guarded statement, as we cannot honestly say that we are in possession of the detailed accounts of the behaviour of all satyagrahis during the last two months. Law and order have been broken, no doubt. But the violent disturbers of the public peace have not been the satyagrahis. It is well known that there is a party in the country outside Congress ranks which does not believe in non-violence. The debate and voting on the last Congress resolution condemning the attempt to wreck the Viceroy's train showed that among Congressmen themselves there is a minority which does not believe in non-violence. Mr. Gandhi has all along been fully aware of the existence of these groups. In his first letter to the Viceroy he wrote :

It is common cause that, however disorganized and, for the time being, insignificant, it may be, the party of violence is gaining ground and making itself felt. Its end is the same as mine. But I am convinced that it cannot bring the desired relief to the dumb millions. And the conviction is growing deeper and deeper in me that nothing but unadulterated non-violence can check the organized violence of the British Government.

Many think that non-violence is not an active force. My experience, limited though it undoubtedly is, shows that non-violence can be an intensely active force. It is my purpose to set in motion that force as well against the organized violent force of British rule as the unorganized violent force of the growing party of violence. To sit still would be to give rein to both the forces above mentioned. Having an unquestioning and immovable faith in the efficacy of non-violence, as I know it, it would be sinful on my part to wait any longer.

It is not his fault that his attempt to counteract "the unorganized violent force of the growing party of violence" has not been completely successful. There is, moreover, "the organized violent force of British rule." All who have read the accounts of alleged police and military

excesses in various places and believe at least some of these accounts to be true, think that some of the guardians of law and order have been in these places the disturbers of the public peace. Their behaviour may have naturally provoked all but the strict followers of Gandhi to retaliate.

There are, besides, hooligans whose profession it is to turn any abnormal situation to their own advantage. Agents provocateurs may also be at work. When there are so many groups of probable disturbers of the public peace, it is unfair to hold Mr. Gandhi responsible for the disturbances.

It is illogical to conclude that it is Gandhi-ji's non-violent movement which has led to acts of violence. When there was no civil disobedience in the country, there were grave disturbances of public peace. What led to them? *Post hoc ergo propter hoc* ("After this, therefore on account of it") is a familiar logical fallacy.

We believe there would have been disturbances of the public peace even if Mr. Gandhi had not started his non-violent movement;—probably there would have been more of them. It is probable that the party of violence as a whole has been waiting to see whether Gandhi can win Swaraj by his non-violent methods and that only the more impatient adherents of that party are breaking out into sporadic disorders.

It is not true to say that Mr. Gandhi's followers are "unruly." They are under strict discipline, including self-discipline; so much so that they bear all assaults without retaliation. As his followers are not unruly, their conduct is not generally such as to call for protests. In any case it is news to us that "his protests.....have become weaker and weaker," and "that he is no longer able to control them." Now that he is in prison, even his weak "protests," supposing they were needed, are silenced and he is no longer in a position even to try to control his followers, if they required to be controlled. That is one result of his incarceration, though such a result may have been unintended.

It is not only some officials in Bombay but some officials in other provinces, too, who have tried to prove that Gandhi's followers have become violent, and these officials condemn such violence. If these officials are sincere in this condemnation of violence, they should

also either promptly enquire into and contradict all allegations of police excesses or equally promptly condemn all such excesses. Instead, we find everybody, including Mr. Wedgwood Benn, praising the marvellous restraint and moderation and splendid services of the police. Evidently, all these gentlemen either do not read the unofficial accounts of contemporary events or disbelieve them totally. But whatever the causes of the unmixed praise of the police, it is to the interest of the Government that the public should not be allowed to believe that the officials want only the non-official public to be non-violent but not their own men. We are far from stating or suggesting that all policemen have behaved in an undesirable manner. Some have not done so.

Some officials may say that though the civil disobedience movement may not have directly led to violence, it has produced an atmosphere which is favourable to acts of violence. With reference to such an argument we should like to point out that when Mr. Gandhi first started the non-violent non-co-operation movement political murders and similar political crimes and attempts at them decreased in number. This is a historical fact. The present civil disobedience movement is also non-violent. It has also counteracted, though not to the full extent, the policy of the parties of violence. It has also to be stated that the bureaucracy will be able to realize by sober thinking the extent of its own responsibility for the creation of the aforesaid atmosphere. If official measures, actions and policy led people to believe that in the opinion of the Government, force was the best and the ultimate remedy and the best and most effective means to be resorted to under various different circumstances, would it be a matter for surprise if some shortsighted and unspiritually-minded members of the public thought that for them also force was the best means for attaining their ends and if they acted accordingly? Is it improbable or incredible that, convinced of the futility of praying, petitioning, memorializing, protesting, exhorting and reasoning, as on the one hand, Mr. Gandhi has started civil disobedience, so on the other hand, the parties of violence have begun to follow their own methods?

Other Reasons for Arresting Mr. Gandhi

Some other reasons for Mr. Gandhi's arrest are stated by the Bombay Government in the following paragraph:

It is naturally in Gujarat, where his personal influence is greatest and through which he marched from Ahmedabad to Dandi, that the effects of his campaign have been most felt. In this area, but chiefly in certain Talukas, his followers have instituted a severe form of social boycott, accompanied by threats of expulsion from caste, by insult and contumely, and even by deprivation of food and water, whereby they have induced a very considerable number of the *patels* (village head-men) to resign, thus causing serious inconvenience to the administration. Even private persons who have remained loyal to Government have been exposed to this boycott, not excluding the members of the depressed classes, of whose interests Mr. Gandhi used to claim to be the protector. At the later stages, finding that neither the breach of the salt laws nor the picketing of liquor shops and the boycott of foreign cloth were producing the results he desired, Mr. Gandhi has on several occasions incited the cultivators to withhold payment of land revenue and still more recently he has declared that he intends to march on the salt works at Dharasana or Chharwada and to take possession of the salt collected at those places, which is the property not of Government but of the salt manufacturers. Such a raid could not, whatever protestations may be made, be conducted without the use of force and would inevitably be resisted by force by the *agrias* (salt-makers) and the police.

It was shown in *Young India* before Mr. Mahadev Desai's imprisonment and Mr. Gandhi's arrest that the accusation that *patels* had been led to resign by intimidation or indirect force of any kind by Mr. Gandhi's followers was unfounded. That charge has been repeated here.

Generally speaking, we are not in favour of depriving people of food and water, even if those persons were Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and the volunteers led by her! We hope none of those who kept them without food and water for long hours in the burning sun have been imprisoned without trial.

Undoubtedly people should have the liberty to decide with whom they are to have social relations and business transactions. If shopkeepers do not like any particular Government servants and refuse to sell any articles to them, they ought not to be coerced, they should be reasoned with. By the by, what does the Bombay Government say to Mr. V. J. Patel's charge that the officials of the Government of India socially boycotted him when he was President of the Assembly? Has any official been arrested for this offence?

It is a relief to find from the words, "the members of the depressed classes, of whose interests Mr. Gandhi used to claim to be the protector," that official publications can pretend to be humorous and satirical. The official who indited this gibe may rest assured that Mr. Gandhi will, in spite of it, go down to history as the man who has done most to change the attitude of the educated and orthodox public towards the depressed classes and to compel the British bureaucracy to declare themselves as the only friends of those classes.

The Bombay Government has ferreted out from the hidden recesses of Mr. Gandhi's mind the secret of why he incited cultivators to withhold payment of land-revenue and why he wanted to "raid" Dharasana: it is because his other slogans had failed! It is to be presumed, that is correct history.

Non-payment of taxes is a method of civil disobedience which the Press Ordinance has labelled as an offence for journalists and printers to advocate or encourage. But passive resistance, as conducted by Mr. Gandhi in South Africa, was declared to be constitutional by Lord Hardinge. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, the greatest of Indian Liberals, held non-payment of taxes to be a constitutional method, though he advised extreme caution in resorting to it. In all democratically governed countries "grievances before supplies" is a political principle. In a country not democratically governed, if people resort to non-payment of taxes, in indirect pursuance of that principle, they must of course pay the penalty for such conduct, but the principle will not become a criminal one in democracies. In India, in several places the method of non-payment of taxes was adopted in recent years for obtaining redress of grievances. Those who did not pay taxes were punished in some way or other, but neither Mr. Gandhi nor anybody else who conducted the no-tax campaigns, were then arrested and detained without trial.

As for the Dharasana "raid," Mr. Gandhi has said in his second letter to the Viceroy what he meant by the word "raid" and why he wanted to undertake it. Therein he has also commented on the official statement that Dharasana is private property.

Last of all the Bombay Government say:

The Government of Bombay have, ever since Mr. Gandhi left his *ashram* at Ahmedabad, pursued a policy of the utmost toleration. They have been content to risk the accusation of weakness. In the firm conviction that the attack on the salt laws,

if violence were excluded from the methods by which it was conducted, must before long come to a peaceful ending. Events have shown that the laws of nature are inexorable and that the history of the earlier non-co-operation movement, with its accompaniments of blood and fire, would repeat itself, if Mr. Gandhi's campaign were allowed to continue unchecked.

The Bombay Government claim that the fact that they had not arrested Mr. Gandhi earlier than they did was due to toleration pure and simple. That they exercised toleration *in his case*, though not in the case of other leaders, is true. That toleration may have been real toleration and it may be that Mr. Gandhi was arrested by mandate of the Home Government, who in their turn were compelled to take this step to stop the yells of the Die-hards. But it may also have been due to many causes of a different character. At first British and Anglo-Indian papers looked upon contraband salt-making as something comic and farcical which would be shortlived. Probably officials also thought so, and hence they did not want to give it a long lease of life by arresting the chief "instigator." When it was found that Mr. Gandhi's troupe of comic actors was not insignificant in numbers and was daily receiving new recruits, the official policy probably changed into that of arresting the other leaders and thus isolating him and leaving him without lieutenants. Perhaps it is probable that in view of Mr. Gandhi's reputation and position in the world, it was thought inadvisable to arrest him and thereby offend world public opinion, before any serious disturbances had taken place. All these are mere guesses, to be taken for what they are worth.

The Bombay Government say that they had "the firm conviction that the attack on the salt laws, if violence were excluded from the methods by which it was conducted, must before long come to a peaceful ending." We think the conviction would have been more reasonable if it had been said that "the attack on the salt laws, if violence were excluded *both* from the methods by which it was conducted *as well as from the official methods by which it was sought to be baffled*, must before long come to a peaceful ending." But violence was not excluded from the official methods.

It would be out of place to discuss here "the history of the earlier non-co-operation movement" and to what extent it was accompanied with blood and fire, and why.

Private individuals of high character like Mahatma Gandhi unreservedly admit their faults and shortcomings and blunders. But officials in no country, even when they are thoroughly honest, admit even their partial responsibility for any untoward event or situation—groups of officials in their collective capacity certainly never do so. They are infallible and impeccable. Therefore, it would be futile to try to produce in official minds even the disposition to suspect that perhaps there might be a very remote possibility that they and their agents might have something to do, directly or indirectly, with the genesis of disorders, disturbances and unrest. So we must leave them in the quiet enjoyment of the conviction that Mahatma Gandhi, whose creed is *ahimsa* and whose conduct is in accordance with it, is the direct or indirect cause and source of all violence and the bureaucracy whose creed and conduct are not based on *ahimsa* are not in the least directly or indirectly responsible for any outbreak of violence.

"The Statesman's" Accuracy

The Statesman writes :

"All the excesses at Sholapur have been on the side of the mob,..."

On the other hand, the Bombay Government's *communiqué*, describing why and how troops were sent to Sholapur and martial law was proclaimed there, contains the following paragraph :

"Nearly all the rumours of hideous brutalities by the mob which have been freely circulated are without foundation. It is not true that policemen were tied together and burnt alive, nor that one had his eyes gouged out, nor is there any suspicion whatever that two were thrown into a well. It is hoped that all the 8 missing men will yet be found."

The Premier on Labour's Indian Policy

Speaking the other day at Seaham, Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald said that when the Labour Government was in office they wanted to appoint a commission "which would have advanced Indian self-government very substantially."

"Just at that moment a majority (of what nationality? Ed. *M. R.*) decided that something (what thing? Ed., *M. R.*) should be done in India which made it absolutely impossible for us to take that step."

"In 1929, we came in determined to carry out the pledges given again and again by this country to India that she was going (when? Ed., *M. R.*) to enjoy Dominion Status."

But "just at that moment,.....the whole thing was put into the melting pot by" the civil disobedience movement, the Premier said. But this movement would not have been started if Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Wedgwood Benn or Lord Irwin had told Mr. Gandhi the definite early date on which India "was going to enjoy Dominion Status." Why did the Premier ignore this fact? A vague promise is no promise at all.

The Premier concluded by saying :

We are going through unchanged in our conception of what the [undated] Indian goal is, but will never yield to forces which are contrary to democratic Government and representative responsibility."

A less brave utterance was not expected. But a sentence in Mr. Wedgwood Benn's speech in the Commons on May 26 would appear to show that the British people did yield to such alleged undemocratic and unrepresentative forces. Speaking of the growth of self-government in the British Commonwealth of Nations, Mr. Benn said that "sometimes it has come after clash and conflict." However, that is merely of academic historical interest to us Indians. Mahatma Gandhi wants to convert Englishmen by the force of his and his countrymen's sufferings, not by physical force or violence. He and his countrymen want that the British people should yield to the forces of humanity, justice, truth and righteousness. It is to be hoped that the Premier, the Labour Government and the British people are not determined not to yield to these forces.

Tributes to the Indian Police

In the course of the recent Indian debate in the British House of Commons, many members, including Mr. Benn, paid handsome tributes to the efficiency, restraint and moderation with which Indian policemen have been doing their duty in these difficult times. Some of them undoubtedly deserve such praise. But what of the numerous allegations of excesses and brutalities made against many of them, in many cases by eye-witnesses of unquestionable veracity, in newspapers all over India? Do these news never reach England? Or are they all dismissed as mere fiction?

From what Mr. Benn has said in the Commons it is probable that such news sent by telegraph are stopped on the ground that they are "intended to further civil disobedience."

What Happened at Peshawar ?

There is a popular political demonstration ; the excited mob jeer and throw stones at the police who show exemplary moderation and patience ; this encourages the mob still more, and the attack grows more furious ; at last in sheer self-defence the police or the military are compelled to fire ; dozens of men are wounded and a few killed ; exaggerated rumours about the number of men killed and wounded are not to be believed : this has been the happy official formula which has covered all the shooting incidents that have luridly punctuated the political movement of the last few weeks. And this was also the formula which formed the basis of the official *communiqué* on the happenings at Peshawar. Questions in the House of Commons, repeated demands in India for an independent enquiry or an uncensored news service have not succeeded in eliciting new facts from either the Secretary of State for India or the India Government. The Congress enquiry committee has been refused entry into the Frontier Province, and the reply to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's appeal to be allowed to take relief to the sufferers from the disturbances, though less curt, has not been less decisive.

The upshot of it all is that for some time to come yet, we shall not know the full details of the Peshawar incident. Meanwhile there is no want of stories which profess to give eye-witnesses' account of it. It is wise not to place too much reliance on them. Yet there is one point on which the stories circulating in Congress and military circles agree to such an extent as to give a *prima facie* impression of probability. We are referring to the actual shooting at Peshawar. The following circumstantial account of this incident is taken from the statement circulated by Mr. M. Abdul Qadir Kasuri, President, Punjab Provincial Congress Committee and published in *Young India*, *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* and some Punjab papers. It says :

By this time, however, a troop of English soldiers had reached the spot and without any

warning began firing into the crowd in which there were women and children also present. Now the crowd gave a good example of the lesson of non-violence that had been instilled into them. When those in front fell down wounded by the shots, those behind came forward with their breasts bared and exposed themselves to the fire, so much so that some people got as many as 21 bullet wounds in their bodies and all the people stood their ground without getting into a panic. A young Sikh boy came and stood in front of a soldier and asked him to fire at him, which the soldier unhesitatingly did, killing him. Similarly an old woman seeing her relatives and friends being wounded came forward, was shot and fell down wounded. An old man with a four year old child on his shoulders, unable to brook this brutal slaughter advanced, asking the soldier to fire at him. He was taken at his word, and he also fell down wounded. Scores of such instances will come out on further enquiry. The crowd kept standing at the spot facing the soldiers and were fired at from time to time, until there were heaps of wounded and dying lying about. The Anglo-Indian paper of Lahore, which represents the official view, itself wrote to the effect that the people came forward one after another to face the firing and when they fell wounded they were dragged back and others came forward to be shot at. This state of things continued from 11 till 5 o'clock in the evening. When the number of corpses became too many the ambulance cars of the Government took them away.

Now for what purports to be a military version of the same affair. It is given by "Scrutator" of the *Indian Daily Mail*. "Scrutator," we understand, is the editor, Mr. Wilson himself, who was formerly the editor of the *Pioneer*. We shall quote the whole passage from the *Indian Daily Mail* for May 10, 1930 :

A fairly senior military officer told me yesterday, with undisguised joy, some completely new details about the shooting at Peshawar. "You can take it from me," he said, "that the shooting went on for very much longer than has been stated in the newspapers. We taught the blighters a lesson which they won't forget and if we were only allowed to repeat this, there will be no more trouble. Our fellows stood there shooting down the agitators and leaders who were pointed out to them by the Police. It was not a case of a few volleys, it was a case of continual shooting."

"Scrutator" does not "pretend to believe for one moment that this bloodthirsty fellow really knows what happened at Peshawar." This scepticism, unreasonable as it seems to us, is no more than natural in him. An Englishman should at least have some qualms of conscience before he ceased to believe in the chivalry of those who wear the British uniform. So far as our reading goes, such anecdotes only toe the line unconsciously, with stories heard during the

great war, when a British Corps Commander would be saying cheerfully after a battle: "I fancy our fellows were not taking many prisoners this morning," and when a British General would be enthusiastically relating how in a captured trench British soldiers had been killing off German appellants for quarter, and how when another German appeared with his hands up one of them called out, "Ere! where's 'Arry? 'E aint 'ad one yet," and concluded with the explanatory remark that that was the "fighting spirit." (*Disenchantment*—Montague, pp. 145-46).

According to what one's predilection may be, one may wait for the report of the official Peshawar enquiry committee and another for that of the non-official, and a third for those of both before forming his final conclusions about many things relating to the Peshawar disturbances. But in the meanwhile one may without prejudice admire the cool courage displayed by numbers of Peshawaris. In the statement circulated by M. Abdul Qadir Kasuri and published in many newspapers, we read:

"Two facts are noteworthy in this connection. One is that of all the dead collected by the Congressmen there was not one single instance even where there was the mark of the bullet at the back—in spite of the presence of the British troops patrolling the city the picketing went on without a break and the batches of volunteers were sent according to the programme."

Official and Non-official Peshawar Enquiry Committees

Comments on the genesis of the Peshawar disturbances, on what actually took place during the disturbances and on allied matters, must be reserved, now that two committees of enquiry, one official and the other non-official, are in session taking evidence. It need only be observed now that the refusal of entry to the N.-W. Frontier Province to such men as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. V. J. Patel, etc., cannot but make the public suspect that officialdom in that province is afraid of the full facts being known, and may also prejudice the public mind beforehand against the conclusions of the official committee, though both members of the official committee are High Court judges.

But the terms of reference of this committee are not sufficiently comprehensive. It has been asked only to enquire into and report on the disturbances which took place in Peshawar City on April 23 and the measures taken on that day to deal with them. But no correct conclusions can be arrived at without considering the events of a prior date which led to the incidents of April 23 and also without considering what happened subsequently. It is well known that the refusal of the Government of the N.-W. F. Province to allow a Punjab Congress deputation to proceed to the former province to enquire into certain grievances of the Frontier Province people led to the events of April 23.

The two High Court judges cannot find out the truth if people cannot freely and fearlessly come before them and tell them all that they know unreservedly. Peshawar having been under military and police control and hence terrorized, it is not very probable that people will freely come forward to give evidence and fearlessly tell all they know. Nay, it is not unlikely that many who were eye-witnesses of the incidents would be frightened away by the police, as happened during the Hunter Committee's sittings in the Punjab a decade ago.

At present the local Congress leaders are under arrest, and, as the *Sind Observer* rightly says, "there is nobody to marshal the non-official evidence. In the present condition of Peshawar, very few local lawyers will dare to appear for the Congress people and their sympathizers." So the Karachi paper suggests that

"If this enquiry is to be a full and complete one, the Congress leaders who are either under arrest or have been jailed, should be released temporarily to marshal evidence and to engage the necessary legal help."

The Government of India's Press *communiqué* says: "Subject to the exercise by the Chief Commissioner under the N.-W. F. P. Security Regulation (1922) of his powers of exclusion from the Province—any person injured in the riots and the next of kin of any person who was killed or has died from the injuries received during the riots may be represented before the committee by counsel." It is quite clear from this that no helpers of the people of Peshawar outside the North-Western Frontier Province will be permitted by the Chief Commissioner to go there to take a hand in the presentation of their case before the two judges. Under such circumstances, and the disorganized condition of Peshawar, which is under military rule, we should be surprised if the enquiry would be as complete, thorough and exhaustive as it ought to be. The Court is, no doubt, a highly

judicial body, but the circumstances attending the enquiry will completely militate against its coming to the right conclusions. Unless the Government releases the Congress leaders temporarily and allows outside friends with legal training to marshal the case for the people, the report of the committee will not receive that approval which it should deserve from the public.

Mr. Patel's non-official committee of enquiry will suffer to some extent from the same disadvantages under which the official one will labour, and, in addition, most probably, no official will give evidence before the Patel committee, though such evidence has not been excluded and will, in fact, be welcome. It will be a further disadvantage that the Patel committee has to hold its enquiry outside the Frontier Province and outside Peshawar. As a set-off, many witnesses may appear before it who may not appear or may be prevented from appearing before the official committee.

Whom to Believe ?

When the pro-Government version of a certain affair differs from an account that goes against them, when, for example, Nawab Sir Dost Mohammed Khan, Chief of the Khalils, Nawabzada B. K. Mohammed Koan Khan Wazirzada, Captain Hissanmuddin Khan, and other prominent Khans of the Frontier, whose education apparently is not quite proportionate to their loyalty, solemnly assure us that

"It requires not the least understanding to find out—and a reference to the learned Ulema will bear this fact out—that the present seditious movements are criminally opposed to the dictates of the Holy Quran . . . *Fatwas* of the Jamiat-ul Ulema are clear on this point and are against Moslems joining hands with the Hindus,"

while part at least of the official text of the resolution passed by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema Hind only seven days before the *fatwa* of the Frontier Chiefs was issued, runs as follows :

"(d) Whereas complete freedom of the country and the nation from British domination is the only means to put a stop to all this mischief and to safe-guard the honour of Islam, this session of the Jamiat appeals to Muslims that for the sake of the freedom of the country and to protect from outrage Islamic personal law, they should in co-operation with the Congress, carry on non-violent struggle for freedom with courage, zeal and determination ;"

or, to take another example, when *The Statesman* proclaims in bold headlines that Amritsar

"Dealers resent boycott campaign,"

and goes on to quote its correspondent that on a certain day

"Foreign cloth was in great demand,"

while the Amritsar Fancy Piecegoods Dealers' Association itself on the very day passed the following resolutions :

"After 25th May, no goods will be accepted or will be saleable owing to circumstances beyond the control of the Association, . . .

"That in any case any shippers or others place for auction in or outside Amritsar any foreign cloth already indented by the members of this Association which, as the result of the above resolution had been cancelled, directly or indirectly those purchasing that cloth will be boycotted by the Association ;"

one may be quite ready to believe—and indeed there should be no want of 'loyal' readiness to believe—that it is the pro-Government point of view which is correct and true, and the nationalist view hopelessly misleading and perhaps deliberately so. But we are really left absolutely helpless when the official or the officially inspired accounts differ among themselves almost as much as light from darkness. In a leaflet distributed from aeroplanes the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province told the Khans, Chiefs and leading men of the district and city that the Congress volunteers who called themselves *Khuda-i-khidmatgars* (servants of God) were in reality

"the servants of Gandhi. They wear the apparel of the Bolshevik, they are no less than Bolsheviks. They will create the same atmosphere of which you heard in the Bolshevik dominion."

The manifesto of Nawab Sir Dost Mohammed Khan and Co., to which we have referred, is even more amusingly explicit on this point :

"It requires little effort, they say, to satisfy oneself that Congress is in the pay of the Communists and this huge subsidy the Congress used in preaching communist doctrines and paying salaries to its members and office-bearers.

"For this reason, those misguided Moslems, who for the sake of a few rupees follow the Congress, are making themselves liable to prosecution under the *Shariat*.

"One of the most common communist doctrines is that there should be no private capital or holding, which ought to be divided equally among all members of the proletariat. The fate of millions of Moslems in Bokhara who have died or been forced to flee to Kabul and Peshawar from Bolshevik persecution should be an eye-opener and a proper reply to such propaganda.

"These Bolshevik doctrines, which are freely propounded by Congress, are against the tenets of the *Shariat*."

This is splendid! But, unfortunately, the Secretary of State for India himself gave the whole game away when in reply to a question put by Sir William Davison (C. South Kensington) told the House of Commons that:

"There was no evidence that Communist agents were responsible for any of the recent disturbances in India, although the use of red uniform and the carrying of the hammer and sickle as badges were mentioned in some of the official telegrams."

But as communications to the Frontier are strictly censored and the whole area effectually insulated, we daresay this indiscretion of Mr. Benn's will cause no embarrassment to the publicity experts of the Frontier Province.

The Duty of Lying

It was samples of official or officially inspired propaganda of this kind perhaps which prompted Mahatma Gandhi to write to Lord Irwin that:

"The officials, I regret to have to say, have not hesitated to publish falsehoods to the people even during the last five weeks."

The soul of truth that he is, (though incidentally it must be mentioned that the *Morning Post* called him a crafty *Bania**), he does not understand that there are times when lying becomes a duty. There is no more wittier exposition of this duty than a chapter in C. E. Montague's famous book, *Disenchantment*. It was a melancholy lesson that war propaganda taught. At the end of the war one of his comrades in the trenches came and told him:

"They tell me we've pulled through at last all right because our propergander dished out better lies than what the Germans did. So I say to myself, 'If tellin' lies is all that bloody good in war, what bloody good is tellin' truth in peace.'"

Yet, as Mr. Montague writes,

Most of the fibs that we used in the war were mere nothings, and clumsy at that. When the enemy raided our trenches in the dead winter season, took fifty prisoners, and did as he liked for a while—so much as he liked that a court of inquiry was afterwards held and a colonel deprived of his command—we said in our official *communiqué* that a hostile raiding party had entered our trenches but was "speedily driven out, leaving a number of dead."

But Mr. Montague hoped for better things for the future. Then, he wondered, whether they would

"mobilize our whole Press, conscribe it for

* But *pace* the *Morning Post* the English are a nation of *Banias*.

active service under a single control, a— let us be frank—a Father-General of Lies, the unshaming, strategic and tactical lies of the 'the great wars' which 'make ambition virtue,' and sometimes make mendacity a virtue too?"

In any case,

"Under the new dispensation we should have to appoint on the declaration of war, if we had not done it already, a large Staff Department of Press Camouflage. Everything is done best by those who have practised it longest. The best inventors and disseminators of what was untrue in our hour of need would be those who had made its manufacture and sale their trade in our hours of ease. The most disreputable of successful journalists and 'publicity experts' would naturally man the upper grades of the war staff. The reputable journalists would labour under them, trying their best to conform, as you say in drill, to the movements of the front rank. For in this new warfare the journalist untruthful from previous habit and training would have just that advantage over the journalist of character which the Regular soldier had over the New Army officer or man in the old."

The author of *Disenchantment* would probably be for recruiting only British journalists for the suggested Staff Department of Press Camouflage. But the claims of Anglo-Indian (old style) journalists should not be overlooked. And, were it not for the colour bar, one might even commend to his notice the qualifications of a very few Liberal and Swarajist journalists in India.

But probably Mr. Montague or some other British humorist will himself find out all this in course of time. For, he would be a bold man who would say that all the lessons of the great war and all that can be garnered from Britain's far-flung empire have been fully assimilated and utilized by the British people!

The Duty of Christians

There is an editorial note on the present political crisis in India in *The National Christian Council Review*, the organ of the National Christian Council of India, Burma, and Ceylon, in which it is stated:

"...there has come into being a campaign of civil disobedience that, however non-violent in principle, tends inevitably to stir the passions of men. We gladly pay tribute to Government and Mr. Gandhi for the admirable restraint that has marked the campaign so far; but recognize that the strain imposed, particularly on the police and the more adventuresome devotees of disobedience, is one not easy to be borne. As Christians our duty is clear: *We must uphold at all hazards the law of the land*, and at the same time see that it is administered with equity." (Italics ours).

We wish the editors had not added the last clause. For lip service to high principles, convenient as it is for politicians, leaves a very disagreeable impression when it comes from the mouth of a missionary. Let Christians uphold the law of the land by all means, but why drag in equity? Is every law of every land equitable? Is every law of British-ruled India equitable? "If Christ came to India today, he would at least be imprisoned without trial."

Perhaps, Christian missionaries have not yet forgotten the lesson taught by the early history of the Christian Church, when the non-violent determination of their co-religionists to assert their freedom of conscience led inevitably to popular riots, sedition and offences against the majesty of the Roman Empire, and in order to save the social fabric from the attacks of these dangerous "revolutionaries", persecution had to be sanctioned not only by the Neros and the Domitians, but even by great and noble emperors like Trajan, Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, and Diocletian!

The Roman Emperors were wrong, but they had their point of view, just as in our opinion the British rulers of India are at present in the wrong but have their intelligible point of view. This is our consistent position. But does the editor of the *National Christian Council Review* uphold both the law of the ancient Roman Empire and the law of the modern British Empire in India? It is noteworthy that he gives equal praise to Government and Gandhi for admirable restraint. Is it because, as Shakespeare's Fluellen would say, both Government and Gandhi begin with the same letter?

For Law and Order and—Booze.

We have spoken above of the Roman Emperors who persecuted the Christians. Yet we do not remember that any emperor sanctioned the persecution of the Christians for the sake of excise revenue. Law and Order not likely to inspire much respect or fear when they parade the land in the company of booze. And that was what happened at Mymensingh, where as a result of the police shooting on May 14, nearly one hundred and fifty people were wounded more or less seriously, and one Muhammadan volunteer, who was severely wounded,

died in hospital. What is written below is based on an account furnished by an eyewitness who holds a responsible position and is a competent observer:

The shooting at Mymensingh took place as a result of the picketing of the Government country-liquor and intoxicating drugs depôt by the Congress volunteers. All the country-liquor and other intoxicants required by the dealers of the district are delivered from three depôts, one at Mymensingh, and the other two at Bhairab Bazar and Tangail respectively. Of these that at Mymensingh is by far the largest. Congress picketing at this depôt, therefore, was particularly affecting the excise revenue of the district. For about a fortnight before the day of shooting the volunteers had been picketing at the gates of the depôt and dissuading the vendors who came to buy their stores by entreaty and persuasion. In every case the dealers complied with their request and went away without making any purchases. There was moral pressure certainly, but no one complained of intimidation or violence.

On the 14th., the last day on which delivery had to be given of a large consignment of country-liquor and *ganja* upon the indent of a number of excise vendors who had deposited the money at the treasury, failing which the orders would be cancelled, the authorities took more energetic steps. At about 2-30 P.M. the District Magistrate, Mr. G. S. Dutt, the founder of the Saroj Nalini Dutt Memorial Association of Calcutta and an ardent professed advocate of social reform, accompanied by his subordinate officers, motored down to the warehouse to see about the safe delivery of country-liquor and *ganja* for the consumption of the people of the district. He, we understand, told the volunteers that they might picket at the gate, but if there were any violence the consequences would be serious, and then left the place. Soon after, a large force of police constables and thirty men of the Armed Police arrived upon the scene. All of them fell in within the compound of the warehouse, which was fenced in by wire, while the volunteers and the public waited outside.

At about 3 P.M. a cart laden with two barrels and sixteen tins of country-liquor, and about thirty-six seers of *ganja* came out of the compound escorted by the police. The volunteers at once threw themselves on the ground and the cart could not advance.

The officer-in-charge gave orders to the police to remove the volunteers. The policemen caught hold of them one by one and began to throw them away from in front of the cart. But as soon as some volunteers were thrown away others rushed in and took their place. This went on for some time, and when it was seen that the volunteers could not be removed by this method order was given to beat them. Then began a continuous use of *lathis* on the prostrate bodies of the volunteers, who neither stirred nor offered any resistance. They were beaten, trampled upon, kicked and poked by the policemen. Their behaviour, we are assured, provoked the admiration—strange as it may seem—even of the officials present, one of whom, it is alleged, said that "the volunteers were doing very well" and were non-violent."

By this time about three thousand people had gathered round. They were naturally excited by the sight of inoffensive and unresisting men being beaten in this manner. Some of them, swept off their feet by emotion, rushed in and joined the volunteers on the ground, while others began to throw brickbats at the police. This was the signal for the firing, the order for which was given by the Additional District Magistrate, Mr. S. C. Ghatak.

While the firing was going on on one side of the warehouse compound, the excited crowd on the other fell upon the liquor cart, which had made some progress, broke open the barrels and the tins and set fire to the cart. During the firing some of the crowd ran away but the volunteers and the greater majority remained where they were and took their chance of getting wounded.

When the firing stopped a still greater crowd gathered round the place. Their attitude was very threatening, but the volunteers entreated them to remain non-violent. In any case, no attack was made upon the police. After some time Mr. Dutt, the Magistrate, came down and himself escorted back the police and the officials to their lines.

The number of wounded in this particular incident was about one hundred and fifty, of whom about 87 were admitted into the hospital. Picketing is being carried on as before, and no liquor is being taken out from this depot.

"Gandhi On His Campaign."

The following has appeared in the *Sunday Times* of London, dated April 27, 1930 :

We are indebted to the Associated Press of America for the full text of the following message, which Mr. Gandhi has addressed to the people of the United States :—

The national demand is not for immediate establishment of Independence, but is a preliminary step to a Conference, that must take place if independence is to be established peacefully, to remove certain prime grievances, chiefly economic and moral. These are set forth in the clearest possible terms in my letter, mis-called an ultimatum to the Viceroy. Those grievances include the Salt Tax, which in its incidence, falls with equal pressure upon rich as well as poor and is over 1000 per cent. of the cost price. Having been made a monopoly, it has deprived tens of thousands of people of their supplementary occupation and the artificially heavy cost of salt has made it very difficult, if not impossible, for poor people to give enough salt to their cattle and to their land.

This unnatural monopoly is sustained by laws, which are only so-called, but which are a denial of law. They give arbitrary powers to police, known to be corrupt, to lay their hands without warrant on innocent people, to confiscate their property and otherwise molest them in a hundred ways. Civil-resistance against the laws has caught the popular imagination as nothing else has within my experience. Hundreds of thousands of people, including women or children from many villages, have participated in the open manufacture and sale of contraband salt.

ALLEGED ASSAULTS

This resistance has been answered by barbarous and unmanly repressions. Instead of arresting people the authorities have violated the persons of people who have refused to part with salt, held generally in their fists. To open their fists, their knuckles have been broken, their necks have been pressed, they have been even indecently assaulted till they have been rendered senseless. Some of these assaults have taken place in the presence of hundreds and thousands of people, who, although well able to protect the victims and retaliate, being under a pledge of non-violence, have not done so. It is true, that violence has broken out in Calcutta, Karachi, Chittagong, and now Peshawar. The Calcutta and Karachi events should be isolated from those at Chittagong and Peshawar. The Calcutta and Karachi incidents were an impulsive outburst on the arrest of popular leaders. The Chittagong and Peshawar incidents, though also caused for the same reason, seem to have been serious and well-planned affairs, though wholly unconnected with each other Chittagong being in the extreme east and Peshawar being in the north-west border of India.

These disturbances have so far not affected other parts of India, where civil disobedience has been going on in organized fashion and on a mass scale since the 6th instant. People in other parts have remained non-violent in spite of great provocation.

At the same time, I admit that there is need for caution but I can say without the least hesitation that, consistently with the plan of civil disobedience, every precaution conceivable is being taken to prevent civil disobedience from being used as an occasion for doing violence. It should be noted that in Karachi, 7 wounded persons, of whom 2 have died of their wounds, were volunteers engaged in keeping the peace and restraining mob fury. It is the opinion of eye-witnesses that the firing in Karachi was wholly unjustified and that there was no firing in the air or at the legs in the first instance.

INCENSING PEOPLE

In fact, the Government have lost no opportunity of incensing people. Many of the best and purest and the most self-sacrificing leaders have been arrested and imprisoned. In many instances with mock trials. Sentences, though, for the same offence, have varied with the idiosyncrasies of the magistrates. In several instances they have been for more than 12 months with hard labour on well-known citizens. The enthusiasm of the people has up to now increased with every conviction. Thousands of people regard the manufacture of contraband salt as part of their daily routine. In any other part of the world with a Government at all responsible to public opinion, the Salt Tax would have been repealed long since, but whether now or later, repealed it will be, if the present existing atmosphere of resistance abides as it promises to do.

That this is a movement of self-purification is abundantly proved by the fact that women have come into it in large numbers and are organizing the picketing of liquor-shops. Thousands have taken vows to abstain from intoxicating liquor. In Ahmedabad, a strong labour centre, receipts of canteens have dropped to a 19th per cent and are still dropping. A similar manifestation is taking place in the district of Surat. Women have also taken up the question of a boycott of foreign cloth. It is spreading all over India. People are making bonfires of foreign cloth in their possession. Khadi, *i. e.*, hand-spun cloth, is so much in demand that the existing stock is well-nigh exhausted. The spinning wheel is much in demand and people are beginning to realize more and more the necessity of reviving hand-spinning in the cottages of 700,000 villages of India. In my humble opinion, a struggle so free from violence has a message far beyond the borders of India. I have no manner of doubt that after all the sacrifice that has already been made since April 6, the spirit of the people will be sustained throughout India has become independent and free to make her contribution to the progress of humanity.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

Mr. Benn on Press Censorship

In his statement on Press censorship, made in the Commons, Mr. Benn said in part :

"There was no censorship of the air mail, nor any form of censorship other than that derived from the Indian Telegraphs Act and the rules

framed thereunder. He had now ascertained that, except for the time in Peshawar when conditions were exceptional, interference with telegraph messages was confined to those intended to further civil disobedience."

The opinions of two Anglo-Indian editors on this subject are quoted below. *The Statesman* observes :

Much of the news from Sholapur that we are now able to publish has been held up in transmission. The purpose of the censorship is not plain, since little harm could have been done by the public knowing the truth about Sholapur and much harm has been done by the rumours that have been rife. There is no purpose in railing against this kind of thing ; censorship has never been intelligent since the world began, and it would be ridiculous to suppose that it would be more so in India than elsewhere. We will only say that people in India can stand being told the truth, and that if it is officially withheld the Government will speedily find that none of its communications, however truthful they may be, will be regarded as trustworthy."

Again :

The Home newspapers were able to publish tidings of Mr. Gandhi's arrest before any public report of it had reached this part of India. The news was being printed in England at about nine o'clock by Indian time on the morning of the arrest, it first reached this office four hours later.

"Scrutator" (Mr. F. J. Wilson, editor of *The Indian Daily Mail*) writes in his paper :

A friend of mine went down to Dharasana, and described, not only exactly what he saw, but also his reactions to the scenes, which made up Wednesday's battle. Another friend of mine attended the raids on the salt pans on Sunday at Wadala. He also described exactly what he saw. Both these men, thoroughly reliable, world-famous correspondents, after their messages had been held up, were told that much of what they were sending was objectionable. In one case it was argued that the message was distinctly unfriendly in tone, and objection was taken to the statement that the seeming indifference of the native police made the occasion practically a racial conflict. In the other case, a description of the beating with lathis of unresisting men was objected to and the correspondent in order to get something through to his paper rewrote his message. [*Italics ours, Ed., M. R.*]

ENGLAND MUST NOT KNOW

On both these occasions the censor, or the ultimate authority in Government, was not present at the scenes described, and had nothing to bring against the direct eye-witness story of both these correspondents except second-hand reports. When it came to an argument on facts, both my friends emerged triumphant, but both of them came away with the distinct impression that Government does not know the full facts of such raids, that Government wishes to conceal the details of these occurrences, and, especially, does not wish the British public to know what is happening. For these facts I can give chapter and verse, and I am sure that there will be, and can be, no denial from Government.

A CONSPIRACY

This amounts to nothing more or less than a deliberate conspiracy to conceal the truth about the Indian situation from the British public. The press in India has been muzzled, and an attempt is now being made to muzzle the press in Great Britain.

It is well known that a cable relating to assaults on Red Cross ambulance men and the damaging of the ambulance and destruction of their medical equipment in Kalikapur was sent among others to the Secretary of State for India and that it was stopped. Was that cable "intended to further civil disobedience"? And is there legal authority to stop a telegram to the Secretary of State for India?

Contradictory Statements in the Commons

During the recent debate in the Commons, it was sought to be made out that the Gandhi movement had only a small number of adherents and they were mostly urban people, with which fact, if fact it be, one need not quarrel. If stay-at-home Britishers want to live in a fool's paradise, let them. Earl Winterton opined that, except in certain districts, "the extremists" had no real contact with the peasants. Therefore, even though the movement was based on Simon Fein, there was not so much substance behind it." Sir Samuel Hoare "commented that taking full account of the gravity of all incidents, the trouble was confined to certain definite centres, mostly urban, which seemed to show that there was no general movement against the British-raj." Mr. Wedgwood Benn himself seemed to imply some such thing when he said that "the vast majority of the people in India; even in urban areas and certainly in rural areas, pursue day by day their avocations under the benevolence of settled and ordered government...."

With these opinions, explicit or implicit, contrast the following views of Mr. Wedgwood Benn, expressed on the same day and occasion:

"We are not dealing merely with ordinary outbreaks of lawlessness. If we were dealing merely with lawlessness, the task would be a very simple one. We are dealing (I do not know whether it is fully realized in this Committee) with an insurgence of national and racial aspirations."

The population of India is a predominantly rural population. If our village people have no or little part in the aspirations voiced from a thousand platforms and through numerous newspapers, how can these

be called *national* and *racial* aspirations with whose "insurgence"—mark the word—the British people have to deal?

The fact is there are more villages than towns affected by the Gandhi movement. No complete census has been taken of the villages to which the movement has spread. From certain figures published in *Young India* of May 8, we find that contraband salt is manufactured in more than 500 villages in district Champaran alone and in about 500 more villages in district Saran, both in Bihar, which is not a seaside province.

Indians do not believe in official or British estimates of the strength of popular movements in India. As for the British people, it is worse than useless to keep them in ignorance or deceive them. They are sure to have a rude awakening some day. And then?—

"To Use Weapons When Necessary"

During the Indian debate "General Knox (C) considered that the police were asked to do too much. He forecast more trouble unless the military authorities were allowed to use weapons when necessary for the maintenance of order." It is a known fact that the military authorities do use weapons. Did the worthy General then mean to suggest that they were allowed to use weapons when not necessary for the maintenance of order, and that they should be allowed to do so only when necessary for the maintenance of order?

Mr. Wedgwood Benn's Speech on India

It would require a biggish pamphlet to expose all the fallacies, inaccuracies, half-truths, and instances of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* contained in Mr. Wedgwood Benn's long, rambling and unimpressive speech in the House of Commons during the Indian debate. There is not a topic dealt with in it which Indian publicists have not discussed in detail repeatedly. Even the platitudes relating to British aims and methods in India with which he concluded his oration have no novelty in them. They are trite, stale and well-worn, and will fall flat on nationalist India.

He has drawn a roseate picture of India's trade and finance, on which subjects the

reader is requested to peruse Dr. H. Sinha's notes in this issue. Mr. Benn has not told the world that most of India's trade is in foreign hands, and that the sterling loans, including the recent £ 7 million one at a high rate of interest, mean not only an economic loss to India, but are methods of draining away wealth from India and keeping her in economic and political bondage. It is untrue to say that 80 per cent. of the public debt in India is represented by productive assets, such as railways. Not to speak of previous years, even now railways are not paying concerns in the business sense, as has been shown by Dr. Sinha elsewhere in the present issue. Why is it that the price of Indian Railway stocks has fallen heavily, as shown by Dr. Sinha?

Railways are certainly a great facility. But it ought not to be ignored that they are indirectly responsible for the decay of our indigenous industries, for the exploitation of India and for the spread of diseases like malaria. In the zeal to spread railways, partly in the interests of British merchants in general and of iron-mongers in particular, our waterways have been neglected, resulting in the decay of the indigenous water-borne traffic, great damage to agriculture and marked decline in public health. Why did Mr. Benn have nothing to say on our water-ways? And on agriculture?

It would not be possible to discuss irrigation or any other large topic in the course of this note. Suffice it to say that big irrigation projects are not generally undertaken in response to popular demands. Some cotton-growing and wheat-growing tracts are irrigated, mainly or partly because Britain wants India's cotton and wheat. But Sir Willam Willcocks' ideas for irrigating Bengal are not looked upon with favour by British officials concerned.

"The number of jute mills have doubled," but Mr. Benn does not say that most of them belong to non-Indians.

It is a travesty of truth to suggest that the increase of duty on cotton is an example of recognition of the 'liberty' of the Government of India. Similar accuracy marks Mr. Benn's statement that "everybody has been willing to co-operate with" the Whitley Commission. Speaking on our Medical Degrees, he entirely ignores the great resentment to which the action of the British General Medical Council has given rise among Indian medical men and the lay public.

The impression which the following sentence conveys is far from the truth and will not deceive Indians, though others may be misled thereby:

"...The Government of India is looking more and more for approval and support to the Legislature and Indian public opinion, and though it may be embodied in no clauses and no schedules, that in itself is a real, effective and, I believe, lasting growth in the measure of self-government which India even under the present constitution possesses."

Undoubtedly! And that is why we are now living under Ordinance-rule and why India's greatest political leader is detained in jail without trial for seeking a real measure of self-government---to mention only two facts.

Mr. Benn has said nothing definite as to when and how Indianization of the Army is coming, that is, he is silent on a topic in which Indians are most interested. The passage devoted to the toy Royal Indian Marine contains some praise of "the present boys under training," which would have had some value if thousands of such boys were under training. "Already there is one officer, an Indian engineer, sub-lieutenant." What astounding generosity! And one must be overwhelmed with a feeling of gratitude to read further that, in India inhabited by only 320 millions of people, such a large number as "two have passed for the engineer's branch and are now under training, and three appointments have been offered for competition among Indian boys on the Mercantile Marine training ship *Dufferin*!"

"The Goal is Accepted"

Repeating some words from the Viceroy's announcement, Mr. Benn said: "That policy stands. The goal is accepted," and similar words, which have been repeated *ad nauseam*. But he gave no indication as to when India was to be allowed to reach the goal. He added: "I will make bold to say that if in this Conference substantial agreement is reached, no Government would be likely to ignore its work when it came to present its proposals to Parliament." That is beautifully vague and non-committal. The representatives to the conference are to be chosen by the Government. They can be easily so chosen as to make substantial agreement impossible, or only such an agreement possible as Indian nationalists would repudiate. If, however,

even under such circumstances, a substantial agreement of an acceptable character were reached, the British Government may literally keep its promise not "to ignore it" by simply examining and rejecting it or its most important portions.

At present even the leading Liberals in India are agreed that the Round Table Conference can be of no use unless Mahatma Gandhi attends it, and that no constitution can be smoothly worked unless it had the approval of him and his party. Without him no one can deliver the goods. But Mr. Benn could not spare even a passing notice to Mr. Gandhi's gesture from jail as conveyed in the interview given to Mr. Slocombe, the *Daily Herald* correspondent. On the contrary, questioned in the Commons on May 26 regarding that interview, Mr. Benn said he gathered that the granting of permission for the interview was to some extent due to a misunderstanding that would not recur. This is cryptic to a high degree. It has been surmised that, as the *Daily Herald* is a semi-official Labour organ, the interview was meant to ascertain whether Mr. Gandhi's views had undergone any change owing to his incarceration; but seeing that he has practically laid down his old terms, the interview has been diplomatically characterized as due to a misunderstanding and treated as of no importance. But if it had indicated any weakening in Mr. Gandhi's attitude, probably it would have been exploited to the full and the interview would not have been said to be due to a misunderstanding.

"The Future Position of the Minorities"

Great anxiety was professed for the future position of the minorities. The difficulties arising out of the existence of minority communities have been aggravated during British rule. In pre-British days, Hindus and Musalmans did not burn one another and exclude one another from education and office as Protestants and Roman Catholics did, and as both persecuted and excluded the Jews. Yet the British constitution never made any provision for the representation of minority communities. Still England is free and independent. Evidently present-day Englishmen are greater well-wishers of Indian Musalmans, non-Brahmans, etc., than their ancestors were of British Jews and Roman Catholics.

"Divide and Rule"

According to Mr. Benn :

"There are some who rely on the archaic maxim 'Divide and rule.' That is not the principle on which our Commonwealth has been built up... It is of no interest to us that these difficulties should persist."

It may be that the speaker was a sincere opponent of the *divide et impera* policy. But his speech laid great stress on the fact, as he believed it to be, that Musalmans have held aloof from the Gandhi movement almost in a body, which is not true. And Mr. Benn's personal dislike of that maxim would not prove that it was not used in building up the British Empire and did not even now claim a very large number of adherents. For instance, in the course of the very debate during which the Secretary of State spoke,

"Sir Samuel Hoare considered the situation to be more favourable than it was ten years ago, because then the Moslems were solidly against us and the depressed classes had little of their present influence. *He said that our duty was to take advantage of such favourable conditions and press steadily forward with a programme on which all three parties were agreed.*" (Italics ours. Ed., M. R.)

"What More Can We Do ?"

Mr. Benn concluded :

"We have put forward a policy of which we are not ashamed. We have invited responsible representatives of India to come and confer. What more can we do?"

A suggested answer is : "You can definitely declare that the Round Table Conference is for framing a Dominion constitution for India, giving her the same political rights as Canada enjoys—a constitution which will begin to be worked in the course of, say, two years. And you can and should make a whole-hearted attempt to exorcise from the minds of all Conservative, Liberal and Labour Imperialists the secret desire to exploit the existence of different parties and sects in India for the purpose of indefinitely postponing the attainment of self-rule by India."

After Mr. Wedgwood had concluded,

"Mr. Fenner Brockway said that he had done his utmost to get Indian representatives to the Round Table Conference, but its conditions and the refusal of an amnesty had doomed the Conference."

British Parliamentary Minority Views

The vast majority of Members of Parliament of all British political parties support the present repressive policy in India. That need not discourage or daunt any Indian. However, that is not what we wanted to stress. Britishers in these days profess to attach greater importance to the views and interests, or what are supposed to be the views and interests, of minorities in India than to the views of the majority. Following that fashion to a slight extent, may we be allowed to transcribe below what a small minority group said during the recent Commons debate on Indian affairs?

Colonel J. C. Wedgwood (Lab. Newcastle) expressed the opinion that the real trouble was due to the exclusion of Indians from the Simon Commission. He said it was difficult to see how Lord Irwin could have acted differently under the present circumstances, but he feared it would be impossible for the Round-Table Conference to put matters right.

He also feared that the Report of the Simon Commission would not go to the length expected by the Indian people, and everybody in India would consider that he had been let down.

Col. Wedgwood urged steps being taken to restore the feeling among Indians that justice was still possible and that the House of Commons could still be regarded as a place where Indian grievances could be remedied.

Mr. Wedgwood Benn: Here you have a force (the Royal Indian Marine) in which the British Admiral in command finds ready use for Indian talent and that is a matter on which I think we might find common ground for rejoicing.

Mr. Fenner Brockway: But under British control to be used for British purposes.

Mr. Wedgwood Benn: It will be observed also that, generally speaking, although it is not universally hundred per cent the case, Mohammedans have held aloof.

Mr. J. Marley: Is not Peshawar a 90 per cent. Mohammedan province?

Mr. Wedgwood Benn: That's true, but generally speaking Mohammedans have held aloof, and it would be fair to say that the disturbances may be described accurately as sporadic rather than general.

One of the armaments in the propaganda of Communist speakers in this district was this: They went among Mohammedans and wilfully perverted the purpose of the Sarda Act or Early Marriage Act.

Mr. Fenner Brockway: Has the Right Hon. gentleman seen a very strong denial of that report on behalf of the Indian National Congress?

Mr. Wedgwood Benn: I can only give the Committee information which is supplied to me. I have not seen that denial but I would be glad if the Hon. gentleman will bring it to my notice and we will weigh it.

Information officially supplied is gospel truth and requires no weighing and verifica-

tion. But non-official information deserves only to be condescendingly weighed.

Mr. W. J. Brown: What is the duty of a Labour Government?

Mr. Wedgwood Benn: The duty of a Labour Government is to carry on Government. (Cheers.)

Mr. Brown: I do not know what the Hon. gentleman means. If I might reply, I would say that the last thing a Labour Government ought to do in India is to carry on the dirty work of British Imperialism (Hon. Members: "Shame").

Mr. Benn: The Hon. gentlemen, speaking in a rhetorical way, spoke about this work which is being carried on. Is peace being maintained in the interests of some external agency? Is not peace being maintained in the interests of India itself? I do look forward to the day when Indian liberties shall be enlarged and when India shall take her place as a fully self-governing Dominion among other Dominions of the Empire. Is it for us to hand over to her a legacy of anarchy and chaos?

Mr. W. J. Brown: You are creating one.

Mr. Wedgwood Benn: We shall see about that.

In the last foregoing extract Mr. Wedgwood Benn states that peace is being maintained in India and also states and suggests that it is being maintained in the interests of India, not in the interests of some external agency. It is true that some servants of the British Government are maintaining peace in India and that it is being done partly in the interests of India. But it is also true that some Government servants are doing things which are causing breaches of the peace and producing disturbances and disorder. It is further true that Britain tries to maintain peace in India mainly or at least partly in her own interests, because India is a valuable estate of hers. She does not try to maintain peace in Spain or Mexico or the Balkans, when there are sanguinary outbreaks there, because these disturbances do not affect her trade to any appreciable extent and because she is not in a position to play the philanthropic rôle of peacemaker there.

Major Graham Polc expressed the opinion that the great mass of Britons desired to do justly by India. But Indians were sceptical and demanded some tangible sign. He did not think there was the least chance of the success of the Round-Table Conference unless leading men were induced to come. They would not do that unless they felt that they could take back some kind of self-government. Indians should be invited to come to Britain to frame their own constitution which would provide for a greater safe-guard than we ever dare put in.

Mr. Fenner Brockway said that the Conservatives were in complete accord with the Government's policy. Apparently their reason for raising the debate was to point out the danger of Communist propaganda in India.

discontent in India had deeper roots than scow.

He most strongly opposed the present policy said that any system of Government which required the imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi, one of the finest and noblest souls in the world, was itself condemned.

Mr. Fenner Brockway read a statement on incidents in Peshawar by the president of the Punjab Congress Committee.

Mr. Wedgwood Benn pointed out that it was serious to read such a statement in Parliament and asked if Mr. Brockway thought true.

Mr. Brockway said that he did not know, but he thought Parliament and the country should know the Indian account, in addition to the British official view. He urged an impartial inquiry and appealed to Mr. Benn to make a settlement by agreement possible by accepting full self-government with a round-table conference to work out the details of the transition period and a generous amnesty for political offenders.

Miss Rathbone considered it mischievous that Mr. Fenner Brockway should read a statement without investigating its truth.

Mr. J. Marley (Lab.) hoped that before Labour left office they would show India that she did not look to them in vain. He hoped that Mr. Benn would throw out a gesture to India and not await the Simon Commission's report.

Mr. W. J. Bell (Lab.) maintained that the British were in India because it paid them to be there. He warned the Government that unless they could carry Gandhi with them they must face the alternative of organized violence and revolutionary effort. He urged them to accede to Mr. Brockway's appeal before it was too late.

Mr. Beckett defended Mr. Brockway's reading the statement and said that Mr. Benn was no more able to vouch personally for the accuracy of official statements than Mr. Brockway for the statement he had read. He expressed bitter disappointment with Mr. Benn's speech, for he had not hoped to hear a fresh excuse for the policy of repression.

India Government and Tear Gas

On May 27 Mr. Wedgwood Benn in a written reply to Sir Alfred Knox stated that the Government had considered the use of tear gas to control the riots in India, but had declined to make use of it. On what grounds? By the use of tear gas many mobs can be dispersed without resort to shooting and killing. Its use is, therefore, more humane than shooting, and equally effective in very many cases.

Suspension of Publication of Newspapers

The temporary suspension of publication of newspapers, as in Delhi and Calcutta for

example, soon after the promulgation of the Press Ordinance can be understood. It was a sort of journalistic hartal by way of protest against the ordinance. But it is difficult to understand the reasons or advantages of the mandate of the Congress Working Committee, calling upon all nationalist papers to suspend publication for an indefinite period and upon the public to boycott all newspapers which would continue to come out. If the Committee had consulted the journalists and communicated to them the reasons why stoppage of publication was desired, they could have in their turn informed the Committee what they wanted to do and why. The Committee knew that journalists were going to meet in Bombay on the 15th May, and yet they considered it both courteous and right to issue the mandate on the previous day.

Some people think that the ordinance has made it impossible for journalists to do their work properly. That is true. It has placed newspapers and presses entirely at the mercy of the executive authorities. But even before the promulgation of the ordinance, we were at the mercy of those authorities, though not to the same extent. To work under such conditions is humiliating; but, it is only part of the humiliation of not being self-ruling. We should try to be as useful as we can under the circumstances. If any newspaper thinks that it cannot be useful, adequately or in the least, under such circumstances, it has the option not to come out.

There is a difference between the cases of lawyers and students, and of newspaper men. We are not concerned here with the reptile press. The proper work of lawyers and students is not directly concerned with any movement for winning freedom or political rights, or for effecting social, educational, moral, religious, economic or other reform, and improvement. But reputable journals exist for furthering the cause of such advancement and for the dissemination of news, which last is one of the means of informing and enlightening the public mind. So, though it may be thought necessary in times of national crises for lawyers and students to give up their proper pursuits in order to devote all their energies to the promotion of public movements, it is not necessary for journalists to give up their proper work in order to do so. On the contrary, it is their duty to go on in order that open public movements may be directly or indirectly

helped thereby. Even if they feel absolutely unable to write on politics, they can write on other topics, giving their reasons for giving a wide berth to politics, or they may stop the publication of their papers.

Seeing that some papers still continue publication and continue to discuss politics (without subservience) and also seeing that Mahatma Gandhi's *Nava Jivan* and *Young India* continue to be published and to write with as much truthfulness and vigour as ever, we think no case can be made out for stopping the publication of all *nationalist* papers by Congress mandate. Incidentally, it may be observed that it is not merely the few papers of the Congress party which are nationalist. There are many other nationalist papers. Nationalism and nationalist papers existed before the Swarajya regime and continue to exist,

Efforts made to stop the publication of papers by non-violent picketing cannot be approved, and the methods of violence adopted for the same purpose are reprehensible.

In free countries even in war time there are men who have resisted conscription. Mr. Gandhi, being against coercion of any sort, has never sought to have conscripts from among lawyers, merchants, students or any other class of men. Are only nationalist journalists to be conscribed? Are they to be dragooned into acceptance of the dictates of a few dictators or one dictator?

Secret societies may flourish without the aid of newspapers. But no open movement can go on without their help. This has been practically recognized by the Congress party itself, by the publication of Congress bulletins of news and views. They are practically small newspapers. If it be necessary to publish them and if such publication be allowable, why should there be a ban on the publication of nationalist newspapers?

We have come across a letter addressed to advertisers by a group of papers which have suspended or been obliged to suspend publication for well-known reasons. The letter seeks in effect the patronage of the advertisers with a view to resumption of publication. The men, who conduct this group of papers are also active in efforts to stop the publication of or the boycott of other papers which have resumed publication. Probably a double game is being played owing to trade jealousy, in order to gain ulterior economic ends.

Not that we consider economic ends necessarily unworthy. But they ought to be pursued openly and honestly.

This leads us to the consideration of the economic aspect of the work of presses and newspapers. Printers and journalists are mostly householders. That their work brings them money does not derogate from its value. The economic consequences of the stoppage of presses and papers are not negligible. If the biggest lawyer gives up his practice, only he and his family and a few clerks with their families are financially affected. And the big lawyers can fall back upon their previous savings. But the stoppage of the work of even a small press or a small paper means unemployment for a larger number of men of small means than is involved in the giving up of practice by the biggest lawyers. The stoppage of presses and newspapers are calculated to affect also the business of paper-merchants, ink-merchants, type-foundries, etc.

Unemployment, financial loss, decrease or total loss of income, all these classes of men could have been asked to bear, if the national cause were served thereby. But, as we have said before, we do not understand what advantage would accrue to the national cause from the stoppage of presses and newspapers.

Whether, after being called upon to deposit security, a press or a newspaper should deposit the sum demanded and then carry on, depends on the inclination and the financial position of the owner. But if a proprietor does not pay because he is unable to pay, he should not pose as a heroic champion of national honour and self-respect. The action, however, of those who can pay but do not, cannot but be thought of with respect.

Felling Palm Trees

Toddy is prepared from the sap of the palmyra palm and the date palm. In Bengal it is generally prepared from the sap of the date palm. This sap has other uses. It is a sweet and cooling drink in its unfermented state and is drunk by high and low alike. Moreover, date sugar in large quantities is manufactured from it. The leaves of the date palm are used for making a kind of matting. The ripe fruit is of poor quality. But the other uses, which are not immoral,

an economic value. Therefore, to cut date palm trees in order to put a toddy-drinking would be too drastic a perhaps rarely adopted in Bengal. For those who are unconverted to Islam might, in the absence of toddy, other intoxicating liquors and drugs. We are for the total prohibition of manufacture, sale and consumption of all such liquors and drugs by State action. Meantime, of course, preaching and non-violent picketing should be resorted to. If the date palm and palmyra trees are cut them down in the interests of the majority and bear the loss cheerfully, they should be free to do so.

In Bengal the kernel within the thin husk of the unripe palmyra palm fruit is relished and fetches a moderate price. The kernel within the seed of the ripe fruit the sprout is about to come out, is dried. The pulp of the ripe fruit is raw or used for making cakes by mixing with powdered rice. Palm-leaves are much used in these days for writing. They are still used for matting, and the branches with leaves for making palmyra palm sugar has a medicinal value. In West Bengal the trunk of the palmyra trees are valued for making the frame-work of the roofs of thatched houses by splitting them into long thin strips, as they are tough and white-ant-proof. We do not know whether in Gujarat the palmyra palm is used only for making toddy. In that case there can be no objection to felling them with the free consent of the owners.

Congress and the Minorities

There is much profession of anxiety for the interests of the minority communities in India, on the part of Britishers in and out of the country and in India, and much effort to show that India cannot yet do without a third party, namely, the altruistic Britishers. If so, after nearly two centuries of British rule, it is a poor testimony to either the wisdom or its power to compose the relations between different classes and religious communities. That is the least that should be said. However, the history of the United States of America, for example, shows that a free country can do without the permanent or temporary services of a third

party. There have been and still are race riots and religious riots in that country, directed against Negroes, Jews and Roman Catholics, and sometimes against Japanese. These are not less but more savage and sanguinary than Hindu-Moslem riots. Yet the Americans have always been quelling these riots without the help of the Britishers, and the number of such riots bids fair to diminish and be reduced to zero at no distant day. And the United States is still free and independent, and is the most prosperous country in the world—probably the most powerful, too. We know India is not America. But what is an accomplished fact in one country cannot be an impossibility in another, as human nature is fundamentally the same everywhere.

An impression has all along been sought to be created that it is only the Britisher who cares for the minorities and that the majority is seeking to establish an exclusively Hindu raj, of which there is no proof. The prolonged and painstaking efforts of the various All Parties conventions, Conferences and Committees, give the lie to such an impression: The "third party" has not done anything to make the task of these national bodies easy or simple. For a succinct account of this work, the reader is referred to *India's Political Crisis* by William Hall, Ph. D. (The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, U. S. A.)

That Congress has never ceased to think of the problem of the minorities will also appear from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's note on the subject. This note of the prisoner-President has been published in *Young India*. Almost the whole of it is reproduced below.

But even when the fight is fiercest and consumes all our energies, we must remember that the true solution of our difficulties can come only when we have won over and given satisfaction to our minorities. To-day it is unfortunately the fact that some of them fear the majority and for fear of it keep apart from the struggle for freedom. It is sad that some who were our comrades in arms ten years ago are not with us today. None of us who had the privilege of marching shoulder to shoulder with them then can forget the brave part they took and the sacrifices they made. We cherish that memory and we are assured that when the fight thickens they must take their rightful place in the forefront.

FREEDOM FOR ALL

The history of India and of the countries of Europe has demonstrated that there can be no stable equilibrium in any country so long as an attempt is made to crush a minority or to

force it to conform to the ways of the majority. There is no surer method of rousing the resentment of the minority and keeping it apart from the rest of the nation than to make it feel that it has not got the freedom to stick to its own ways. Repression and coercion can never succeed in coercing a minority. They but make it more self-conscious and more determined to value and hold fast to what it considers its very own. It matters little whether logic is on its side or whether its own particular brand of culture is worth while or not. The mere fear of losing it makes it dear. Freedom to keep it would itself lessen its value. The new Russia has gone a long way in solving its minorities' problem by giving each one of them the fullest cultural, educational and linguistic freedom.

Therefore we in India must make it clear to all that our policy is based on granting this freedom to the minorities and that under no circumstances will any coercion or repression of them be tolerated. There is hardly any likelihood of economic questions affecting the minorities as such, but should they do so we can also lay down as our deliberate policy that there shall be no unfair treatment of any minority. Indeed we should go further and state that it will be the business of the State to give favoured treatment to minority and backward communities.

In a free India political representation can only be on national lines. I would like this representation to be on an economic basis, which would fit in with modern conditions far more than territorial representation and would also automatically do away with the line of demarcation along communal lines. With religious and cultural and linguistic freedom granted, the principal questions that will arise in our legislatures will be economic ones and divisions on them cannot be on communal lines. But whatever the method of representation adopted may be, it must be such as to carry the goodwill of the minorities.

If these principles are accepted and adhered to, I do not think any minority can have a grievance or feel that it is ignored. It is possible however that, while agreeing to these principles, the minority may doubt the *bona fides* of the majority in giving effect to them. To that the only effective answer can be the translation of these principles into action. Unfortunately the ability to translate them into action can only come with the conquest of power in the State. If the *bona fides* of the majority are doubted, as they might well be, then even pacts and agreements are of little value. A general and country-wide adoption of certain broad principles can create a public opinion strong enough to prevent even an aggressive and evil-intentioned majority from going astray. But temporary pacts between individuals or even representatives cannot have the same value.

These principles should apply to all minority groups: To the Muslims, who really are in such large numbers in India that it is inconceivable that any majority can coerce them; to the Sikhs, who, although small in number, are a powerful and well-knit group; to the Parsis; to the Anglo-

Indians or Eurasians, who are gradually to nationalism; and to all other minorities.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

What is the present position of the Government on this vital question? The Nehru Report has not yet been published, but surely the non-controversial parts of it remain. The Fundamental Rights, as stated, included religious, cultural, linguistic and national freedom. This declaration must remove it from the major fears of a minority as far as other matters are concerned, minor such will hardly be affected, and the Congress has declared that in an Independent India such questions should be solved on strictly national lines. It has gone further. It has assured Muslims, Sikhs and other minorities that solution of any communal problem is for the future, it will not be accepted by the Government unless it gives full satisfaction to the minority concerned. A more complete guarantee must have been given, and if the Congress remains true to its word no minority need have the least doubt.

Thus the Congress has endeavoured to give effect to the principles that should govern the treatment of minorities. If in the eyes of the public it is still suspect, it is not because of what has been done but because of want of trust and unfear. The Congress, I trust, will remain true to these principles and will demonstrate to the public that in communal matters it will not waver to the right or the left and will hold the scales impartially. It will, I hope, prove to the public that in Independent India, for we strive, theirs will be an honoured and favoured place. And by its sacrifices and determined courage in the fight for freedom convince all of its *bona fides*.

16-3-30

Our Social Problems

India's problems are many. If we were asked, what is the most important among them, perhaps most of the answers would mention the pressing political problem of the day. But, without meaning to detract from its place in order of importance, it may draw attention to the problem presented by the place given in our society to the 'depressed' and so-called 'untouchable' classes. India's social problems are no less important or pressing than her political problems. They are, no doubt, interdependent for their solution. But no one should say that either the social or the political problems can wait.

Such being our opinion, it has given me much pleasure to read the following message from *The Indian Social Reformer*:

The women of Munshiganj [Bengal] have taken the question of temple entry of untouchables to their own decisive way, which, we trust, will be followed in other parts of the country. A message of the 18th instant from Dacca

at Munshiganj Kali temple "satyagraha," which has been continued for over nine months, and a happy termination on the previous day. About 200 high-caste women, in order to save the lives of the hunger-striking "satyagrahis," removed the barriers to the temple with saws, axes and hammers—they being helped in this by members of the Young Men's Association—and they threw the doors of the temple open to all sects of Hindus. About 2,000 people witnessed the incident. The women and all the Hindus made offerings to the deity. The Brahmoists kept aloof and offered no obstruction.

One has often thought why, when there is so much zeal among "the excluded" to visit temples where the images of some gods or goddesses are kept for worship by Brahmaṇs and for being seen from a distance by other Hindus, the Brahmo places of worship, which are open to all, are not full of worshippers. Why does not the Brahmo message carry its message to the humblest in the land?

In the name of God, to which all have access, the matter of course, are not full of worshippers. Why does not the Brahmo message carry its message to the humblest in the land?

There is a Self-respect Movement in the South. We do not see why the advocates and followers of this movement should not be drawn to the Brahmo Samaj, which is a religion, which does not give any precedence to any caste, which has no caste, and in which men and women have in theory and practice equal rights.

Communal Murders, Loot and Arson at Dacca

All murders are heinous. They are not heinous when one man kills another for any other reason than that the two profess different religions. Treacherous and secret murders of this communal character are as heinous and diabolical as they are the open murders. Rioting attended with loot, arson and murder is also heinous but not impossible to prevent. We have no record with sorrow that in Dacca these crimes have been going on. All these are ostensibly the result of a petty squabble between some Hindu and Musalman boys. It was perhaps only the spark applied to a powder magazine. Preparations must have been going on behind the scenes under the direction of wicked men. Refugees have come to Calcutta from Dacca. It is the bounden duty of every one to help to relieve their distress.

It is a matter of profound sorrow and regret that, though Hindus and Musalmāns have been neighbours for so many centuries

and though the culture of either community has enriched the other and both have benefited by the friendly acts of one another, still there should be such diabolical acts of cruelty and cowardice. It is also a matter of great shame that the leading men of the two communities have not sufficient hold on their respective co-religionists to be able to bring about reconciliation, but have to telegraph to Viceroy and Governor for protection. It is in no carping spirit that we write. We share all our countrymen's shame.

The *Sanjibani*, the Moderate Bengali weekly *per excellence*, after narrating some of the shameful and horrible incidents of the Dacca riots, arson, murders, etc., in a leading article headed, "*Not Rioting but Anarchy in Dacca*," observes :

"What else is anarchy, if not this? Dacca is not more than three miles long and two miles broad. In this small area, during the day and at night murder, grievous assault, looting and the burning down of houses are taking place. Yet the officers of the State are unable to prevent and bring under control such lawlessness. What can be more surprising than this?" [Translation].

In order to give our readers some idea of the condition of Dacca we give below a slightly abridged translation of a Bengali private letter written to us on the 28th May last from Dacca :

"The situation at Dacca is fearful and critical. One inhabited area in front of (a certain hostel) has been devastated. There were only two unmarried girls in a house. Their father was absent from Dacca. Their brother had fallen victim to the Bengal Ordinance two days ago. Hooligans attacked this house; for the brother's offence was that he conducted an *akhada* for physical culture and taught girls also the arts of self-defence. The two girls defended their house and their honour against a mob of hooligans numbering more than two hundred for more than two hours. At this stage three teachers, who were neighbours, protested against the cowardice of the mob and came out of their houses to thwart their evil designs. Thereupon the mob, leaving the girls unmolested, ran towards these three teachers. On this they shut the entrances of their houses. Not being able to enter these houses, the mob poured petrol all around and set fire to them. The mob of hooligans contained even boys of 8 to ten and old men. But in the whole neighbourhood, none but these three teachers made any attempt to protect the two girls. After setting fire to the houses of these three gentlemen, the hooligans began to set fire to other houses. Seizing this opportunity, these teachers jumped down from their burning two-storied houses, hurting themselves thereby, and taking the two heroic girls with them lodged them in the aforesaid hostel. The Police made their appearance two hours and a half after this attack,

Then about 500 men, women and children of this neighbourhood took courage to leave their houses and take shelter in the hostel. At present it is Vacation time. There are only 40 examinees in the hostel. They have taken upon themselves the onerous duty of extending hospitality to these 500 refugees. The hooligans are picketing all shops near the hostel, threatening to kill the shopkeepers if they sell even a pice worth of things to the hostel people. Rice, pulses, coal—there is nothing of these in store. To the face of the hostel people, the coal shop was burnt down and the rice shop looted. The hostel boys are serving their refugee guests in every way, themselves almost fasting; feeding them, nursing the wounded, making all sanitary arrangements, and keeping watch at night at every approach to the hostel. The hooligans are infuriated against it: "Why did it give shelter to so many people?" They have assumed a menacing attitude, challenging the hostel to a trial of strength. Jeopardizing their own lives, the hostel lads are smuggling rice, coal, etc., in carrying the loads themselves. They never give a thought to where so much money would come from. They are spending their cash to the last pie in the service of the frightened refugees."

"One further episode has to be recorded. When the hooligans attacked the house which had only two girls for its occupants and defenders, the latter blew a bugle as a signal of distress. The hostel boys were ready to go out to face certain death at the hands of the hooligans, though their elders were preventing them from doing so. At this juncture, the wife of a teacher told her son: "Go my child, go." The lad ran out, but was prevented by others from going out. The father remonstrated with the mother for sending her son to meet almost certain death. She calmly replied, "The women in distress are also mothers; they too have sons."

"The hostel people are living in a sort of besieged fortress."

The population of Dacca is 1,19,450 and that of Sholapur 1,19,581—almost equal. And, so, it is equally easy or difficult to deal with disturbances in either town. At Sholapur, on the 23rd May, "three Congressmen were arrested for displaying 'prohibited emblems' and a man with the intention of hoisting the National Flag was arrested with his companions." Evidently these things done at Sholapur are more heinous and more necessary to prevent or punish than murder, loot, arson, etc., at Dacca. And evidently the empire can spare sufficient resources to attend even to these trifles at Sholapur but cannot quickly put a stop to anarchy at Dacca.

Are such trifling *political* 'offences', if offences they be, more necessary to stamp out promptly than serious and diabolical crimes having a *communal* tinge?

Swadeshi in England

Miss Margaret Bondfield, the British Cabinet Minister, has got a cotton dress made and has been using it. The London correspondent of an Anglo-Indian paper writes:

One result of National Cotton Week possibly be that this year's Ascot will be "Cotton, Ascot" owing to the success promises to attend the efforts to render garments not only popular but fashionable.

Lancashire's efforts to direct attention to goods are being well seconded by leading and one lady is giving a cotton frock to during cotton week to mark her approval of Lancashire's "exquisite efforts."

Moreover, the cause of Lancashire's complaint that women have been using too little material in their dresses will shortly be removed if the present trend of fashion, as revealed at the opening of the opera season at Covent Garden, continues; for not one wholly short dress was to be seen, while at the drapery exhibition opened at the Royal Agricultural Hall by the Lord Mayor, mannequins were confronted with the difficult task to prevent laces and flowered chiffons from sweeping the stairs as they made their way down to the hall.

Even sports frocks and costumes are long and many afternoon frocks were of ankle length.

Britishers, and we also, admire patriotic efforts to help Lancashire.

Swadeshi in India

But Swadeshi in India is another matter. Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the Secretary of State for India, has been reminded in Parliament that he is a British citizen and must see that all necessary steps are taken to maintain and promote the sale of Lancashire cotton in India. Britishers are angry with the Indian boycott of foreign goods. They think that they fought and defeated Indians with the weapons of various kinds of *active* boycott, and that the Indian boycott is a social weapon. They forget, too, that *passive* boycott and boycott are only the two sides of the same coin. To ask a man to buy Indian cottons is to tell him to eschew Lancashire and other foreign fabrics. We cannot buy both Indian and British goods, as Britishers during National Cotton Week did not buy both Lancashire and foreign cottons.

The principal Indian mill-owners in Bombay have been trying to keep prices at a normal level. They are trying also to increase production. These points have to be borne in mind. Britishers are hoping

supply of Indian goods would fall short of demand and then there would be an increased demand for British goods. An Anglo-Gazette paper has already reported that in the boycott of Lancashire has collapsed and orders are being sent to England. We do not know whether that is true. Many well-to-do people buy and use more than the cloth than is necessary. They should be economical, so that enough swadeshi may be left for those who are urgently in need of it. Cloth-dealers who have stocks is so high—cloth on hand may be quite plentifully unwilling to sell Indian cloth. Where necessary, swadeshi cloth shops should be opened at suitable centres. During days of the swadeshi agitation in Bengal, many young men, many of them graduates, were hawking Indian cloth from house to house to house visitation for popularizing Indian cloth by preaching and supply and be widely resorted to.

The Patiala Enquiry

Most in every respect the Patiala enquiry is going to be what it ought not to be. The single individual who has been entrusted with it is the nominee of the Maharaja of Patiala, who is the accused. The person nominated is not a High Court or lower court judge, but Political Agent to the Governor-General for the Punjab States, and such had probably dealt with many of the cases to be enquired into. Is it the law or the practice in any civilized country for the accused to choose his own judge and that from the ranks of judicial officers, but among one's friends or acquaintances? The enquiry is to be held *in camera*. Who drew up the *Patiala Indictment* after making open enquiries. An enquiry held in camera cannot but be looked upon with distrust. Another disadvantage of the accusers of the Maharaja is that the hill station Dalhousie has been chosen by Mr. Patrick as the place where he will conduct the enquiry. This place is 30 miles from the nearest railway station. The members of the Maharaja and their witnesses are not as wealthy as he. How can they go and live in Dalhousie easily with all their expenses? Why was not Lahore or Delhi some other place in the plains chosen, where good lawyers can be had for moderate fees. For the Maharaja has engaged Sir Tej

Bahadur Sapru, etc., as his lawyers, and the accusers, if they wanted to have a square deal, would have required the services of lawyers.

Considering all these circumstances, we think the Indian States' Peoples' Conference Committee have been rightly advised in deciding not to have anything to do with the enquiry.

As laymen we do not know the laws, conventions and etiquette which govern the acceptance of briefs by lawyers. What we are curious to know, however, is whether it is usual for lawyers who are not merely lawyers but also leaders of the people, to consider whether an improvised "court" of enquiry before which they are to appear is properly constituted and the procedure to be adopted is likely to meet the ends of justice.

Conflicting Evidence at Peshawar Enquiry

Before the official Peshawar Riots Inquiry Committee there has been conflicting official evidence.

"I realized that nothing but firing could save the situation," said Mr. Fookes, Senior Superintendent of Police, concluding his evidence on Monday.

"If the authorities had not taken the action they did, there would have been much more serious damage," said Mr. Metcalfe, Commissioner.

But,

Mr. Saadullah Khan, City Magistrate, examined, stated that the crowd was perfectly non-violent in the beginning. He repeatedly warned the authorities against employment of military.

Mr. Saadullah Khan, City Magistrate, continuing said, that he had warned the authorities that employment of the military would create trouble. He did not see if the Assistant Superintendent of Police was pelted with stones, and immediately the latter had gone to the cantonment, he (witness) tried to get into touch with the Deputy Commissioner in order to tell him not to be prejudiced with the statement of the Assistant Superintendent of Police, as there was no need of the military. The crowd, he said, had no sticks and was melting away after the surrender of two Congressmen who were wanted by the Police.

Purdah Women's Public Activity

Noakhali is a small town in Bengal with a population of 7,715 persons, of whom 2,839 are women. It is interesting to note that in this out of the way place, when Mr. Gandhi's arrest became known on the 8th May,

A large number of purdah women volunteers picketed the gates of the civil and criminal courts. The District Magistrate, the District Judge, the Superintendent of Police and other officials stood

helpless, the roads being blocked against them by the pickets.

After about three hours the mob was cleared with the help of constables who, arriving on information, placed a cordon round the volunteers and kept them under detention in the Kutehery compound. The women pickets were removed at about 2 P.M., when the officers entered the court rooms.

"Foreign Affairs" Suffering from Hysteria

Foreign Affairs, edited by Norman Angell, M.P., has been evidently suffering from hysteria. An article in its May number, entitled "The Revolution in India: From Non-violence to Killing," begins with the highly sensational paragraph:

"The storm so long brewing in India has broken into armed revolution. The stage of war was reached on April 18 at Chittagong, when a large party of revolutionaries, fully equipped with modern arms, raided the police armouries and destroyed the ammunition. Nine persons were killed."

The sober fact is that the raid was a small isolated outbreak, having nothing to do with the widespread civil disobedience movement. Therefore, the sub-heading, "From Non-violence to Killing," is entirely misleading. No group or party has proceeded from non-violence to killing.

R. D. Banerji

The greatest Indian scholar of Indian history passed away after a prolonged illness on the 23rd May, 1930, at his residence in Calcutta. Prof. Rakhal Das Banerji, Nandi Professor, Hindu University, who opened a line of research for the next hundred years, by discovering and recognizing the civilization of the Sindh valley, was the greatest epigraphist and the greatest numismatist in India. He was equally the greatest devotee to Indian history to my knowledge. He went on working with a re-doubled energy as he knew that he was to die soon. He never expected to reach the age of even 48. Probably for a long time such a worker would not be born. Ten men of first-rate ability together may or may not do the amount of work which Mr. Banerji did alone. He was a genius and a prodigy.

The country loses her greatest historical scholar and the greatest archaeologist. The personal loss of his friends is no less terrible. Mr. Banerji had a loving heart.

The Vice-Chancellor of the Hindu University deserves the highest gratitude

of the country for having maintained eminent scholar and for granting him a facility up to his last day. — K. P. JAYASWAL

Though on matters of Indian archaeology and history we cannot speak with authority—certainly not with the authority of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, our estimate of position and worth of Prof. Banerji as an archaeological discoverer, numismatist, historical scholar was very high. A linguist, too, he occupied a distinguished position. Besides Sanskrit and some ancient Indian tongues, he knew Persian and some four or five modern Indian vernaculars in addition to Bengali. He is the author of several Bengali novels and historical works. He had an almost unerring instinct for spotting mounds which excavation would yield up archaeological treasures of great value lying hidden underground for centuries. Our sense of personal loss prevents us from writing all that we would otherwise have liked to do. His career prematurely cut short in the full maturity of his powers, with so much of its promise unfulfilled, is a mournful tragedy. It would have gladdened his soul, if he had lived to see the publication of his magnificent *History of Orissa* finished in manuscript but only half yet printed. But it is not to be.

Stricken Burma

Our heart goes out in sympathy to the people of Burma. They have recently suffered from a destructive earthquake. And now there is another sore affliction in the shape of the sanguinary fights between the Madras and Burmese dock labourers.

New Ordinances Again!

As we go to press, news comes of fresh ordinances promulgated by the Viceroy "to protect shopkeepers from picketing, to stop the movement for non-payment of taxes and to deal with attempts to tamper with the loyalty of soldiers, police and Government servants." It is also anticipated by an Anglo-Indian newspaper correspondent that if these measures are not successful, Government will declare Congress an unlawful body.

There is no time to comment on these fresh measures, which will apply immediately to the Bombay Presidency but may be extended to any other part of the country if thought necessary by officialdom.